"UNDERSTANDING THE SOCIAL PRACTICES OF EXCLUSION IN THE CONTEXT OF CANADIAN MULTICULTURALISM AND ACKNOWLEDGING THE IMPORTANCE OF MULTICULTURALISM IN CANADIAN SCHOOL CURRICULUM"

by

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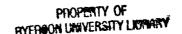University of Ottawa, 2010.

A Major Research Paper
Presented to Ryerson University

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
Immigration and Settlement Studies

Toronto, Ontario, Canada, 2011

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"UNDERSTANDING THE SOCIAL PRACTICES OF EXCLUSION IN THE CONTEXT OF CANADIAN MULTICULTURALISM AND ACKNOWLEDGING THE IMPORTANCE OF MULTICULTURALISM WITHIN THE CANADIAN SCHOOL CURRICULUM "

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ABSTRACT

This paper provides an overview of Canadian multiculturalism, whereby the presented literature depicts considerable issues of social exclusion and a troubling Canadian perspective towards multiculturalism, integration and immigration. This study seeks therefore to enable an understanding of social exclusion in the context of Canadian multiculturalism. Furthermore, in the attempt to make multiculturalism ideologies and policies translate into concrete social practices of inclusion, this paper proposes that the school curriculum, particularly the civics realm, should take further responsibility in implementing measures that guarantee an effective understanding and valuing of multiculturalism and diversity, for all Canadian citizens. An improved multicultural education may facilitate inter-ethnic coexistence and integration in a society that inhabits a diverse population, thus raising the level of awareness and embracement of multiculturalism policies, ideologies and practices in society.

Keywords: Multiculturalism, Social Inclusion, Social Integration, Curriculum development, Civic education.

Acknowledgements

I am very grateful to **Professor Marco Fiola** for accepting to be my MRP Supervisor. Professor Fiola has repeatedly taken the time to sit down with me and engage in insightful discussions in order to help me develop new ideas and acknowledge different perspectives pertaining to my MRP topic. Professor Fiola's comments and suggestions have without a doubt contributed significantly to the successful completion of this MRP.

I also wish to thank my second reader, **Professor Francis Hare** who met with me several times earlier in the year to discuss my preliminary Literature Review. Professor Hare took interest in my MRP topic and he has been very helpful and resourceful throughout this academic year.

Dedication

This paper is dedicated foremost to my parents:

Maria G. Dabdoub and Alejandro Enriquez

First, I would like to acknowledge that my family's immigration experience initially triggered my interest in the field of migration. Through my parents' as well as my personal experience as an immigrant, I have learned the implications of the immigration and the settlement process. I know about the difficulties of fleeing one's own country, leaving family behind and dealing with an adaptation process that involves a variety of uncertainties. Overtime, I have developed a great admiration towards immigrants such as my parents because I feel as though they are fighters who have made life-changing decisions and who have overcome a set of difficulties to get to where they want to be. My parents have been excellent role models, they have taught me meaningful life values, they have encouraged me to pursue my dreams through hard work and most importantly, they have given me endless love and support for the past twenty-three years. By dedicating this piece of work to them, I thank them for being who they are and for everything they have done for me. They are a true inspiration.

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1. INTRODUCTION

In Canada, a remarkable and continuous increase of migration flows has set the stage for debates on matters revolving around the management of diversity and the process of integration. These debates have not only been framed around questions of integration in the political and economic realms, but also the social and the cultural domains. Canada is presently one of the world's major immigrant receiving societies and one that has incorporated the notion of multiculturalism into its federal constitution, ascribing it a significant role in political decision-making. However, contrary to many assumptions of multiculturalism as being an unproblematic given in Canadian society, it is important to point out that multiculturalism has triggered and continues to trigger many controversies, such as the use of turban, the veil and the kirpan, and so-called "honour killings" to name a few. Under the governance of a multicultural framework, many perceive the ideology of multiculturalism as being a solution that breaks down barriers that impede social integration, and as a key for acceptance of diversity and encouraging equality. Many also argue that multiculturalism is utopic and has proven to reinforce differences, therefore fragmenting and segregating society. In spite of these contrasting views, multiculturalism has provided a solid base for policymaking in Canada. It is important to acknowledge that research has confirmed that multiculturalism is effective in some ways (Ley, 2007; Kymlicka, 2007) and ineffective in others (Pietrobruno, 2006; Reitz and Banerjee, 2007; Fraser, 2010).

This study will initially establish the need to analyze multiculturalism within one's own national context when evaluating it. More specifically, the scope of this study will consist in grasping the concept of Canadian multiculturalism, in order to identify key issues within the current paradigm of multiculturalism. The study will point to those aspects of the Canadian context that enable a particular set of issues that require further attention, such as the

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discrepancies between multiculturalism's ideology and certain social practices of exclusion that have persisted in Canada in spite of the federal multiculturalism policies in place. The issues that will be discussed revolve mainly around matters of social exclusion and a troubling Canadian perspective towards multiculturalism, integration and immigration. The study will then aspire to make relevant connections between the critiques and discussions on the current framework of multicultural education as a means of suggesting that the education realm may be the primary concern when seeking to revoke a history of exclusionary behaviours, conflicting views in the Canadian host society with respect to ethnic minorities and the lack of awareness and embracement of multiculturalism policies and ideologies. Overall, this study is meant to contrast the aims of Canadian multiculturalism to the evidence of social exclusion and the lack of integration efforts from Canadian society in hope of engaging in meaningful discussions on multiculturalism's current framework while providing appropriate policy recommendations, according to issues encountered in the national context. Ideally these discussions will in turn raise awareness on existing issues within Canadian multiculturalism agenda that need to be tabled before *celebrating* diversity.

In order to further identify the topic in question, it is crucial to distinguish three dimensions of multiculturalism: a) the ideology, b) the discourse and c) the policy. An *ideology* is meant to put forward a set of ideals that are considered "desirable goals to follow with regard to important social issues," which are grounded by "principles underlying programs of action" that may in turn "provide the basis for the formulation of social policies" (Isajiw, n.d: n.p.). Discussing the ideology of multiculturalism refers more specifically to the ideals pertaining to "the presence of diverse ethnic groups in a larger society"(Isajiw, n.d: n.p.). According to Isajiw,

"[t]he ideology of multiculturalism may appear to be a form of pluralism, but it

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takes that concept beyond the principle of mere tolerance. It perceives various aspects of the ethnic-minority heritage as positive contributions to the broader society. In its conservative dimension, it sees no need for immigrants to give up their heritage" (Isajiw, n.d.: n.p.).

A *discourse* refers mainly to the debates that are encountered through written or verbal communication; discourses are generally accompanied by a particular set of perspectives and therefore tend to have influence on people's opinions with respect to certain matters. In the case of multiculturalism discourse, Garcea *et al.* state that

> "multicultural discourse and post-multicultural discourse [the latter referring particularly to the post- 9 /11 era] are both examples of relatively new and complex social-theoretical discourses that combine discourses of culture, identity, ethnicity, race, diversity, social justice, citizenship, inclusion, exclusion, belonging, and knowledge, to list a few" (Garcea *et al.*, 2008: n.p.).

Furthermore, according to Garcea *et al.*, a few major areas of interest within multiculturalism discourse are "the effects of multiculturalism on social and political fragmentation" in Canada, as well as in other countries, factors that impact continuity and change in multiculturalism discourses, multiculturalism philosophy with respect to public policy and the question of whether "multiculturalism fosters or inhibits social and political fragmentation" (Garcea *et al.*, 2008: n.p.).

The *public policy* dimension of multiculturalism refers to formal initiatives that accord a certain "degree of public recognition to various groups in society with the goal of bringing about a deeper national unity"(Isajiw, n.d: n.p.). Isajiw claims that multiculturalism policy has the following four goals:

> "assistance to cultural groups to support and promote cultural retention, the overcoming of barriers to full participation in Canadian society for members of all cultural groups, enhancement of national unity through the promotion of cultural exchange and interaction between groups, and assistance to members of cultural

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groups in official-language training" (Isajiw, n.d: n.p.).

Having established the difference between the various dimensions of multiculturalism that this study will be referring to, it is equally important to establish that under the premise of Canada's diverse population, this study focuses strictly on *ethnic minorities*, whether they be holders of immigrant or citizenship status. Prior to further discussions, it is necessary to clarify that in much of the literature, ethnic minorities are likely to be referred to as *"immigrants."* This is done mainly in the attempt "to emphasize that they are neither indigenous nor colonisers, but were admitted under Canada's immigration policy. However, the term is potentially misleading, since many of the group's members may be second, third or fourth generations" (Banting and Kymlicka, 2010: 49). That being said, the problem on which this study will focus encompasses all ethnic minorities, including immigrants and Canadian citizens. This paper will include a number of different academic perspectives and is meant to provide a broad overview of how multiculturalism has manifested itself in the Canadian context and the factors that differentiate the Canadian model from models of multiculturalism implemented in other countries.

2. RESEARCH PROBLEM

In the past few months, there have been events that have had significant impacts on multiculturalism discourse. In October 2010, German Chancellor Angela Merkel claimed that "the country's attempts to create a multicultural society [had] utterly failed" (Weaver, 2010: n.p.). She then proceeded to stating that "the idea of people from different cultural backgrounds living happily 'side by side' did not work" (Weaver, 2010: n.p.). Weaver wrote that a "recent poll showed one-third of Germans believed the country was 'overrun by foreigners' [and that] 55% of Germans believed that Arabs are unpleasant people" (Weaver, 2010: n.p.). On a similar note, in February 2011, David Cameron, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, reiterated those views when he criticized and blamed multiculturalism for the cause of terrorism (BBC News, 2011: n.p.). Cameron also argued that "the UK needed a stronger national identity to prevent people from turning to all kinds of extremism" (BBC News, 2011: n.p.). In other words, Cameron blamed multiculturalism for the lack of cohesion and the extent of segregation that is encountered in various communities of the UK.

Overall, it seems as though the global discourse on multiculturalism has been framed around notions such as: the "retreat" the "backlash," the "failures" and even the "death" of multiculturalism. This trend within the discourse has without a doubt led to questioning multiculturalism's effectiveness across other nations. It seems that as Europe continues to display doubts on multiculturalism's effectiveness, the discourse simultaneously instigates thoughts that urge for a shift towards policies grounded in ideals of assimilation. Interestingly, Banting and Kymlicka state that although Canada's multiculturalism has been "relatively successful," Canada "has not been immune to the rising global anxieties about multiculturalism (Banting and Kymlicka, 2010:44). In fact, one of the central aims of this paper is to reiterate

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Banting and Kymlicka's outlook as they assert that although Canadian multiculturalism is still marked by tension, analyzing Canada's experience with multiculturalism through "the lens of the European debate" would ultimately lead to misdiagnosing problems and solutions in the Canadian context. (Banting and Kymlicka, 2010).

The recent critiques and so called "failures" of multiculturalism in countries such as Germany and the UK will ultimately justify the need to rethink Canadian multiculturalism. However, the fact that multiculturalism has been deemed a "failure" in other western societies should serve two purposes: first, a reminder of the complexity behind multiculturalism, hence pointing to the need for a constant monitoring of its development, in order to ensure that it does not simply remain an ideology or a policy that Canadians take for granted, they must instead make sure that the policy is developed at its best, that it continuously aims for improvement, and that it is being properly implemented and respected by all. Second, one should bear in mind that the failures of multiculturalism abroad are caused by inherently different circumstances, and therefore, for a variety of reasons that will be explained further through the course of this paper, we cannot presume that multiculturalism will also be deemed a failure in Canada. The current model of Canadian multiculturalism is certainly not flawless; there are still shortcomings and disconnects that need to be further examined and discussed. Nevertheless, in order to find adequate solutions to Canada's particular set of issues, we need not be perplexed and influenced by the issues experienced aboard, instead we must analyze within our own context in order to identify our own problems and find solutions accordingly.

The ongoing debates within multiculturalism discourse should not be conceived as purely negative. On the contrary, these debates may strengthen each nation's development of its own diversity model and raise awareness on the complexity of the ideology in question, thus enabling

our society, for instance, to improve the current framework so that the ideology of multiculturalism may be further embraced in the form of socially inclusive practices through principles of democratization. In aiming for preservation and an improvement of a successful multiculturalism framework in Canada, this study will seek to emphasize the influencing power that the education system may have when it comes to shaping Canadian society.

The data presented through the course of this study is meant to come together in the form of a comprehensive analysis that links a set of issues together, consequently suggesting that multiculturalism can be further embraced if the core principles behind the ideology are incessantly transmitted to Canadian citizens via the education system and the school curriculum, from an early age and throughout their development. The social inclusion framework is employed throughout the analysis under the assumption that multiculturalism should be inherently grounded in ideals of inclusion in all three dimensions: ideology, discourse and policy. It is imperative to understand that although this study may present a number of critiques on multiculturalism as outlined in the literature, the main focus is not to revoke the ideology nor the policies in question, but simply to examine this concept in a more holistic manner, in order to detect its shortcomings and improve the current multiculturalism framework according to the circumstances of the Canadian context. Solely for this reason, the study will be focusing on multiculturalism's weaknesses, in hope of attaining a better understanding of the reasons behind the persistence of social exclusion in a society that implements multiculturalism policies. In turn, this may help in highlighting areas within the current framework in which there is room for improvement. Ideally, through an overview of Canadian multiculturalism, one will be able to identify a number of key issues, thus concluding on a set of policy recommendations and changes that ought to be made, particularly within the education realm as a means of entrenching

principles of social inclusion into our society, from a bottom-up approach. Highlighting the role of the education system will seek to demonstrate the fact that this channel has a high potential to influence Canadian society, but is currently limited in its effectiveness when it comes to inculcating certain founding values of multiculturalism into young Canadians. Overall, an outline of Canadian multiculturalism, its flaws and its current role within the education system will allow for a better understanding of the Canadian public's puzzling opinions and behaviours towards integration as well as the existing lack of knowledge and embracement of certain core principles behind the ideology of multiculturalism.

3. RELEVANCE OF THE TOPIC

The relevance of providing insight on this topic is rooted in the need to clarify that Canada's multiculturalism is not necessarily on its way to failure, as suggested by some of the discourse following the recent debates in Europe. Nevertheless, although the Canadian model has been quite successful when compared to others, it cannot be said that it has reached perfection. It is, however, important to acknowledge the challenges that the country has yet to overcome, in order to provide room for improvement. The substance of this research problem is also based on the following logic: in a highly diverse society that promotes immigration, such as Canada, it should be in the state's interest to provide societal conditions that will facilitate the process of social integration for all minorities. However, when it comes to ethnic minorities, it is wrong to presume that formal policy initiatives such as inserting the *Multiculturalism Act* into the *Constitution of Canada* and promoting these principles through funding of multicultural festivals are sufficient to eliminate social inequalities, exclusion and discrimination. Instead we must shift our attention to research studies that have demonstrated that the ideology behind the policy is not necessarily translating into concrete social practices of inclusion. If we neglect to point out the flaws pertaining to our current multiculturalism framework, we automatically reduce the possibilities of addressing these issues.

The idea of looking at multicultural education and the inconsistencies that arise within the curriculum derives from a personal interest. I migrated to Canada at an early age and although my immigration and integration experience has been positive, after having engaged in the academic field of immigration, I have developed certain analytical skills that enabled me to go back and analyze my own immigration experience through a different lens. As I began reading Canadian literature on the issues of discrimination and social exclusion, it dawned on me

that my successful immigration and integration experience is unfortunately not the case for all immigrants, in spite of the country's commitment to multiculturalism. Thereafter, I began to recall my school setting in earlier years and realized that even though my Canadian classmates always took interest in my Mexican background, they also tended to over-generalize and sometimes even sublimely racialize my culture. It is also noteworthy to mention that I was raised in a small city, in northern Ontario where cultural diversity is certainly not a trademark of the area. Nevertheless, like any other city in Canada, North Bay has immigrants and people from different ethnic backgrounds. In my perspective, based on the people that I have been in contact with, I have come to notice that although many Canadians show genuine interest in ethnic cultures, they also seem to have a very limited knowledge and open-mindedness when it comes to dealing with diversity. Throughout my schooling experience, I remember that most of the time, the interest shown by classmates and teachers was limited to the superficial aspect of Mexican culture, thus emphasizing an interest for the food and music from my country, rather then values, customs, religion, or cultural ceremonies. Moreover, in general, I recall a strong presence of cultural and racial stereotypes in the school setting; these stereotypes were at times used unintentionally and due to a lack of knowledge or awareness on cultural diversity.

Earlier this year, as I began to develop an interest in looking at the disconnects between the goal of federal multiculturalism policy and the realities of social exclusion that have persisted in the country, I could not help making connections between social exclusion issues and my schooling experience, so I then became particularly concerned with the civics curriculum which is meant to educate students on Canadians' rights and responsibilities, and the adequate means of participation and contribution to Canadian society. In my experience the civics course provided no substantive education pertaining to multiculturalism, diversity, values of inclusiveness or

equality. I therefore decided to integrate this aspect of multicultural education into the research problem of this paper in order to provide a brief overview and suggest that multiculturalism within the education system may be a starting point in the attempt to understand and find plausible solutions to issues of social exclusion in Canada. Through this research study, I have come to believe that those who are insufficiently aware of the ethnic and cultural backgrounds that surround them and the multicultural policies in place are not to blame; instead I take more interest in looking at how the school curriculum should take further responsibility in promoting an effective understanding of multiculturalism and diversity for all Canadians in order to facilitate coexistence and integration in a society that inhabits a diverse population.

4. METHODOLOGY

When engaging in the process of conducting academic research, it is crucial to consider the fact that there are a number of potential methodological approaches that could be applied to the topic and that each one will likely guide the research in different directions. The selection of a particular methodology will have an impact on the study, in terms of effectiveness, validity, credibility and relevancy. This section includes a brief discussion on the selected methodology and the justification behind it, followed by an overview of the chosen theoretical framework that will be employed through the course of this paper.

4.1 JUSTIFYING THE SELECTED METHODOLOGY

The findings for this research paper will be most effectively conveyed through the use of qualitative methods. A qualitative study entails measuring the findings during the data collection process (Neuman, 2006). In this case the data consists of descriptions and explanations, and it focuses on the conceptualization of certain terms for the purpose of generating new ideas (Neuman, 2006: 200). The qualitative method was found to be more effective given that certain variables at the core of this study (such as: Multiculturalism, Integration, Inclusion, Exclusion etc.) are complex and subject to interpretation. Therefore, it would be very unlikely for a quantitative analysis to grasp the true complexity of the topic and provide relevant explanations.

Primary research involving interviews was indeed considered for the purpose of this study. However, upon contemplating this possibility, it was established that the extent of a small number of interviews would be limiting the scope of the paper. It is important to bear in mind that this research topic deals with a general problem that is likely to be witnessed all across Canada. Yet, given the short amount of time accorded to the research writing process of this

paper, the sample provided by a few interviews would have been insufficiently representative of the overall Canadian population. In fact, the former would most likely not have managed to represent the context of the entire province of Ontario; in order for that to happen, a larger number of interviews would have been required, otherwise such an insignificant sample would have been irrelevant and perhaps even detrimental to the validity and credibility of the research. Overall, a qualitative analysis, accompanied by a methodology that involves strictly secondary research, appears to be most efficient and feasible, for the purpose of this research study, especially given the time constraint.

After compiling existing data on this topic for the purpose of a literature review, it was established that this research would have an exploratory framework and would also take on the form of an evaluation research. Exploratory research consists of examining an issue that has not yet been explored in depth, so the primary goal becomes to gain a better understanding of the phenomenon in question (Neuman, 2006: 38). This type of research will lead to the use of explanatory critiques, which are essentially critiques that provide explanations of certain conditions, contradictions and discrepancies (Neuman, 2006: 112). Although there is a great deal of literature on Canadian multiculturalism, the debates are mainly centered on questioning its effectiveness as the best model to manage diversity, as well as paralleling it to the model of assimilation. Some scholars, such as Reitz and Banerjee (2007) have pointed out the gaps between the public policies and the social practices of inclusion and exclusion, but only one author (Nikhaie, 2006) within the literature retrieved throughout this research, briefly recommended an assessment of the education system and / or the school curriculum as a potential key solution to promoting multicultural values. The first goal of this study will therefore be to explore this topic in-depth in order to understand the concept of multiculturalism,

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how the Canadian model differs from other models as a means of exploring the correlation between Canadian multiculturalism, its shortcomings and the education system.

Furthermore, evaluation research is defined by Neuman as being "applied research in which one tries to determine how well a program or policy is working or reaching its goals" (2006: 28). Once all of the main concepts have been defined and the key issues have been identified, this study will discuss the critiques on Canadian multiculturalism policy, as well as the education system and current school curriculum with respect to multiculturalism; the former will be made possible by drawing from existent literature and possibly from a brief content analysis of certain official government documents (i.e. civics curriculum). At this point, the goal of the critiques will be to identify first the discrepancies between multiculturalism ideology and the social practices of inclusion and exclusion, followed by an assessment of the level of acknowledgment and importance attributed to multiculturalism (or lack thereof) within the education system and the curriculum. Lastly, the critiques will also be taking into consideration the opinions, awareness and behaviour of the Canadian society towards matters of immigration, (Jedwab, 2008), integration (Frideres, 2008; Jedwab, 2008) and multiculturalism (Edwards, 1992; Kymlicka, 2007), all components which are central to understanding the discrepancies in question.

By carefully examining the advantages and disadvantages of a number of approaches and theories, concurrently taking into consideration the limitations that will be encountered throughout the process of this study, it became possible to conclude on certain choices. First, the retrieved findings within the literature review helped determine that it was indeed possible for this work to build upon existing data, therefore primary research was not essential. Upon contemplating the possibility of conducting interviews, it became evident that the limitations of

this form of primary research would be much greater than the actual contribution that these could have provided to the topic in question. By closely examining the topic and its potential methods, it was also determined that in order to address the research questions, the study would need to be qualitative, exploratory, evaluative and provide explanatory critiques that allowed for practices of induction and deduction built on the outlined hypothesis and the findings. In terms of theory, the selected framework will be further examined in the following paragraphs, in an attempt to justify its relevance in guiding the scope of the study. Overall these preferred methodological options appear to be, for a number of reasons, the most efficient and feasible ones for the purpose of this research study. Ideally, the chosen methodology will now allow for the construction of a comprehensible, credible and relevant piece of work that will raise awareness and put certain issues into a different perspective.

4.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: SOCIAL INCLUSION

A theoretical framework is meant to provide a defined approach that will specify the way particular matters will be analyzed and discussed, consequently framing the subject according to a certain set of questions or variables that ought to be considered. Equally important, the perspective offered by the selected framework allow the study to parallel the analysed data to the theories' suggestions, subsequently enabling the study to "explain why events occur and to build, elaborate, extend or test a theory" (Neuman, 2006: 40); this may often facilitate the process of identifying key issues, as well as providing feasible solutions. For the sake of this study, the theoretical framework that has been chosen is Social Inclusion. First, it is important to establish that social inclusion is likely, but not restricted to being a response to social exclusion. The intertwining relationship between the two is well explained in one of the Laidlaw Foundation's

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report by Saloojee, as he states that "[t]he various manifestations of racism as important expressions of social exclusion need to be tabled before there can be a meaningful discussion of social inclusion" (Saloojee, 2003: 1). Simply put, social exclusion is defined by the "structures and dynamic processes of inequality among groups in society" (Public Health Canada, 2004: n.p.). In addition, social exclusion is a condition that disables certain individuals from fully participating in "Canadian social life due to structural inequalities in access to social, economic, political and cultural resources," these inequalities are normally grounded in issues of "oppression, race, class, gender, disability, sexual orientation, immigrant status and religion" (Public Health Canada, 2004: n.p). Thus, it becomes possible to infer that as opposed to those who are included and benefit from "access to valued goods and services in society," those who are excluded are disadvantaged in an array of realms such as the political, the economic, the social and the cultural (Saloojee, 2003: 9).

Saloojee explains that social inclusion is "both a process and a goal", meaning that it involves taking on a "proactive human development approach to social well being," therefore investing and taking action "to bring about the conditions for inclusion" (Saloojee, 2003: viii). According to the York Institute of Health Research, social inclusion is based on ideas of *belonging, acceptance* and *recognition* (YIHR, n.d.: n.p.). Furthermore, social inclusion recognizes and values diversity, and it constitutes creating feelings of belonging by enhancing social equality and "the participation of diverse and disadvantaged populations" (YIHSR, n.d.: n.p.). Interestingly, Saloojee adds that social inclusion goes beyond the recognition of difference, it strives to validate and recognize diversity, and "it extends beyond bringing 'outsiders' in" and focuses on "closing physical, social and economic distances separating people, rather than only eliminating boundaries or barriers between *us* and *them*" (Saloojee, 2003: ix). Saloojee identifies

five critical dimensions of social inclusion: 1- *Valued Recognition*: recognizing and valuing diversity; 2-*Human Development*: valuing and fostering different talents, skills, capacities and choices; 3- *Involvement and Engagement*: providing people with the necessary support to become involved in decision-making; 4- *Proximity*: "sharing physical and social space to provide opportunities for interaction […] to reduce social distances"; 5- *Material Well-Being*: providing material resources that allow everyone to participate in their respective communities (Saloojee, 2003: ix). It is also crucial to distinguish weak and strong "versions of social inclusion," the former being that which focuses solely on "the integration of the excluded (via a state commitment to multiculturalism), while the latter takes a structural approach that focuses on historical processes that continually reproduce oppression, discrimination and exclusion" (Saloojee, 2003: 1).

In his report, Saloojee also outlines the limits of multiculturalism with respect to social inclusion and democratic citizenship; while he first acknowledges the fact that official multiculturalism policy has attempted to eliminate racial discrimination, simultaneously encouraging equality and group social cohesion, he clarifies that:

> "[i]n the realm of formal equality, the laws, the constitutions and the human rights codes proclaim the equality of all citizens. In this realm, it is just that citizens should be equally entitled to certain rights typically associated with a democracy – the right to vote, to freedom of association, freedom of religion, etc. (Saloojee, 2003:9).

Yet, a social inclusion framework strives to "force the discourse beyond the realm of substantive equality which is characterized by challenges of social discrimination, exclusion and inequality" (Saloojee, 2003: 9). It is therefore important to understand that social inclusion is not just about democratic citizenship, for citizenship can indeed be exclusionary in nature. Instead, social inclusion is about the equality of treatment of both the people, who have "democratic

citizenship" and those with "differentiated citizenship (where people can hold dual or even multiple loyalties)" (Saloojee, 2003:10). In addition, social inclusion is not to be confused with "social cohesion", as this last term refers to the process of attaining social unity, but as Saloojee affirms "multiple forms of exclusion can exist in a socially cohesive society" (Saloojee, 2003:10).

Likewise, "the value of social inclusion is fully capable of meeting the greatest challenges posed by diversity [...] because it is about the removal of barriers to effective and equitable participation in all spheres of public life," also involving the public's commitment to inclusive practices and a "continuous evaluation of institutions, laws, policies and practices to ensure that they all promote social inclusion" (Saloojee, 2003: 14). The York Institute of Health Institute claims that "the concepts of diversity and social inclusion have become critical to the evaluation of programs for governmental and community organizations" (YIHR, n.d.: n.p.). Furthermore, a report by the Public Health Agency of Canada clearly states that

> "[w]hat is needed to address inequities in today's society is policy development using a social inclusion framework that allows for the reassertion of social rights based on the concept of social protection as the responsibility of society and not the individual" (Public Health Agency of Canada, 2004; n.p.).

When examining multiculturalism policy it will therefore be important to value the sense of social inclusion and question whether this notion is sufficiently present within the current multiculturalism policy agenda.

5. LITERATURE REVIEW

5.1 MULTICULTURALISM – CANADA VS. EUROPE

Given that multiculturalism discourse has recently been influenced worldwide by issues encountered in Europe, it becomes important to acknowledge the issues in question in order to understand what exactly has triggered the recent debates. Banting and Kymlicka claim that, within the European context, multiculturalism has been blamed for the following ills:

> "residential ghettoisation and social isolation of immigrants; increased stereotyping, and hence prejudice and discrimination, between ethnic groups; political radicalism, particularly amongst Muslim youths; and the perpetuation of illiberal practices amongst immigrant groups, often involving restricting the rights and liberties of girls and women" (Banting and Kymlicka, 2010: 45).

However, these authors insist that there is no clear evidence that confirms that the outlined social ills are "worse in European countries that adopted multiculturalism policies (such as Netherlands, the UK and Sweden) than in European countries that did not adopt such policies (such as Denmark, France and Austria)" (Banting and Kymlicka, 2010: 46). On the contrary, the evidence found thus far may even suggest that "these social ills are less prominent in countries with multiculturalism policies" (Banting and Kymlicka, 2010: 46).

Looking more specifically at the case of multiculturalism in Germany, for example, Winter states that "Germany is not generally considered particularly multicultural, nor is it viewed as a country marked by historically established diversity, [in fact it said that this country is] characterized by strong ethnic homogeneity, shared descent and a blood-based citizenship law (*ius sanguinis*)" (Winter, 2010: 169). Winter also stresses the impacting role of Germany's history and how it has affected the outcome of multiculturalism; in fact he asserts that it is important to consider that following

> "the shameful experience of the Holocaust [...] a positive German identity in ethnocultural terms had become impossible," but eventually "[t]he term

'multicultural society' began to be applied to the FRG [Federal Republic of Germany] in the 1980s when it became obvious that the presence of Ausländer (foreigners) in German society was neither temporary nor an exception" (Winter, 2010:170).

According to Winter's previous statement, one may presume that in the German context, multiculturalism was most likely used as an attempt to make people forget about the Holocaust and begin building a new sense of nationhood (Winter, 2010: 170). This demonstrates that,

"[m]ulticulturalism is exclusively triggered by historical and/or multinational diversity and may never be sustained durably in countries that have previously been defined in monocultural terms; [...] [t]his dimension relates to the question of whether the pluralist compromise reached by the established groups is characterized pre-dominantly by conflict or by agreement" (Winter, 2010: 184).

Germany's past has without a doubt been marked by conflict and characterized by a sense of monoculture, factors that are bound to affect the current outcome of multiculturalism.

Comparatively, within the Canadian context, Winter states that "at the time of the implementation of multiculturalism as a policy, the historically established segments of society were defined in linguistic-cultural terms" (Winter, 2010: 183). In Germany, although East Germans were "originally viewed as ideological opponents" [...] after reunification, they remain[ed] defined in terms of ethnocultural similarity"; this explains why multiculturalism has rarely been considered an intrinsic part of Germany's national identity (Winter, 2010: 183). Overall, with respect to Germany and Canada, Winter's comparative analysis of multiculturalism concluded on some potential patterns pertaining to multiculturalism's rate of success. He first stated that "when a unified dominant group is defined in ethno-national terms, as in Germany, there is little prospect for immigrant multiculturalism [and] when there is ongoing conflict between two powerful historical groups, as in the Canadian case, there is greater room for immigrant multiculturalism" (Winter, 2010: 180).

Following this analysis, one may agree with Banting and Kymlicka when they state that "Canada is certainly not some sort of a multicultural paradise[,] [b]ut despite a variety of stresses and strains, there is little evidence that Canada is facing deep new divisions, pervasive radicalism or an illiberal challenge to its core democratic culture" (Banting and Kymlicka, 2010: 52). In fact, research has demonstrated that a national identity, free of intolerance and xenophobia is best established with the help of multiculturalism (Banting and Kymlicka, 2010: 61). So it becomes evident that the question is not whether Canada should maintain or dismiss multiculturalism, but rather, which areas require improvement? What are the shortcomings with regards to the policy? Lastly, how do we fix them? Banting and Kymlicka conclude their piece by claiming that "[w]hile Canada's problems are not Europe's problems, this provides no grounds for complacency. Indeed, there are a number of real issues that require serious attention" (Banting and Kymlicka, 2010: 62). The following sections of this paper will precisely seek to underline some of these "real issues" that require further consideration.

5.2 SOCIAL EXCLUSION IN CANADA

Given that, in the previous sections of this paper, it was established that history is a factor that plays a critical role in determining the developments and rate of success of multiculturalism in any given context, this section will present a historical perspective on issues of social exclusion that have formerly taken place in Canada. Ideally, this section will justify and contribute to the understanding of certain discrepancies that have been problematized for the purpose of this study. This section will comprise both, a historical outlook on social exclusion, as well as more recent evidence of social exclusion, as retrieved in the literature.

5.2.1 A History of Exclusion in Canada

Reallocating the focus exclusively to the Canadian context, Nikhaie's article, which also questions why "well-intended public policies designed to achieve social justice have not been successful" in Canada, highlights the way in which history has an inevitable impact on the current context by explaining some reasons behind the persistence of ethno-racial inequalities (Nikhaie, 2006: n.p.). Nikhaie affirms that "Canada has a history of public policy that was actually intended to promote ethno-racial inequalities, for example, *the Indian Act, the Oriental Exclusion Act, the Head Tax*, the internment of Japanese citizens, etc." (Nikhaie, 2006: n.p.). In the past, many of the implemented policies were meant to "perpetuate an entire caste of manual and service workers who could build our country's economic development but could not participate in civil society; they were prevented from voting or from joining associations and organizations" (Nikhaie, 2006: n.p.). Nikhaie states that "[c]learly, this caste of racially defined people were good enough to be exploited, but not good enough to participate in our democratic institutions. Historically, minorities were denied civil and political rights, excluded from employment in the better occupations, and their earnings were limited" (Nikhaie, 2006: n.p.). Nikhaie's analysis goes to show that although public policies may be well intended, they need to be supported by a genuine intentionality from the host society's part. In the case of ethnic minorities, a welcoming reception by Canadian society has not been the case in the past.

In order to begin analyzing the outlined issues encountered within our nation, when engaging in discussions about social inclusion and exclusion towards ethnic minorities, it becomes impossible to neglect the history of racism towards aboriginals, and later on the various highly selective and discriminatory immigration policies that Canada implemented for a number of years. Basran's article, written in the 1980s, explained that racism had been practiced in a

systematic manner, even by the government and the public in general since the beginning of Canada's history (Basran, 1983: 3). Basran referred to racism as being a "normal expected and entrenched part of people's behavior and their attitudes" (Basran, 1983: 3). Similarly, Banting and Kymlicka explain that in the past, "immigrants [in Canada] were expected to assimilate to the pre-existing British mainstream culture, with hope that over time they would become indistinguishable from native-born British Canadians in their speech, dress, recreation and way of life generally" (Banting and Kymlicka, 2010: 49). Moreover, the history of Canadian immigration policy has without a doubt comprised a tendency to have non-white immigrants brought into the country when particular types of labour performances were needed for the benefit of the economy, and at the same time these immigrants have been "used as scapegoats for the economic ills of the society" (Basran, 1983: 8). In fact, for a period of time "any groups that were seen as incapable [...] of assimilation (such as Asians or Africans) were prohibited from emigrating to Canada, or from becoming citizens" (Banting and Kymlicka, 2010: 49). Later on, Canada adopted a "race neutral admissions criteria, known as the point system" as well as "a more multicultural conception of integration" (Banting and Kymlicka, 2010: 49). Although these two initiatives helped a great deal, they did not eradicate racism, discrimination or social exclusion instantly.

Having gotten a glimpse of Canada's history and its issues with social exclusion, to understand how these issues have had repercussions on the current context, it is also significant to consider Moghaddam vision, as he explains that "governments can change overnight and new governments can instantly put into effect new [...] policies," but often times psychological changes at an interpersonal level tend to require longer time periods and are not easily attained (Moghaddam, 2009: 340).

5.2.2 RECENT EVIDENCE OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION IN CANADA

In our contemporary multicultural nation, many may presume that racism no longer forms part of our society. However, according to research conducted by Reitz and Banerjee, racism is a hidden reality regardless of multiculturalism policies in place. At first thought, "official policies on multiculturalism and human rights are seen as sufficient to maintain what most Canadians would describe as a favorable environment for immigrants and minority groups, particularly by international standards" (Reitz and Banerjee, 2007: 11). The next paragraphs will contain a brief summary of a number of significant issues that have been identified mainly by Reitz and Banerjee; these will be outlined for the sake of stressing the existence and the extent of social exclusion within contemporary Canadian society.

On the one hand, in terms of the host society's behavior towards immigrants, it has been stated that in Canada, many people do not consider themselves racist, but they simply prefer to maintain "social distance from minorities" (Reitz and Banerjee, 2007: 12). Reitz and Banerjee's findings also illustrate that "racial minorities have the lowest incomes and the highest rates of poverty" (Reitz and Banerjee, 2007: 17), which are both significant indicators of social exclusion. On the other hand, there are still complaints being made in regards to racial bias among many schools and Universities, and it has been confirmed that although second-generation immigrants may have a better education, they are not necessarily guaranteed equal opportunities when it comes to employment (Reitz and Banerjee, 2007: 15-16), meaning that systematic racism is not utterly absent from Canadian society. Interestingly, research has revealed that an improvement in minorities' earnings does not guarantee, but does indeed contribute to, a more successful integration (Reitz and Banerjee, 2007: 34), this may suggest that

minorities are being discriminated based on a combination of both race and class status. Nonetheless, it has also been noted that issues of social exclusion regard mainly non-European immigrants, hence racial / visible minorities (Reitz and Banerjee, 2007: 38). Alternatively, Adams adds that newcomers are "more than twice as likely" to have lower incomes than the native-born Canadian population, but he also states that eventually "the foreign-born do gain ground economically" (Adams, 2007: 62). However, "white immigrants gain ground against the national average faster than racial immigrants do" (Adams, 2007: 62). Adams mentions that according to Reitz and Banerjee's studies, census data has pointed to a significant gap within immigrant incomes, in fact "visible minorities fall nearly $8000 below the local average while whites exceed the same average by nearly $2000. This puts the total average gap between whites and non-whites at nearly $10,000 annually" (Adams, 2007: 63). As a result of the former evidence on racial disparities, it is important to consider Saloojee's statement, when he assures that racial inequality and discrimination "are both the product and the confirmation of power imbalances in a society" (Saloojee, 2005: 184). Consequently, it becomes possible to infer that although there may have been structural changes imposed on Canadian society as to abolish social exclusion, issues related to race call for transforming ideologies, a process which is likely to require longer periods of time.

5.3 MULTICULTRUALISM IN CANADA

The following paragraphs are meant to provide the necessary background information on multiculturalism in Canada that will allow for in depth discussions on the established research problem. Before beginning to contemplate the strengths, weaknesses of multiculturalism policy; multiculturalism's role within the integration process and Canadian public opinions on the

matter, it is imperative to establish a definition of the term multiculturalism, the emergence of the concept, its historical roots, and the political perspectives that surround it, in order to engage in meaningful discussions and provide recommendations accordingly.

5.3.1 DEFINING THE CONCEPT

In one article, Kymlicka makes an important distinction between two different conceptualizations of the term *multiculturalism*. He first states that the term multiculturalism can be "characterised as a feel-good celebration of ethno-cultural diversity, encouraging citizens to acknowledge and embrace the panoply of customs, traditions, music and cuisine that exist in a multi-ethnic society" (Kymlicka, 2010: 98). In addition, the former definition of the term also tends to use

> "familiar cultural markers of ethnic groups – cuisine, music and clothing – and treats them as authentic cultural practices to be preserved by their members and safely consumed as cultural spectacles by others. So they are taught in multicultural school curricula, performed in multicultural festivals, displayed in multicultural media and museums, and so on" (Kymlicka, 2010: 98).

Kymlicka explains that the issue with this last conceptualization of multiculturalism is that it entirely disregards profound political and economic issues, for celebrating different cultures through food, music and folk does not necessarily translate into addressing issues of "unemployment, poor educational outcomes, residential segregation, poor English language skills and political marginalization" (Kymlicka, 2010: 99). In other words, the fact that a host immigrant society is celebrating and embracing a particular ethnic culture does not automatically indicate that the community whose culture is being celebrated does not face a number of political, economic and social challenges within that given society.

The second conceptualization that Kymlicka offers is that of multiculturalism "as a

political project that attempts to redefine the relationship between ethno-cultural minorities and the state through the adoption of new laws, policies or institutions" (Kymlicka, 2010: 99). This last conceptualization speaks of a project that is basically meant to develop innovative models of "democratic citizenship, grounded in human rights ideals" with the aim of overthrowing "uncivil and undemocratic relations of hierarchy and exclusion" (Kymlicka, 2010: 101). The outlined distinction between the two forms of multiculturalism will be crucial throughout the remainder of this study, especially given that one of our main goals is to accentuate the need to shift the attention to the latter form of multiculturalism, that which Kymlicka refers to as the "citizenisation account," thus suggesting that multiculturalism is essentially "about constructing new civic and political relations to overcome the deeply entrenched inequalities that have persisted after the abolition of formal discrimination" (Kymlicka, 2010: 101-102).

5.3.2 THE EMERGENCE OF MULTICULTURALISM

Kymlicka notes that "multiculturalism is as old as humanity – different cultures have always found ways of co-existing and respect for diversity was a familiar feature of many empires throughout history, such as the Ottoman Empire" (Kymlicka, 2010: 100). One of Kymlicka's articles briefly summarizes a number of past events that enable one to realize that multiculturalism is indeed a historical phenomenon that has risen and fallen at different time periods and in different parts of the world (Kymlicka, 2010). During the eras of war and colonization, there was a prevalence of certain ideologies that justified hierarchical relationships based on the grounds of race; these justified ideologies implicitly granted certain individuals and their respective cultures, a sense of superiority and control over others (Kymlicka, 2010: 100). Later on, in the post-WWII era, "Hitler's fanatical and murderous use of such ideologies" were

revoked worldwide (Kymlicka, 2010: 100). Subsequently, the United Nations promoted a newly established ideology based on principles of racial and ethnic equality; this new ideology eventually led to a series of political movements, which Kymlicka outlines as follows: "a) the struggle for decolonisation, concentrated in the period 1948 to 1965; (b) the struggle against racial segregation and discrimination, initiated and exemplified by the African–American civil rights movement from 1955 to 1965 and (c) the struggle for multiculturalism and minority rights that emerged from the late 1960s" (Kymlicka, 2010: 100).

5.3.3 MULTICULTURALISM POLICY'S HISTORICAL ROOTS IN CANADA

Officially, Canadian multiculturalism was a Liberal initiative established by former Prime Minister Pierre E. Trudeau in 1971. He stated: "A policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework commends itself to the government as the most suitable means of assuring the cultural freedom of Canadians" (Forbes, 2007: 27). By launching this policy, Trudeau's main goal was to instigate a system of neutrality that would contribute to national unity by establishing that "there might be two official languages in Canada, [...] but there was no official culture, nor did any ethnic group take precedence over any other" (Forbes, 2007: 28).

As suggested by Dewing and Leman in a government report, the idea of Canada as being a "multicultural society" can be interpreted in a number of ways; however, "at the policy level, [multiculturalism] is structured around the management of diversity through formal initiatives in the federal, provincial and municipal domains" (Dewing and Leman, 2006: 1). The main outcomes of this multicultural initiative led by the federal government have been known to be the introduction of the *Multiculturalism Act*, the *Employment Equity Act* and the *Race Relations Foundation* (Warburton, 2007: 276). The *Employment Equity Act* is a federal legislation that

seeks to attain equality in the workplace; it strives to make sure that individuals in Canada are not denied employment opportunities or benefits based on their race, sex, ethnicity, disability or visible minority status, hence reasons unrelated to their ability to perform tasks related to the job in question (Department of Justice Canada, 1995). The *Employment Equity Act*'s function is not only on to guarantee equal treatment in the workplace but also to undertake special measures to accommodate differences (Department of Justice Canada, 1995). Alternatively, the *Race Relations Foundation* is devoted specifically to the eradication of racism and discrimination in Canada; it acknowledges the fact that this is a goal that requires time, so it is centered on the development of policies, programs and workshops that aim to provide conditions for an equitable society (CRRF Canada, 1995).

It is important to note that, with respect to public policy, multiculturalism has been developed over *the incipient* (before 1971), *the formative* (1971-1981), and the *institutionalization* (1982 - present) phases (Dewing and Leman, 2006: 3). Dewing and Leman provide extensive descriptions for each of these phases, which allow one to comprehend the evolution of multiculturalism in Canada, especially with regards to public policies led by government initiatives. During the first phase of multiculturalism, Dewing and Leman imply that the core challenge was learning to accept diversity given that "[f]or the most part, central authorities dismissed the value of cultural heterogeneity, considering racial and ethnic differences as inimical to national interests and detrimental to Canada's character and integrity" (Dewing and Leman, 2006: 4). During *the formative* phase, the *Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism* began to promote the idea of ethnic integration into Canadian society (Dewing and Leman, 2006: 4). In terms of policy, this translated into providing assistance to cultural groups in order to allow them to "retain and foster their identity," thus

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offering assistance for advocacy of ethnic minorities' "full involvement and equal participation […] in mainstream institutions," promoting cultural exchanges within Canadian society and assisting immigrants in the acquisition of at least one of Canada's official languages (Dewing and Leman, 2006: 4). Dewing and Leman mention that, during the second phase, it was the arrival of large waves of newcomers that sparked the need for government to find effective ways of assisting these newcomers in the areas of employment, housing and education (Dewing and Leman, 2006: 5). During this phase, multicultural programs focused on changing policy-thinking in order to promote equality through the "removal of discriminatory barriers […] at a personal and institutional level"(Dewing and Leman, 2006: 5). During the third phase, it seems as though all of the former initiatives were simply reinforced and were given superior substance. For instance, in 1982, the notion of multiculturalism became incorporated into the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, particularly in section 27. (Dewing and Leman, 2006: 6). It read as follows: "This Charter shall be interpreted in the manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians" (Dewing and Leman, 2006: 6). Furthermore, federal initiatives sought to promote "Canadian institution appreciation, acceptance and implementation of the principles of racial equality and multiculturalism" (Dewing and Leman, 2006: 7).

Currently, in terms of government assistance through the commitment to such policies, Adams mentions that although many may assume that "multiculturalism has come to consume a vast amount of funds", he assures that "Canadians talk a great deal about multiculturalism but spend very little on it" (Adams, 2007: 12). Yet, Adams also makes the interesting observation that in spite of the "meager funding" allocated to multiculturalism, the state's commitment to multiculturalism makes Canada "unique" and its policies effective in some way, seeing as

Canada is considered a "special case" according to [i]nternational public opinion data when it comes to discussions on "matters of immigration and multiculturalism" (Adams, 2007: 13).

5.3.4 POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES AND IMPLICATIONS

In terms of political perspectives with regards to multiculturalism, one must acknowledge Canada's uniqueness, for it is said that "[i]n many European countries [for example], it [is] unthinkable that an immigrant would join the most conservative party in the system, since the most conservative parties tend also to be the most xenophobic" (Adams, 2007: 76). Yet, in Canada the Conservative Party is "(officially) as positive about immigration rates as any other party" (Adams, 2007: 76). Similarly, the fact that "foreign-born citizens would run for the Bloc [Québécois] is equally remarkable" (Adams, 2007: 76).

Nevertheless, it is well known that the party under which multiculturalism is originally founded is the Liberal Party of Canada. As a result, it is interesting to analyze the Liberal perspective with regards to multiculturalism. In former Prime Minister Jean Chrétien's progressive politics report, it is possible to get a glimpse of the Liberal perspective that highlights the effectiveness of the policies in question. Ideally, multiculturalism not only provides a "climate of respect and acceptance," but it also enables immigrants to develop a "sense of attachment and responsibility to Canada" (Chrétien, n.d.: 24). One of the many benefits pointed out by Chrétien is certainly the flexibility with which Canada allows for integration into its society, without necessarily demanding that immigrants give up their language, cultural practices or affiliations to their home country (Chrétien, n.d.: 24). In addition, Chrétien implies that through diversity within one nation, Canada is bound to increase and better its participation in the international arena (Chrétien, n.d.: 24). In the same report, there is constant reference to

notions of equality and the importance of having immigrants voice their opinions, concurrently reinforcing the concept of democracy.

Yet, alternative authors such as Worburton would contest the Liberal perspective offered by Chrétien. Despite the good intentions behind the ideology of multiculturalism, Worburton mentions that:

> "[m]ulticulturalism's silence on the issue of class is part of an ideological code that marginalizes analyses of class relations by defining them as radical, extreme and Marxist and, consequently, as not serious. This silence is a mechanism that protects the powerful and assumes any alternative to capitalism is unthinkable" (Warburton, 2007: 283).

Warburton suggests that multicultural discourse is actually a channel used to discretely reinforce Liberal values and one that seeks to protect class differences because these contribute to the founding elements of a capitalist society (Warburton, 2007: 285). That being said, one may begin to sense the political complexities that come into play when engaging in discussions on multiculturalism and they way it ought to be implemented.

5.4 CANADIAN MULTICULTURALISM IN PRACTICE

The preceding sections have provided background information on multiculturalism, while depicting the model in question as a mechanism that should facilitate the process of integration. However, in order to examine the role of multiculturalism within the integrative process, it is important to define the concept of integration and point out certain factors that may be concealing the substantive effects of the role of multiculturalism within the integrative process. Thereafter, a brief overview of the Canadian perspective with regards to multiculturalism, integration and immigration will reveal a troubling disconnect that requires further consideration

when seeking to understand the inconsistency between the ideology and the practices of multiculturalism.

5.4.1 THE INTERSECTION OF MULTICULTURALISM AND INTEGRATION

The process of integration is considered to be "the incorporation of immigrants into the civic society, like the political and educational systems and the labor market, without demands that they give up their culture(s)" (Hjerm, 2000: 368). According to Frideres, the integration process is rather complex; it intersects a number of domains (social, economic, political, identity) and although individuals may be well integrated in one domain, they may also stand at the margins, excluded from other domains (Frideres, 2008: 79). Interestingly, in his article, Frideres outlines the fact that a "successful integration is not only determined by the actions of the immigrants. The reception they receive from the host society also plays a critical role in the integrative process" (Frideres, 2008: 81). Likewise, Berry shares a similar vision and states that "[i]ntegration can only be chosen and successfully pursued by non-dominant groups when the dominant society is open and inclusive in its orientation towards cultural diversity" (Berry, 2011: 2.6). Reitz *et al.* assure that "[w]here there are obstacles to the social integration of a particular group, [these obstacles] may arise from within, or from treatment by others" (Reitz *et al.* 2009: 703). So, in order for a successful integration to take place, there is a need to assure mutual accommodation, thus "involving the acceptance by both groups of the right of all groups to live as culturally different peoples" (Berry, 2011: 2.6). To attain the former type of acceptance, "non-dominant groups [need] to adopt the basic values of the larger society, while [...] the dominant group must be prepared to adapt national institutions (e.g., education, health, labour) to meet the needs of all groups now living together in the plural society" (Berry, 2011: 2.6-2.7).

As an example of how integration is measured, it is interesting to look at Adams' perspective on political representation as an indicator of integration, which tends to be quite different from the outlook undertaken by most of the literature. First, it is outlined that Canada has a remarkable number of newcomers who seek citizenship, as well as a high number of foreign-born individuals who actively participate in political activities, some even by running and being elected for political office (Adams, 2007: 67). Their success in attaining political positions not only demonstrates a success from their part but also a "widespread social progress," seeing as this means that they had to collect a considerable number of resources to launch a political campaign and it also means that they had extensive public support (Adams, 2007: 68). In the attempt to point out how Canada successfully fosters multiculturalism and integration, Adams notes that "Canada has the highest proportion of foreign born legislators in the world" (Adams, 2007: 69). Nevertheless, Adams notes that while all of this is excellent, it is critical to recognize that although foreign-born MPs who are elected may depict examples of a successful integration, "the fact that their ridings elected them can signify only success: success for the MPs in their adoptive country, and success for the voters [...] who've chosen the person they think is the best candidate regardless of his or her background" (Adams, 2007: 76-77). In other words, Adams suggests that "foreign-born MPs don't signify successful integration and non-discriminatory voting, but quite the opposite: electoral ghettoization" (Adams, 2007: 76-77). This last perspective offered by Adams leads to questioning the way in which integration is being measured and the effectiveness of the selected indicators of integration. The idea put forward by Adams with respect to political participation as a misleading indicator of integration, in turn justifies the need to acknowledge that the employed indicators to measure Canadian integration's rate of success needs to be monitored and analyzed in depth, because putting

forward the idea that integration in Canada is easily attained by all, may lead to concealing social issues that persist and this may keep policymakers from placing emphasis on the need to further promote and enhance the current multiculturalism framework.

5.4.2 A CANADIAN PERSPECTIVE

As integration is indeed a two-way process, when exploring the root causes within the challenges of integration, it becomes important to assess not only the effort made by the federal government through institutional regulations, but also the Canadian public's perspective with respect to ethnic minorities, immigration, integration and multiculturalism. Therefore, monitoring Canadians' behaviour and actions towards ethnic minorities, in a more profound manner will ideally lead towards gaining a better understanding of why exclusion has persisted and why challenges with respect to integration remain omnipresent, in spite of the multiculturalism policies in place.

Although Banting and Kymlicka state that "[i]n comparison with other western nations, [...] the integrative power of Canadian society for newcomer should not be underestimated" (Kymlicka, 2010: 57), and that overall, "the Canadian record for integration is relatively strong," (Banting and Kymlicka, 2010: 56), other studies tend to put forward divergent views. For example, Jedwab implies that there is a disconnect between Canadian public opinion with regards to immigration and integration. Although in general, the public appears to favour immigration, they also tend to be quite troubled by questions of immigrant integration into the society (Jedwab, 2008). Jedwab explains the contradictory attitudes towards these issues; on one hand, "[a]n important section of the population agree [...] that immigrants enrich Canadian culture; but at the same time, many of the same people also appear to want the new arrivals to

abandon their cultures and become more like other Canadians" (Jedwab, 2008: 212). According to Jedwab's analysis, one could infer that Canadians appear to be confused with regards to the best approach to adopt when it comes to managing diversity. While some believe that Canadian society ought to make an effort to accept ethnic minority groups, along with all the differences that their presence in the society entails, others strongly believe that it is *the immigrant's* responsibility to adapt and become *more Canadian* (Jedwab, 2008: 219).

Along the lines of this confusion, Bissoondath, a well-known critic of multiculturalism points out that based on his personal experience as a Trinidadian in Canada, few people consider themselves to be racist, yet the comments they make are often subtle, but deeply rooted in racist ideologies, which he believes to be embedded in pure ignorance and a certain level of comfort and acceptance towards cultural stereotypes (Bissoondath, 2002: 181). Overall, it seems that Bissoondath's main concern is the superficial solution that multiculturalism provides for such considerable issues of racism, and he claims that although multiculturalism has managed to create a tolerant society, "tolerance is clearly insufficient in building a cohesive society" (Bissoondath, 2002: 197).

Also interesting to reflect on is the fact that according to public opinion data, in 1993, 72% of Canadians tended to support the statement that "too many immigrants do not adapt to Canadian values," eventually in 2005 only 58% of Canadians agreed with the statement but later on, in 2006, agreement increased to 65% (Adams, 2007: 28). Adams concludes that "two-thirds of Canadians were expressing anxiety about the cultural integration of newcomers," and he also claimed that Canadians are likely to believe that "something about multiculturalism is broken and that immigrants aren't adequately adapting to life in Canada" (Adams, 2007: 29).

Looking more specifically at the Canadian perspective on multiculturalism in Toronto, for example, Wood and Gilbert argue that the city of Toronto is indeed "the most explicit in its self-identification with multiculturalism, and stands in sharp contrast to cities that do not emphasize, internally or externally, the diversity of their populations" (Wood and Gilbert, 2005: 685). These same authors explain that Toronto's success in identifying itself as a multicultural city is grounded in the fact that "Toronto's downtown core still includes immigrant reception areas and established ethnic neighborhoods, through which literally *millions* of people pass daily" (Wood and Gilbert, 2005: 687). As a result, "[t]he diversity of cultures is evident in the language and dress of people, the shop signs and window displays, street decorations hanging from lampposts often identifying the neighborhood by name (Wood and Gilbert, 2005: 687). Therefore it could be said that given that over 50% of Toronto's population is foreign-born, multiculturalism is simply considered a social and demographic realty" (Wood and Gilbert, 2005: 687). Yet, Wood and Gilbert state that "the diversity of these neighbourhoods, [which is] constantly visible in a most ordinary, mundane way" is not necessarily triggered by a "direct desire of Torontonians to view it", they also mention that "[r]esidents of Toronto live amidst some of the greatest urban social diversity, but it is unlikely that they are inherently more open-minded individuals" (Wood and Gilbert, 2005: 685).

Referring back to Jedwab's findings, a conducted study in 2008 revealed that "one-third (34 percent) of respondents between 18-29 years of age want[ed] minority groups to change to be more like Canadians" (Jedwab, 2008: 221). This same view tended to increase with age, which is foreseeable, as elder generations may not have been quite so exposed to a multicultural society / education. In addition to these findings, a comparative study of several countries on multiculturalism revealed that there was indeed a discrepancy between certain public policies

and people's attitudes towards them (Hjerm, 2000). For example, "Canadians in fact support the ends of the more ideological form of multiculturalism but not the means to get there" (Hjerm, 2000: 366-367). Subsequently, Hjerm concludes his study by suggesting that "the two so-called multicultural countries [Canada and Australia] may not be as multicultural as has been claimed (Hjerm, 2000: 375). Most surprisingly, the study revealed that "Austrians and Germans are more supportive of integration than are Australians and Canadians, in spite of the actual integration goal in the two latter countries (Hjerm, 2000: 369). This result could trigger skeptical views on the effectiveness of multiculturalism policy especially with respect to integration. Along similar lines, although Kymlicka often defends the goals and intentions behind multiculturalism policies, he also acknowledges the fact that "[these], like all public policies, can have perverse and unintended effects and it is possible that multiculturalism has unintentionally obscured or exacerbated inequalities or weakened the welfare state" (Kymlicka, 2010: 102).

5.5 OVERVIEW: OUTLOOKS ON MULTICULTURALISM POLICY

This section will strive to offer both, positive and negative outlooks pertaining to multiculturalism, as retrieved in the literature. First, a couple of factors that ought to be considered prior to contemplating the strengths and weaknesses of multiculturalism policy will be outlined and briefly explained, in the attempt to enable an objective stance to the matters in question.

5.5.1 FACTORS TO CONSIDER

With the increasing information flows triggered by the effects of globalization, news travels widespread at fast pace. So, when there is a crisis abroad, news is delivered to Canada

almost instantly and public opinions on certain matters and attitudes towards certain ethnic groups begin to fluctuate. In his article, as he defends multiculturalism from its numerous critiques, Ley presents multiculturalism as the element that "has borne the brunt of a renewed round of challenges this decade, more significant because they are now populist, politicized and widely publicized reactions to traumatic events" (Ley, 2007: 11). He also claims that given that media tends to over-sensationalize news, often times "eliding significant differences in national conditions [...], [i]n this spontaneous and often uncritical transmission of tarnished ethnoscapes from elsewhere, multiculturalism has been projected as the abiding context, the grab bag for all manner of policy failures" (Ley, 2007: 11). As a result, Ley's opinion with regards to the effects of globalization on multiculturalism policy will be considered through the course of this paper when contemplating the critiques of multiculturalism policy found in the literature.

Multiculturalism discourse as portrayed in the media has recently held multiculturalism responsible for segregation in urban settings (especially in the context of the UK). However, in the Canadian context, it is important to point out that although census data reveals an increase in the "number of neighborhoods in Canadian cities contain[ing] concentrations of visible minority groups, [...] there is much evidence to suggest that this isn't a symptom of ghettoization so much as a result of the drastic increase in Canada's visible minority population" (Adams, 2007: 49). Adams believes that immigrants' preference to settle in neighborhoods where people share the same language and nation of origin is not necessarily directly linked to racism or social exclusion; he believes that it is common and natural for newcomers to seek "the most familiar-feeling neighbourhood in a new and unfamiliar land" (Adams, 2007: 50). As a matter of fact, newcomers appear to be "less concentrated than were the newcomer groups of the past (groups such as Italians, Jews, Portuguese, and Greeks [...]) (Adams, 2007: 51). Ley also agrees with this

vision and he concludes that "[n]o relationship is evident between segregation and multiculturalism" (Ley, 2007: 12).

5.5.2 STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES

When discussing the strengths and weaknesses of multiculturalism, Nikhaie suggests that multiculturalism has enabled "the tendency [...] for ethno-racial groups to have an emotional connection for both Canada and their own ethno-racial group" (Nikhaie, 2006: n.p.). Nikhaie notes that

> "[e]vidence shows that despite experiencing economic inequities, a very large majority express warmth for Canada and their province of residence. These feelings are higher among immigrants [...]; [o]n a scale of 1 to 5 (1 being the lowest, 5 the highest), a sense of belonging to Canada is 4.25 for visible minorities compared to 4.4 to 4.5 for the British and other Europeans, 4.3 for the Jews, and 3.9 for the French" (Nikhaie, 2006: n.p.).

On this topic, Nikhaie affirms that the fact that "one can be proud of one's ethnicity and at the same time have a strong sense of belonging to Canada is a pervasive feature of this country, particularly for visible minorities" (Nikhaie, 2006: n.p.). Indeed, one may notice that multiculturalism ideologies and policies in some way enable the construction of identities that are capable of developing feelings of dual or multiple belongings and attachments.

Now looking at a more critical perspective, although much of the literature on multiculturalism suggest that it is meant to provide grounds for an ambiance of inherent equality, an issue that appears to be highly problematic is the way in which multiculturalism policy itself puts forward an inbuilt notion of power imbalances. It is argued that the ideology and the policy are contradictory in the sense that the ideology implies that "[t]hings will only change when minorities equally participate in facing the problems of society", yet "[t]he present legislation on multiculturalism is still considered [...] to be a policy for minority groups, as a way for 'true'

Canadians to do something nice for minorities" (Jansen, 2005: 31). This dynamic seems to restore the imbalance of power structures experienced during the period of colonialism. Furthermore, this power imbalance structure is bound to generate assumptions that Canadians are in some way privileged by their whiteness and therefore "minorities will always be considered [...] outsiders" (Jansen, 2005: 31).

The thought of multiculturalism as an ideology that keeps immigrants, especially ethnic/ racial minorities perceived as "others" constitutes another major critique of its policies. Pietrobruno states that "multiculturalism has the potential to generate exclusionary and rigid group based common identities" (Pietrobruno, 2006: 104). Pietorbruno puts forward the idea that promoting cultural exhibitions "fossilize[s] cultural practices; the performances reduce rich and complexes dance traditions to [simple] stereotypes" (Pietrobruno, 2006: 99), she claims that "cultures of ethnic groups that are promoted by official multiculturalism policy become ghettoized through the federal funding process" (Pietrobruno, 2006: 107). In other words, Pietrobruno seems to believe that funding and promotion of these cultural festivals/ exhibitions is simply a way of demarcating the difference between immigrants' heritage, presenting these separately to ensure that they do not seek to influence the dominant Anglophone and Francophone cultures in Canada, those which are meant to remain at the top of the cultural hierarchy (Pietrobruno, 2006: 100). Elaborating on this same issue of "othering" or "exoticizing", Bissoondath explains that "[t]he game of exoticism can cut two ways: it can prevent an individual from being ordinary and [...] from being accepted" (Bissoondath, 2002: 106). Bissoondath claims that cultural festivals are meant to symbolize the Canadian multicultural mosaic (Bissoondath, 2002: 77). However, these may result in the devaluation of

culture; he explains: "this approach is the peculiar notion of culture as a commodity: a thing that can be displayed, performed, admired, bought, sold or forgotten"(Bissoondath, 2002: 77).

On a more positive note, according to Ley, "population data are available every five years on place of birth, citizenship, immigrant status, ethnic self- designation, racial self-designation, religious affiliation, mother tongue use, and facility in English and French" (Ley, 2007: 5). In fact, Ley states that "[m]any of these questions, accounting for almost a quarter of the census inventory, are nominated and paid for by the Department of Canadian Heritage (Ley, 2007: 5). A principal objective is to monitor performance against standards required by compliance audits in such legislation as the 1988 *Multiculturalism Act* and the 1995 *Employment Equity Act.* (Ley, 2007: 6). Clearly, the legislations pertaining to Multiculturalism have demonstrated interest and initiative in undertaking measures for monitoring of the country's demography.

Yet, with regards to enforcement, Jansen points out that "[w]hen it comes to multiculturalism policy [itself], there seems to be no sanctions, except possibly in the case of hate crimes" (Jansen, 2005: 31). Also problematic is the fact that multiculturalism policy is too often based on "persuasion rather than insistence" (Jansen, 2005: 3). In fact, within public discourse and legislation, these policies tend to be limited to the use of terms such as "encourage", "recognize", "ensure", "develop" and "reflect", words that lack authority to threaten whomever violates these principles with promises of strict and defined sanctions (Jansen, 2005: 31). Jansen also strongly criticizes the lack of monitoring that is accorded to the implementation of these policies, he states:

> "The fact is that government can legislate an official policy, but unless it is willing to back it up with appropriate means to ensure that the policy is pursued, it becomes nothing but a "self-delusion" that something is being done to make all citizens, no matter what their cultural background, feel part of Canadian society" (Jansen, 2005: 31).

The message conveyed by Jansen is significant for it enables one to notice that even though multiculturalism policy may be well intended, if it does not have an effective implementation structure, then the policy remains nothing but a mere illusion that the society in question has obtained the desired conditions for inclusiveness and equality. In other words, by bringing up the poor level of enforcement of multiculturalism policy, Jansen also enables one to question how does the government intend to translate multiculturalism policies into multiculturalism practices?

Kymlicka takes on a critical, yet explanatory perspective; he presents multiculturalism as *the Canadian Model of Diversity* and analyzes how this model is used to give Canada a good international reputation (Kymlicka, 2007: 61). His work is framed around the idea that "government discourse on diversity obscures as much as it reveals about the Canadian experience and its international relevance" (Kymlicka, 2007: 61). Kymlicka states that "[f]or a state to admit that some groups are excluded, oppressed or rebellious would put in question its legitimate authority to speak for those groups in international context" (Kymlicka, 2007:63 In addition, he suggests that the Canadian government's interest in portraying an ideal model of multiculturalism is rooted in its ambition to "sustain its reputation as a potential honest broker in mediating conflicts abroad, [and] further enhancing [its] capacity for humanitarian work" (Kymlicka, 2007: 63). It is further explained that Canada is quite concerned with maintaining a good international reputation because "[t]he more people abroad view Canada as a 'diversity-friendly' country, the more likely they are to think of Canada as an attractive place to visit, study, do business or even settle permanently" (Kymlicka, 2007: 63). As a result, given that Kymlicka outlines the "competitive advantage" (62) that the model and policy of multiculturalism provides for the country, one may begin to understand the government's vast interest in further promoting

this policy and "actively fund[ing] academic research, conferences, and policy workshops that explore the international relevance of the 'Canadian model' " (Kymlicka, 2007: 62).

Then again, Kymlicka also claims that it is ironic that Canada encourages other countries to analyze its policies and its model of diversity management when the majority of Canadians themselves do not understand them (Kymlicka, 2007: 63). Research has demonstrated that often times the Canadian public is confused about multiculturalism policies and the justification behind them (Kymlicka, 2007: 63). As a matter of fact, "virtually every study of multiculturalism in Canada has concluded that the policy has been barely explained to all the Canadian public", this in turn puts public support for the policy at risk (Kymlicka, 2007: 63). Edwards' article claims that in the early 1990s, there was a considerable lack of awareness and indifference towards the federal multicultural policy, he stated that a study had "found that 87 percent of a student sample knew little or nothing of multiculturalism" (Edwards, 1992: n.p.). In fact, a research study conducted on 400 respondents in a Nova Scotia University revealed that although a vast majority "supported the notion of multiculturalism, [...] further probing revealed that few had any real idea of the policy's actual substance or intentions" (Edwards, 1992: n.p.). Likewise, Banting and Kymlicka add that most Canadians

> "are vaguely aware that the government has an official multiculturalism policy, but have little idea how this federal policy is connected, if at all, to the adoption of a new multiculturalism curriculum in the local public schools, or to the appearance of multilingual 'ethnic' channel on TV (Banter and Kymlicka, 2010: 51).

This last statement made by Banting and Kymlicka may suggest that in order to eliminate the discrepancy between the policy and the practices of multiculturalism, Canadians need to become informed on multiculturalism, in a broader sense. Thus, Canadians need not only to understand the policy, ideology and practices, they must also learn to seize the correlation between them, as

to make Canadians aware that what may appear to be smaller scale contributions (such as those listed by Banting and Kymlicka; a reform of the school curriculum and ethnic media) can be highly substantial in the society's commitment to multiculturalism. In the following sections, the discussion will lead precisely to examining multiculturalism within the school curriculum, in hope of surfacing the significance of the education system as a key channel that may enhance and standardize the promotion of multiculturalism in Canadian society.

6. DISCUSSION

This section will offer a brief synthesis of the Literature Review, concurrently discussing the issues in question in a profound manner and providing a social inclusion perspective.

In the first section of the Literature Review it was established that Europe's problems with respect to multiculturalism are not necessarily deemed to become Canada's problems, due to a significant difference in overall circumstances. These differentiated circumstances comprise mainly historical factors that make Canada's context significantly distinct from the European context, in spite of the fact that both fall into the category of Western democracies.

The second section focused on the necessity to recognize that although Canada's model of diversity has been relatively successful, especially when compared to other countries, social exclusion remains a challenge that Canada has yet to overcome. In fact, when Reitz and Banerjee point out that Canada's multiculturalism policy is considered by many as sufficient in its capacity to provide a favorable environment for immigrants, one could argue that the current policy contains deficiencies, seeing as Reitz and Banerjee's findings clearly reveal an inconsistency between formal policies and social practices of inclusion. Therefore, even though multiculturalism policies seek to promote inclusion through ideals of cohesiveness and democratic values, when it comes to examining social practices, attitudes and behaviors, one may notice that there is a noteworthy disconnect.

Interestingly, when seeking to explain why multiculturalism has worked better in Canada than in other countries, Kymlicka explains that Canadian multiculturalism policy was initially "demanded by, and designed for, European immigrant groups – the so-called white ethnics" (Kymlicka, 2007: 700). In Kymlicka's opinion, the debates and adoption of multiculturalism was essentially driven by white ethnics (Kymlicka, 2007), therefore it could be said that the nature of

the dynamic between the Canadian state and white ethnic immigrants distinguishes the aftermath of multiculturalism in Canada from multiculturalism in Europe. In fact, Kymlicka notes that "the white-ethnic groups who were demanding multiculturalism had been present in Canada for several generations and were typically well integrated" (Kymlicka, 2007: 70-71). Consequently, one could infer that the major concerns surrounding multiculturalism arose when large waves of ethno-racial minorities entered the country; this may suggest that in spite of a successful multiculturalism model, recognized at an international level, the Canadian nation has continued to struggle with matters of race. Fraser notes that race is considered a "socially constructed classification of human beings" (Fraser, 2010: 23). In fact, Fraser explains that "[a]lthough there is nothing real or absolute about social constructions, [...] [p]henomena must not be real to be real in consequence" (Fraser, 2010: 23). As a result, it becomes clear that although race is a socially constructed notion, when this notion is adopted by a society with the purpose of discriminating others, even if it is done in the subtlest of manners, the notion of race becomes internalized and resented by those who are subject to exclusionary practices.

Considering Canada's history of social exclusion towards racial minorities, it becomes difficult to expect native-born Canadians to forget about the ideologies of exclusion witnessed in earlier years and through the course of a few decades, suddenly shift towards favoring not only open immigration policies, but also policies that seek to promote ideals of *celebrating diversity*. The primary concern that results from Reitz and Banerjee's findings on social practices of exclusion is that when contrasting them to the aims of formal multiculturalism policy, one may conclude that the ideology of multiculturalism which lies at the core of federal governance, although excellent in theory, may be in some way concealing the existence of social exclusion in the attempt portray ideals of Canada as being a color-blind nation. Without the proper

acknowledgment of existing issues of exclusion based on the grounds of race, culture and socio-economic status, the likelihood of Canadian government placing more emphasis on the need to shift the current multiculturalism agenda towards more socially inclusive public policies and a more effective embracement of multiculturalism becomes improbable. Thus, it becomes evident to note that despite the fact that Canada is not following in Europe's footsteps with respect to multiculturalism, this does not necessarily imply that Canada should consider its model flawless. Nevertheless, in order for Canada to find plausible solutions to its own issues with regards to multiculturalism, research and analyses should be conducted based on the Canadian experience of multiculturalism and the issues encountered within the nation.

The third section of the Literature Review provided background information on multiculturalism, specific to Canada. In this section, Kymlicka's explanations helped differentiate two different forms of multiculturalism, thus determining that the more meaningful notion of multiculturalism is that which focuses on the political project that seeks to redefine relationships between minorities and the state through legislative and institutional changes (Kymlicka, 2010). However, when speaking of policy changes, it is important to bear in mind that individuals themselves are at the core of institutions, decision-making pertaining to legislations and the implementation of policies. So, if the Canadian public is not well educated on the need to implement a multiculturalism policy that is centered on a framework of social inclusion, if individuals themselves are not ready or willing to undergo certain social changes and adopt new attitudes, then the actual laws and policies can only do so much. Clearly, before we can begin to speak of Kymlicka's first conceptualization of multiculturalism, that which involves celebrating different ethnicities, in order for these celebrations to become genuine, we must first examine the ethnic communities in question and the Canadian public's levels of

willingness to equally include all minorities into Canadian mainstream society throughout their daily social practices.

When looking at the section on multiculturalism policy's historical roots in Canada, it could be said that while the entity of the dynamic that gave rise to multiculturalism within Canada chronologically seems to make sense, one could argue that it was a two-way dynamic in which concern over public discourse was absent. It seems that the issue of managing diversity was triggered by newcomers' claims and handled directly by federal government. In a democratic society this is evidently the way to proceed, however, the main problem lies in the fact that a simple implementation of formal multiculturalism policies could not possibly have eradicated all the racist ideologies that had been, for so long embedded in Canadian society. Establishing formal multiculturalism in Canada was certainly a very ambitious and positive initiative to seek ways of breaking down racial barriers through Canadian legislations and institutions, yet it also seems as though the initiatives were strictly meant to respond to newcomers' needs in Canadian society. Meanwhile, one could question the role of Canadian-born citizens who underwent this major shift in policy and societal setting. It appears that during the initial emergence of formal multiculturalism, the initiatives undertaken did not really strive to inform the Canadian public about the policies, the reasoning behind them or about newcomers themselves, hence their cultures and worldviews, in the attempt to reach a reciprocal adjustment to the new social atmosphere of diversity. If the federal government's main goal was for Canadian-born citizens and immigrants / ethnic minorities to co-exist and form a cohesive and most importantly, an inclusive society, then subsequently to the large waves of incoming visible minorities, the same focus should have been attributed to better informing the host population on the policy in order to attain a consistent and mutual understanding between these diverse groups.

Alternatively, the section on political perspectives and implications concerning multiculturalism revealed that although examining political aspects with respect to multiculturalism can be rather complex, in Canada, multiculturalism is relatively well supported by all political parties. Nonetheless, a concern that may arise with respect to the Liberal perspective presented by Chrétien would be that his vantage point by no means acknowledges the realities of social exclusion and discrimination that take place in Canadian society; an issue that one would presume to be the most critical challenge that multiculturalism should address before even beginning to profit from diversity. When discussing political implications pertaining to multiculturalism, it may be noteworthy to point out an incident that occurred during Canada's last election campaign (April- May 2011), when "[a] Conservative candidate in the GTA [was] at the centre of a growing controversy after his office asked multicultural groups in the riding if they would like to wear 'ethnic costumes' to a photo op with Stephen Harper" (Wallace, 2011: n.p.). This incident raised a number of questions with respect to the conservative's perspective on diversity. It appeared as though multiculturalism and diversity were, in this case objectified and used as a mere strategy to portray an ideal picture of diversity, concurrently targeting the ethnic vote. This last observation can also be applied outside the realm of politics, hence this approach raises the question of whether multiculturalism is, at times used strategically at the society's convenience to project a certain image, perhaps unintentionally eroding values of inclusion and equality that should be the founding elements of multiculturalism.

Moving on to the section on multiculturalism and integration, it is first important to comment on the fact that when it comes to examining integration, it seems that most of the literature focuses on *the immigrant* and his / her role in the so-called integrative process, when in reality this process, as mentioned by Frideres and Berry, requires an equally reciprocal effort

between ethnic minorities and the host society. Also, with respect to integration, one may note that although much of the literature tends to suggest that integration is successfully taking place in Canada, Adams' perspective on political participation as an indicator of integration leads one to questioning whether the indicators used to suggest that Canada's rate of integration is outstanding, is effective in measuring the level of integration in all domains, hence the political, economic, social and identity.

Nevertheless, the explanations offered by Frideres and Berry on the significance of reciprocity within the integration process is precisely where it appears that the concepts of *multiculturalism, integration and the Canadian perspective* all intersect. In other words, multiculturalism is supposed to be a model of diversity founded by an ideology, a set of policies and practices; the combination of these three elements is meant to enable an effective integration process. Yet, given that the integration process and the effectiveness of multiculturalism, both require reciprocal efforts from the ethnic community as well as the Canadian-born population, one could argue that the outlined intersection is conflicting, for it reflects a disconnect between multiculturalism's ideologies, policies and the host society's social practices and perspectives.

Jedwab's analysis confirms the conflicting nature of the Canadian perspective with respect to multiculturalism and integration. The fact that studies have revealed that a significant amount of Canadians want ethnic minorities to *be more like Canadians* is problematic, not only because it contradicts the views expressed by these same individuals, on immigration and the idea that immigrants enrich Canadian culture, but above all because it contradicts the core principles behind multiculturalism ideology and the means of attaining integration accordingly. In fact, when contemplating the Canadian perspective, one could acutely wonder whether Canadians truly favour the ideals of acceptance, inclusion and equality or rather the

cosmopolitan aspect of multiculturalism? When pondering the findings in the section on Canadian public opinion, one may even begin to question whether the *Canadian Mosaic* is simply a myth, a more covert version of assimilation?

Furthermore, the brief mention of Wood and Gilbert's analysis on multiculturalism in Toronto is helpful in confirming that although a city may be demographically multicultural, this does not imply that host society's perspective will automatically be shaped according to inherent ideologies of multiculturalism as a political project pursuing means of attaining inherent equality and inclusion within a society. As a matter of fact, according to Jedwab's analysis, one could deduce that the significant number of individuals from younger generations that agree on the idea that immigrants should seek to become *more Canadian*, despite the changing ethnic patterns in the contemporary Canadian society suggests that perhaps younger cohorts have not been sufficiently educated on multiculturalism and its core values have not been successfully transmitted via the education system. Consequently, in forthcoming paragraphs, this study will provide an overview of multiculturalism in Canadian school curriculum, in the attempt to question whether this troubled Canadian public opinion with regards to integration and immigration is perhaps rooted in insufficient efforts or ineffective mechanisms within the education realm when it comes to raising the level of awareness and understanding of multiculturalism policy and the values behind it.

The last section of the Literature Review outlines some of the strengths and weaknesses of the policy in question. Through the course of this section, it was determined that multiculturalism policy is effective in enabling ethnic minorities to develop an attachment to Canada and a sense of belonging to multiple countries. In addition, some of the literature implies that there is a lack of evidence to support the idea that multiculturalism policy fosters ethnic

segregation and that the policy has also been criticized due to external influences via the developments of globalization. However, the numerous critiques of multiculturalism policy retrieved in the literature and presented thereafter, suggested that in spite of its strengths, there is plenty of room for improvement within multiculturalism's current agenda.

First, a multicultural society that aims to enable equal opportunities and inclusiveness should foster societal conditions that entail a lack of hierarchies. The policy needs to find mechanisms that ensure that power imbalances are entirely absent; whether these be between the host society and ethnic minorities or between ethnic minorities themselves. The principles of inclusiveness behind the policy need to be normalized, so that although Canadian-born individuals may be the *majority,* they need not to be perceived as a *dominant* group, because this would imply that all ethnic minorities are, by virtue subordinate to Canadians. Also, the critiques on multiculturalism as a system of "recurrent othering" could be triggered by the fact that focusing on cultural festivals and funding for multicultural events is viewed as an aspect that consumes and shifts the attention away from alternative social issues that ought to be primary concerns. The fact the Canadian government funds cultural events is certainly positive in many aspects, however it may become problematic to turn these cultural exhibitions into multiculturalism's primary focus when there are still issues of exclusion that need to be addressed prior to engaging in multicultural celebrations. Furthermore, although some of the literature tended to question the government's efforts in monitoring the effectiveness of the policy in terms of implementation, alternative authors suggested that the Canadian government is in fact taking effective measures to monitor information with respect to immigrants and ethnic minorities, as well as indicators that may serve to conduct valuable social analyses that may help strengthen multiculturalism in the future.

Considering the history on Canadian opinions towards diversity in the past, one cannot presume that elder generations will be transmitting to the early generations ideals of openness and acceptance towards diversity. Yet, given the reality of our times, it is in the interest of the government to ensure effective immigrant integration, and so it also becomes the government's responsibility to assess that young Canadians are indeed learning multicultural values through their education. This historical aspect of social exclusion and multiculturalism may therefore be the primary element to contemplate when seeking to find explanations to the shortcomings and disconnects between formal multicultural policies and social practices of exclusionary behaviors towards ethnic minorities. Perhaps the underlying issue with respect to the historical facet of social exclusion is that overtime, Canadian society has not received the proper means for a genuine transition towards embracing multicultural values. Also entrenched in this discrepancy is the notion of ignorance. Although the Canadian government allocates a certain amount of funding for multiculturalism, its research, and promoting the model at an international level, it would appear that it fails to supply qualitative and standardized information to Canadian citizens through the education channel. As a result, it seems that many Canadian-born citizens are oblivious to the multicultural policies in place, the reasoning behind these policies, their importance, as well as cultures that surround them and the negative outcomes that can result from social exclusion.

Multiculturalism claims to seek social inclusion as one of its main objectives, but a closer analysis suggests that the main focus is on attaining social cohesion. As stated by Saloojee, "the Canadian state through its multicultural policies encouraged group social cohesion (preservation of culture and language)" yet, over the years the main issue that arose was that the marginalized communities in Canada "were developing internal social cohesion [but] they were, at a

broaderlevel, consigned to the margins and excluded from the centres of decision making" (Saloojee, 2003: 10-11). Saloojee believes that the main issue with Canadian multiculturalism is that the dominant discourse on multiculturalism tends to focus on issues of national unity rather than challenges of social inclusion (Saloojee, 2003: 11). According to the information outlined in the Literature Review, one may come to agree with Saloojee on the fact that multiculturalism's current agenda would benefit from changing its focus to address issues of inclusion. If Canadian society selects which "others" are considered desirable and worthy of inclusion, to form part of the ideal cohesive entity, then clearly Canada's model of multiculturalism is not all that flawless. That being said, it is important to point out that evidence of social exclusion does not necessarily concern all immigrants. In some contexts, immigrants with upper class status, European-origin, French-speaking, Christian Catholic, among others, may experience higher levels of inclusion. Nevertheless, governance under a legitimate social inclusion framework is meant to make no distinctions and should seek to include *all individuals* to mainstream society, in an equal manner. After contemplating the literature presented earlier in this paper, it appears that multiculturalism policy focuses on broader solutions to significant social issues of exclusion that may only be rightly addressed by eliminating their fundamental root causes. For example, one could argue that multiculturalism does not truly address issues of race because it presumes that racism and discrimination are rare in Canada. As a result, there is a lack of discussion among policy makers on the need to adequately educate all Canadian individuals on matters of race and social exclusion. Accordingly, this lack of discussion in the education realm explains why there continue to be considerable gaps between the policy and the practices of inclusion. In spite of the plentiful virtues of multiculturalism, it seems as though multiculturalism policies lack the proper

structures of government intervention and it ought to be accompanied by more effective implementation mechanisms.

Yet given the positive intentionality behind multiculturalism, it remains difficult to grasp how the policy's shortcomings could potentially hinder integration in Canadian society. In response, Mitchell and Shillington state that the way in which "policy responds to these conditions can further entrench people in poverty and / or compound these disadvantages and misfortunes to create exclusion" (Mitchell and Shillington, 2005: 43). Within the Canadian context and particularly dealing with integration, Mitchell and Shillington explain that "policies in the fields of health, education and housing often accentuate social exclusion"; in example, they note that "while health and education programs targeted at marginalized populations do provide assistance, they also exaggerate the sense of separateness experienced by members of those populations" (Mitchell and Shillington, 2005: 45). Therefore, it would appear that in practice, multiculturalism positively provides assistance and means for ethnic minorities to retain their cultural identity, gain advocacy, protect their rights; in other words, it offers a policy that makes them feel included. However, these policies also create mechanisms whereby individuals in question are clearly separated from the rest of society, thus generating a sense of division that leads up to a legitimization of social exclusion and a natural tendency towards ethnic clustering on the part of immigrants and ethnic minorities. As a result, considering the previously outlined disconnects with respect to multiculturalism policy, when it comes to elaborating on the host society's general perspectives and behaviors, it seems that it is possible for multiculturalism policy to unintentionally and indirectly contribute to social exclusion and pose barriers on integration, if it is not carefully implemented.

Following an overview of the overall findings, one could agree with Nikhaie, as he states that the future of multiculturalism will depend partly on "Canadians' attitudes and beliefs toward ethno-racial minorities and immigrants" (Nikhaie, 2006; n.p.). Most importantly, what the literature reveals with respect to the Canadian perspective suggests that Canadian people blindly support multiculturalism without being fully aware of the principles behind this model of diversity. Furthermore, it seems that Canadians support multiculturalism policy, so long as it does not interfere with their daily lives or demand too much from their part; according to these social tendencies, one could argue that in the long run, multiculturalism could turn into a type of *label* with which people become accustomed and embrace only to an extent to which it is convenient for them. In other words, the general society appears to like the idea of belonging to a "multicultural society," – in the first sense of multiculturalism, as established earlier, hence the *food, music and folk* sense, and perhaps in the sense that it provides a good reputation for Canada, a virtue to flaunt and be proud of. However, it is truly bothersome to realize that a significant part of Canadian society is often oblivious to the existence of multiculturalism policy, the ideology behind it and its role within the nation. The fundamental issue with this depiction is that although formal multiculturalism enables a precise social model and a set legislature to be followed in terms of formal policies, it is Canadian people who are ultimately responsible for the way multiculturalism manifests itself in daily social practices. In the end, discriminatory attitudes and behaviors are the founding elements of systematic barriers encountered by ethnic minorities. Overall, it is evident that the Canadian perspective predetermines and reveals the success (or lack thereof) found within the ideology, the policy and the social practices of multiculturalism in any given context; and if all of the former do not go hand in hand, evidence of social exclusion begins to surface. So, rather than presuming that formal policies are sufficient in eradicating

issues of social exclusion, it is imperative to continue monitoring social practices and to conduct in-depth analyses in order to make certain that where there are issues of social exclusion, efficient measures are being taken to address these issues. Addressing issues of exclusion is crucial because in the long run, these may lead to economic, political, social, identity and health ills, which may all hinder the general society at a broader level.

6.1.1 MULTICULTURALISM IN THE CANADIAN SCHOOL CURRICULUM

The preceding section of this study has provided a synthesis as well as an extended discussion on the presented literature, based on a social inclusion perspective. This current section will briefly introduce and discuss matters revolving around multiculturalism in Canadian school curriculum, in an attempt to understand the Canadian perspective with respect to multiculturalism and diversity. Furthermore, this section is meant to make the connection between some of the discrepancies outlined in the research problem by suggesting that enhancing multiculturalism within the Canadian school curriculum should become a primary focus of multiculturalism initiatives. So, although Ley claims that "[o]utside government, multiculturalism is deeply embedded in school curricula, socializing children into the advantages of an open society" (Ley, 2007: 3), following the evidence found in the literature with regards to the public's lack of information on multiculturalism policy and the evidence of social exclusion in Canada, multiculturalism within the education realm will be discussed in hope of understanding the current lack of multiculturalism practices in society.

First, it is important to establish that in the field of education, Canada is known to "support a popular-democratic educational ideology" seeing as the models of education were initially established by British and French settlers (Ghosh, 2004: 543). However, according to

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Ghosh, regardless of the federal policy on multiculturalism and the attempts to make Canada a just society, "the implementation of this policy in education in English-speaking Canada has been far from satisfactory" (Ghosh, 2004: 543). Ghosh and Lunds' work demonstrate that multicultural education initiatives have not eliminated the sense of exclusion and daily racism in social settings. In fact, "[s]ome Canadian antiracist educators complain that traditional multicultural programs fail to name and address racism and other discrimination, [they] implicitly support assimilation to a mainstream, and may actually foster ethnic stereotyping by treating cultures as static and foreign" (Lund, 2006: 39). Even though Canadian schools have exposed students to diversity, they tend to take on a *tourist approach* when organizing *multicultural days* or taking students on field trips to ethnic communities, presenting food, music and traditional costumes (James, 2001: 175-176). The fundamental issue with the *tourist approach* is that all of the ethnic representations continue to be perceived as elements that are distant and foreign to Canada (James, 2001: 175-176). James mentions that in the Canadian context, where there was a significant number of students pertaining to a particular ethnic group, it was assumed that these students would attend their own "special classes" (i.e., heritage and language classes after school or on weekends) (James, 2001: 176). Therefore, teachers did not feel the need to incorporate "cultural and language issues into their everyday curricula" (James, 2001: 176). Moreover, James also notes that in Canada, after there were complaints in urban areas regarding racism issues in schools, "race was acknowledged in terms of color differences and not as a social construct of Canadian society that resulted in low educational outcomes for racial minority students" (James, 2001: 178). James notes that "to admit that race influences educational opportunities in Canada is contrary to the [m]ulticulturalism policy and the long-held myth of colorblindness in Canadians and specifically of teachers" (James, 2001: 179).

Consequently, one may infer that within the education realm, the notion of multiculturalism has been employed at a superficial level, but when it comes to providing students with meaningful insight on diverse population or issues of race, multiculturalism and diversity remain to a certain extent, *taboo.*

Banks, on the other hand, claims that multicultural education is essentially about "making major curricular and structural changes in education of students" at all levels, in the attempt to eradicate school practices that tend to "reinforce many ethnic stereotypes and discriminatory practices in Western societies (Banks, 2006: 52). Considering the importance of multiculturalism in education, it becomes worrisome to conceive the numerous shortcomings mentioned in the literature with respect to policy and practices in the realm of education.

When seeking to understand these shortcomings in the Canadian context, it is important to bear in mind that education is administered strictly at the provincial level, in fact "Canada has the distinction of being the only Western country with no federal office of education and no national educational policy"(Ghosh, 2004:554). Ghosh claims that in the case of multicultural policy, "[p]rovincial responses to federal legislation var[ies]" (Ghosh, 2004: 546). So, a fundamental issue is not only the fact that the "multiculturalism clause for education is vague", but also that multiculturalism is a federal initiative, yet education falls under the provincial jurisdiction and despite the fact that the "provincial departments of education have historically had a policy of assimilation [...] towards an Anglo-dominated culture" the federal government continues to have a restricted level of control over this domain (Ghosh, 2004: 553). This division of responsibilities and jurisdiction between the federal and provincial government may be the first inconsistency to consider when deciphering the outlined flaws of multiculturalism within the education realm.

The discrepancies behind multiculturalism in the education system are also well illustrated by Chan as she looks at race-based policies contained by the education system. After providing a historical overview of the Canadian context, Chan notes that while Ontario did establish a provincial multiculturalism policy, implemented by the Race Relations Committee through the Ministry of Education (Chan, 2007: 139), the expansion of this commitment involved mainly the establishment of guidelines for antiracism policies, which were eventually implemented in "over forty school boards"; but "these represented less than half the school boards of Ontario" (Chan, 2007: 141). Chan adds that some of the fundamental issues behind policy implementation in Ontario have been "lack of resources, priorities within schools, and the need for staff development and awareness of racial and ethnic issues" (Chan, 2007: 141). Furthermore, in the case of Vancouver policy, following reported incidents of racism back in 1987, an evaluation report suggested " allocat[ing] greater resources, to promote and implement the policy" (Chan, 2007:141). As an aftermath of the report's recommendations, two school board staff positions were created in order to help raise the level of awareness and implementation of the policy (Chan, 2007: 142). The positions were: "multicultural education consultant" and the "manager of multiculturalism and antiracism," yet Chan also notes that approximately 10 years later, the first position was eliminated "despite the objection from teachers, parents and the community" (Chan, 2007: 142). Moreover, for administrative purposes, the policies in question have combined a number of matters, such as valuing diversity, citizenship, ceasing racism, social justice etc., and "[a] similar organization of Ontario school districts has taken place in order to reduce a number of districts and administrative costs. The impact of merging districts and thus incorporating policies has not been documented" (Chan, 2007: 142). As a result, it becomes clear to note that although there have been discussions on the

need to further incorporate multiculturalism in Canadian school curriculum, not only have provincial governments restrained themselves from allocating larger sums of money to this matter; on the contrary, it would appear that they have reduced financial support for multiculturalism in order to reduce costs.

6.1.2 THE GRADE 10 CIVICS CURRICULUM

Under the premise that in Canada, the grade 10 mandatory civics curriculum could potentially be one of the most adequate channels to engage students and teachers into meaningful discussions on multiculturalism, its ideology, policies, practices; race issues, social inclusion and equality, among other themes, this section of the paper will seek to offer a brief content analysis on this specific curriculum. However, it is important to acknowledge the fact that this brief analysis is based solely on the Ontario documents. Therefore, one must consider that the civics and world studies curriculum varies according to each province. Yet, Ontario is a province with a remarkably high level of diversity, so it becomes relevant for this paper to provide an overview of the Ontario curriculum.

The grade 10 civics curriculum is meant to educate students on citizenship rights and responsibilities. In Ontario, the focus of this mandatory high school course revolves around the following themes: citizenship responsibilities, structures and functions of the three levels of government, democracy, political decision-making and democratic citizenship (Canadian and World Studies, 2005). The description of the course begins by outlining Canada's diversity, the need to "ensure that all voices are heard," and the importance of differing views and values within the global community (Canadian and World Studies, 2005: 63). However, it seems that the actual content of the course fails to provide any real insight on ethnic minorities, cultural

differences, anti-oppression, cross-cultural understanding, or in-depth discussions on race and class disparities. In the section *Rights and Responsibilities of Canadian Citizenship*, students are suppose to become aware of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, but there is no particular mention of the *Multiculturalism Act*; instead, this section narrows down on the judicial system. Moreover, in a subsequent section entitled *Citizenship Within the Global Context*, students are to analyze contemporary issues such as "health and welfare, disasters, human rights, economic development quality, terrorism", yet issues on immigration, immigration policy, multiculturalism policy or immigrant integration, which are all central to the composition of many Canadian cities, are absent from the curriculum. Fortunately, in subsequent sections, there is a brief mention of ethno-cultural groups, as well as the civic importance of "becoming involved in human rights, antidiscrimination or antiracism activities" (Canadian and World Studies, 2005: 67- 69). By closely examining the grade 10 civics curriculum, it becomes evident that multiculturalism is practically absent from this curriculum. Yet, considering that Canada takes pride in its multiculturalism model and its multiculturalism policies, which have been incorporated into the *Constitution*, it is interesting to realize that multiculturalism, which one may presume to be a central aspect of Canadians citizens' rights and responsibilities appears to be unworthy of mention in the school curriculum.

According to the literature retrieved throughout this study, it is possible to come to the conclusion that multicultural education programs are well intended, but they also have weaknesses. Though the Ministry of Education has recently made progress by creating *Guidelines for Policy Development and Implementation* documents with regards to *Equity and Inclusive Education in Ontario Schools* (2009), and *Antiracism and Ethnocultural Equity in School Boards* (1993), these are initiatives that seek to guarantee equal and inclusive treatment

for students from all backgrounds, they do not however guarantee that the content of the curriculum will raise discussions on multiculturalism, equality, race issues, cultural diversity or the importance of inclusiveness.

The brief content analysis of the civics curriculum raises a number of issues. First, it is effective in highlighting a particular irony: the government tends to place significant emphasis on the need for newcomers to pass a citizenship examination, because it is crucial for future Canadian citizens to gain insight on central matters with respect to the national context. Yet, a review of the grade 10 civics curriculum surfaces a significant degree of vagueness and lack of emphasis on critical issues pertaining to multiculturalism and diversity. In addition, as demonstrated in the literature, many studies have repeatedly suggested that few Canadians are aware of the existence and the substance of Canadian multiculturalism. One may therefore deduce that the efforts being made by the provincial government to further strengthen this type of education for Canadian citizens via the school curriculum are insufficient. Citizenship education should be stressed in an equal magnitude for both, immigrants wanting to become citizens, as well as for native-born Canadian citizens. The grade 10 civics curriculum should therefore comprise eloquent discussions on multiculturalism's principles and values; hence the importance of equality and inclusion at all levels. In order to enhance Canadian citizens' education on multiculturalism, a starting point should be a reform of the school curriculum's approach to multiculturalism. Multiculturalism through education should focus on transmitting to young Canadian awareness on more substantial ways to carry out inclusive attitudes and behaviors in their daily social practices. This type of education could eventually normalize multiculturalism ideology and raise awareness on the policy to the general public, in order to eliminate the currently existent gap between the policy and the practices of multiculturalism.

The logic that justifies the need for curriculum to place a more substantive emphasis on multiculturalism, civics and global education is well explained by Banks as he notes that

> "if students develop the ability to view events and situations from the perspectives of ethnic groups in their nation-state, they will be better able to view events within other nations from the perspectives of the major participants in these events. Students who can relate positively to and function within a variety of cultures within their own nation are also more likely to function successfully in cultures in other nations than are individuals who view domestic ethnic cultures as exotic and strange" (Banks, 2006: 25).

Given the high level of diversity within Canadian society, it is crucial that all individuals develop this sense of understanding and empathy towards their ethnic counterparts who are perhaps racially and culturally different. As a result, it seems logic to conclude that one of the most effective and standardized way of transmitting these values and ideals would be through the school curriculum.

7. RECOMMENDATIONS

Following an extended discussion pertaining to the Literature Review, this study will now conclude with a set of recommendations that could be beneficial to address the research problem established at the beginning of this study.

1 - Multiculturalism Policy Framed Around the Notion of Inclusion

First, multiculturalism policy needs to be mainly framed around the notion of inclusion. The reason for this first recommendation is well justified by Saloojee, as he states that unlike multiculturalism, social inclusion is about "developing a new way of approaching old problems, [...] above all by encouraging the development of skills, talents and capacities of all " (Saloojee, 2003: 13). Therefore, multiculturalism policy would benefit from encouraging Canadian society to not only tolerate, but to recognize and value diversity. The current multiculturalism agenda should instigate innovative projects that promote and normalize the sense of inclusion, in order for multiculturalism to be genuinely manifested in the form of substantive equality for all, not simply for those who are sufficiently *"Canadian"* in their cultural loyalties, or sufficiently wealthy to integrate into middle or upper class status. The federal multiculturalism agenda also needs to expand its focus from developing a cohesive society, to also strive for an inclusive society, because in a cohesive society, people may be segregated into their respective ethnic enclaves, and although these enclaves may be successfully interconnected as a whole, there may often be cultural hierarchies within that cohesion. Consequently, the multiculturalism framework would benefit from being reformed, in order to further incorporate the notion of social inclusion as a central element of its paradigm.

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If social inclusion is to become a central component of multiculturalism, as suggested through the course of this paper, there is a need to employ new methods that will lead to making social inclusion a substantive reality, rather than an illusion. In order for social inclusion to be real, Saloojee's public policy suggestion is for both the federal and the provincial governments to begin strengthening human rights commissions (Saloojee, 2003: 16). Saloojee explains that

> "[t]hese commissions play vital investigative and mediation functions. However, given their limited resources they do not vigorously pursue their public education functions. Human rights commissions need to be more proactive in promoting human rights and not simply be passive recipients of complaints which they then investigate" (Saloojee, 2003: 16).

Saloojee's recommendation appears to be grounded in a concern for the superficial role of the current *Human Rights Commission* and the lack of public education with respect to issues of exclusion. The former recommendation clearly implies that considering Canada's diverse population and its open immigration policies, it is vital for Canadian government to start playing a more proactive role in pledging social inclusion. The *Human Rights Commission of Canada* was established by the government in 1977 and it is considered an independent body (Canadian Human Rights Commission, 2010: n.p.). Moreover, the *Human Rights Commission* is meant to resolve disputes, expand knowledge and prevent discrimination through Acts such as the *Human Rights Act* and the *Employment Equity Act*. Consequently, considering that the Human Rights Commission's responsibilities, such as preventing racism and discrimination, encouraging inclusiveness and equality (Canadian Human Rights Commission, 2010: n.p.) are remarkably similar to what this study has portrayed as being multiculturalism's core challenges to address, one may be inclined to suggest that the *Canadian Human Rights Commission* ought to work closely with *Citizenship and Immigration Canada's Multicultural Program*, with a combined

budget and a proactive approach, both should establish new public education projects that strive to propagate ideals of inclusion.

Furthermore, based on Mitchell and Shillington's take on how policy can further contribute to exclusion, it may also be important to add that policies directed to managing the diverse population of Canada need to employ the proper means to include minorities in a manner that avoids separating them from the mainstream when catering to their needs. The good intentions behind multiculturalism policy will be reversed if the means to cater to diversity sublimely foster exclusion.

3- Recognition of Foreign Credentials

Even though the question of foreign credentials has not been discussed earlier in this paper, it is a matter that directly impacts the level of inclusion of foreign-trained citizens into society. As highlighted by Nikhaie, it is necessary to "[i]ncrease the number of agencies and programs that facilitate the recognition of foreign credentials" (Nikhaie, 2006: n.p.). The remarkable level of human capital that immigrants and ethnic minorities contribute to Canadian society needs to be valued and recognized. So, the multiculturalism policy agenda should foster mechanisms that will facilitate the obtainment of foreign credentials and considering that education is a provincial responsibility, both the federal and provincial governments need to develop joint programs that will facilitate this process (Nikhaie, 2006); this will without a doubt have a positive impact on the level of integration in all domains, and foreign-trained individuals' sense of inclusion into society. Without foreign credentials, immigrants' skills will only continue to be devalued and immigrants are bound to keep engaging in low-skill jobs that limit their social capital and keep them from being integrated into mainstream society.

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The literature presented in this paper clearly explains that the lack of emphasis on multiculturalism within the education domain is grounded in the fact that with respect to multiculturalism, the provincial government's priorities do not necessarily go hand in hand with those of the federal government. While it is clear that education falls under provincial responsibilities, in order to eliminate the gap between federal multiculturalism policy's intentions and the actual practices of exclusion taking place in society, it would be suitable to point out the crucial need for intergovernmental engagement in developing a joint and standardized clause for multicultural education. Hence, all levels of government, especially the federal and provincial need to discuss multiculturalism clauses within school curricula; ideally there should be a standardized curriculum when it comes to civics and world studies education, in order to assure that the values of multiculturalism are properly and uniformly conveyed to all Canadians, placing a strong emphasis on principles of inclusion. This recommendation is particularly geared towards the education realm because one could argue that this setting is precisely where the formation of young Canadians takes place. In addition, it would also be adequate to suggest enhancing a zero-tolerance policy for any acts or verbal remarks that may be discriminatory in nature, in all academic settings. Lastly, given that it remains difficult to guarantee that all school staff members are indeed incorporating a suitable pedagogical approach to multiculturalism education, federal and provincial governments need to allocate significant amount of funding to the education boards, to be used particularly for the creation of positions that focus on assuring a more substantive implementation of multiculturalism polices through standard guidelines for all educational institutions.

This study has attempted to demonstrate the important role of the education system, as a means of inculcating Canadian values into young individuals. Multiculturalism is considered one of Canada's most admired asset, and given that this study is framed around the idea that multiculturalism should not only *acknowledge* or *tolerate* the existence of ethno-racial minorities but also *value* the existence and contribution to society, (Saloojee, 2003) it is suitable to suggest that the school curriculum should reflect Canada's commitment to multiculturalism. In fact, Nikhaie recommends increasing "programs and classes in elementary and secondary schools intended to increase students' involvement in associations and their awareness of diversity and its benefits" (Nikhaie, 2006: n.p.). Nikhaie also claims that civics classes ought to promote "the recognition of diversity, the enhancement of tolerance, and involvement in the voluntary sector" (Nikhaie, 2006: n.p.). Clearly the dissemination on multiculturalism education rests on the curriculum and the substance given to these matters by policy-makers and school staff. It would be beneficial for school staff, especially for civics educators to be trained according to the ideologies of multiculturalism, in order for them to learn about the founding principles of multiculturalism and inclusion, issues of exclusion and the most effective ways to discuss and convey these matters to students. Saloojee states that "September 11, 2001 has demonstrated to us the fragility of a nation built on tolerance" (Saloojee, 2003: 18). He then notes that "Canada will be a much stronger country if we embrace social inclusion as a transformative tool and as a normative ideal" (Saloojee, 2003: 18). Therefore, education on the importance of social inclusion also needs to play a significant role in the school curriculum, starting from primary school and placing more emphasis specifically within the civics curriculum, so that students understand that these values are a part of Canadian citizenship responsibilities.

Kymlicka claims that multiculturalism is "a transformative project, both for minorities and majorities. It demands that both dominant and historically subordinated groups engage in new practices, enter new relationships and embrace new concepts and discourses, all of which profoundly transform people's identities and practices" (Kymlicka, 2010: 103). In response, this study seeks to establish that the question of how this transformation takes place is essentially grounded in the altering the school curriculum. These alterations should strive to eliminate Canada's social tendency towards exclusion, prejudice and social distances when it comes to dealing with ethnic minorities.

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