



A PORTRAIT OF CANADIAN DIVERSITY

Human migration continues at the highest rate since the Second World War. The United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) reported that an average of 1,000 unaccompanied children arrived per month on the shores of Italy after braving a risky Mediterranean crossing in 2016. Also in 2016, refugees crossing the Aegean Sea in rafts arrived in Greece, creating a refugee crisis and overwhelming refugee support systems.

LEARNING OUTCOMES

After completing this chapter, you should be able to:

- Understand the concepts of diversity and multiculturalism.
- Discuss the four state ideologies of host countries.
- Define Canada’s concept of multiculturalism.
- Understand Canadian society, immigration, gender, sexuality, and Canadian diversity.

INTRODUCTION

Canadian citizens represent many different nations and cultural backgrounds. In demographic terms, Canada is heterogeneous with regard to race, ethnicity, culture, religion, gender, sexual orientation, age, and physical and mental abilities. Canada’s multiculturalism policies, the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, provincial human rights legislation, and employment equity programs are institutional responses to this diversity. Canada is an advanced nation known around the world for its fairness and equality, but Indigenous peoples and diverse minority groups face inequalities in life experiences and life chances, and a large number of academic and social research studies reveal that there appear to be disparities in their interactions with the justice system. The tensions resulting from Canada’s increasing diversity (Li, 1998) can be exacerbated by intersections of ethnicity, gender, and sexuality and by the challenges to our security posed by threatened or actual terrorism. This book presents an up-to-date and critically stimulating introduction to issues surrounding diversity and social and criminal justice. The first part of the book looks at the facts of diversity in Canadian society; the second part examines colonialism, the historical and current injustices experienced by Indigenous peoples in Canada, and their overrepresentation in the criminal justice system.

diversity

the variety of human qualities among different people and groups

ethnicity

the culture of origin with which an individual or group identifies within a multicultural context

multiculturalism

a policy relating to or designed for a combination of several distinct cultures

“**Diversity**” refers, in a general sense, to the variety of human qualities among different people and groups (University of Maryland, 2000). More specifically, it refers to the ethnic, social, or gender variety in a community of people. When we consider the diversity of a community, we look at its members in two aspects or dimensions: primary and secondary. *Primary* dimensions include a person’s age, **ethnicity**, gender, gender identities, physical abilities and qualities, race, and sexual orientation. *Secondary* dimensions include the person’s educational background, geographic location, income, marital status, parental status, religious beliefs, and work experience. Secondary dimensions are fluid and less fixed than primary ones (Kazarian, Crichlow, & Bradford, 2007, p. 4). See Figure 1.1 for examples.

The term “**multiculturalism**” has different meanings and associations. It can suggest an ideal of cultural variety, and it can describe the actual state of a society—its condition of having a diverse population. Multiculturalism exists in many countries, including Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

In some of these places, it is a cause for celebration as well as a plain fact. Only in Canada, however, is multiculturalism both a national ideology and a state policy. Canada was the first nation to make a policy of multiculturalism part of its national Constitution (Kazarian et al., 2007, p. 39).

FIGURE 1.1 Diversity Wheel



SOURCE: Johns Hopkins University and Medicine, Diversity Leadership Council (n.d.).

FOUR STATE IDEOLOGIES

Host cultures—cultures that receive immigrants and refugees—tend to have one of four ideologies, or belief systems, regarding how to incorporate new members into their society. These four ideologies are as follows: multiculturalism ideology, civic ideology, assimilation ideology, and ethnist ideology.

MULTICULTURALISM IDEOLOGY

The **multiculturalism ideology** supports people of diversity in maintaining or promoting their distinctive culture, provided that this culture does not clash with the criminal and civil laws of the nation. Four main principles are associated with

multiculturalism ideology

ideology that recognizes and supports people of diversity in maintaining or promoting their diversity, provided that their practices do not clash with the laws of the nation

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values

standards or principles; ideas about the worth or importance of certain qualities, especially those accepted by a particular group

civic ideology

ideology that subscribes to multiculturalism ideology principles but does not support state funding to maintain and promote ethnocultural diversity

assimilation ideology

ideology that expects people of diversity to relinquish their culture and linguistic identity and adopt the culture of the host state

ethnist ideology

ideology where the state expects people of diversity to assimilate but defines which groups should assimilate and thus which ones are not rightful members of the state

the ideology of multiculturalism. The first principle is that people of diversity are expected to adopt the public **values** of the host nation: its democratic ideals, constitutional and human rights provisions, and civil and criminal codes. The second principle is that the private values of individual citizens are protected. Private values are the attitudes and beliefs that people hold in private life, shown in their relations with family and friends as well as in their wider social circle. The third principle of multiculturalism ideology is that the state recognizes multicultural values and protects them from interference by other people and by the state itself. The fourth principle is that the state should fund the ethnocultural activities of both its long-standing citizens and its newcomers, since both groups contribute to the state through taxation.

CIVIC IDEOLOGY

The second approach a society may take to the diversity of its citizens is the **civic ideology**. This ideology is the same as the multiculturalism ideology except that it doesn't support state funding for the promotion of ethnocultural diversity. Great Britain is an example of a state that supports civic ideology.

ASSIMILATION IDEOLOGY

The **assimilation ideology** is a homogenization or “melting pot” ideology. According to this ideology, newcomers to a country should give up their cultural and linguistic identities and adopt the culture of the host state. In return, the state protects the private values of individual citizens while reserving the right to limit the expression of these values under certain circumstances. The United States supports assimilation ideology.

ETHNIST IDEOLOGY

The **ethnist ideology** is similar to the assimilation ideology except that the state exerts more control over which groups are permitted to assimilate (Kazarian et al., 2007, p. 39). For example, the state may require that an immigrant be part of a certain ethnicity, religion, or race to be accepted as a citizen. Japan and Israel subscribe to ethnist ideology.

CANADA AND THE CONCEPT OF MULTICULTURALISM

Canada has been defined by its dominant cultures. This occurred in three distinct historical stages:

1. Canada as a colony of the British Empire:
 - a. An external authority in England exercised sovereignty.
 - b. Canadians had limited democratic rights and were governed by a political elite.

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- c. The dominant cultures were English and French, although the British sought to assimilate the French and the Indigenous peoples.
2. Canada as an independent “white dominion” in the British Empire/ Commonwealth:
 - a. Sovereignty was increasingly exercised within the Dominion.
 - b. Canadians had full democratic rights and were governed by Parliament.
 - c. The dominant culture was British, although immigrants began arriving to colonize the West.
 - d. Commitment to the British Empire and a policy of assimilation still produced cultural uniformity in Canada (except in Quebec). Canadians were British subjects until 1947.
3. Canada as a fully sovereign and independent nation-state:
 - a. Canada became completely independent of British sovereignty (1931–1949).
 - b. The divide between French and English was temporarily settled through constitutional reform.
 - c. European immigration slowed while people from other parts of the world began to immigrate to Canada.
 - d. The subsequent immigration boom caused a substantial demographic shift in the latter half of the 20th century.
 - e. The assimilation of French Canadians and Indigenous peoples was eventually replaced by the concept of multiculturalism.

EQUAL RIGHTS AND THE POLICY OF MULTICULTURALISM

Canada faces a difficulty when it comes to diversity issues. On the one hand, Canadians live in a rights-based culture; we assume that all citizens should be treated equally under civil law and that no one should receive any unearned benefits because of his or her identity. This is the rule of law upon which Canada was founded.

But there is tension between this assumption of equal rights and the principles of Canada’s multiculturalism, which supports a cultural group’s rights to retain its values and way of life within the wider sphere of Canadian society. The equal-rights culture focuses on the individual; multiculturalism focuses on the group.

Multiculturalism became a formal policy in Canada under Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau in 1971. The policy became law with the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* of 1988. Further protections for minorities are enshrined in section 15 of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* (1982). These formal

discrimination

a process by which a person is deprived of equal access to privileges and opportunities available to others because of prejudice

policies and laws are meant to address the needs of new Canadians and disadvantaged groups. However, the government's need to interpret multiculturalism from an equal-rights point of view—that is, from the standpoint that everyone is fundamentally equal—has weakened the formal policy of multiculturalism as a tool for addressing inequalities and **discrimination** related to culture. How does it weaken it? For one thing, an assumption of general equality can blur our understanding of just how deeply disadvantaged an immigrant population can be. Further, the equal-rights perspective is sometimes unaccepting of cultural practices that do not meet Canadian standards of equal treatment for all individuals. At what point, for example, does the government discourage the traditional custom of a minority group in Canada—perhaps a custom related to gender—on the grounds that it violates the liberal ideal of equal rights?

Informal multiculturalism refers to the popular idea of multiculturalism held by people in a society where diversity exists. In Canada, informal multiculturalism accepts social diversity as a given and takes for granted that the relative lack of success of people from disadvantaged groups is owing to the persistence of discriminatory and stereotypical attitudes rather than to the failings of particular formalized policies. According to this viewpoint, the persistence of discriminatory attitudes needs to be examined, as do the ways in which the imbalances of power between minority and majority populations work themselves out in daily life (Baxter, 2003).

CONCEPT OF THE HOST COMMUNITY

host community

comprises groups of people who have the power and influence to shape attitudes toward the remaining groups in society

A **host community** is sometimes called the host culture or nation, the dominant culture or society, or the majority culture. A host community consists of people long established in a country, though the history of their **settlement patterns** may differ. Whether descended from Indigenous peoples, from English settlers, or from more recent immigrants, the members of a host community determine the basic character and attitudes of the society.

settlement patterns

the variety of ways people physically establish themselves in a country, whether born there or as immigrants

Host communities are made up of groups of people who have the power and influence to change attitudes toward the less established communities in a society. These people set the tone for how the rest of society views and deals with the less powerful *other*. In Canada, for example, the host culture has already changed its views about the rights of LGBTQ2 communities and has ceased to view marriage as an exclusively heterosexual institution, with the result that legislation has passed allowing for same-sex marriages. Host communities also determine immigration policies—that is, who is a desirable addition to the host culture and who is undesirable. Finally, by assimilating newcomers and expecting them to accept its established patterns, the host community influences the settlement and adaptation patterns of those it accepts as newcomers. And the influence doesn't only go one way. Majority host communities are influenced in turn by the minority groups they come in contact with.

ACCULTURATION ORIENTATIONS OF HOST COMMUNITIES

Acculturation refers to the process by which one cultural group acquires from another group new cultural attributes that may eventually be absorbed into its own system. With immigrant groups, host communities adopt one or more of the following acculturation orientations (in other words, approaches to cultural adaptation):

- An **integrationist** host community encourages immigrants both to adopt important features of the host culture and to maintain aspects of their heritage culture.
- An **exclusionary** host community is intolerant of the wishes of immigrants or other cultures to maintain their heritage cultures. At the same time, it does not allow them wholly to adopt the host culture. Host community members are ambivalent about newcomers.
- An **assimilationist** host community demands that immigrants give up their cultural identities and adapt totally to the host culture. In other words, new ethnic communities are expected to participate in ethnocultural institutions that are not their own (Kallen, 2003). Over time, the host culture accepts as full-fledged citizens those who have been culturally absorbed.
- A **segregationist** host community distances itself from immigrants and their cultures. It allows them to maintain their heritage culture but would prefer that they return to their countries of origin. Members of the host community believe that immigrants “can never be incorporated culturally or socially as rightful members of the host society” (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senecal, 1997, p. 381).

ACCULTURATION ORIENTATIONS OF SETTLER GROUPS

Immigrants exhibit one of four modes of acculturation—marginalization, assimilation, separation, and integration—which together form the acronym MASI:

- **Marginalization** occurs when people reject the host culture as well as their heritage culture, disenchanted with both.
- **Assimilation** involves giving up one’s traditional culture in favour of the host culture.
- **Separation** occurs when an individual rejects the host culture and maintains their culture of origin.
- **Integration** occurs when immigrants at once embrace the host culture and maintain their culture of origin.

acculturation

process of change in the cultural patterns of an ethnic group as a result of contact with other ethnic groups

integrationist

supportive of immigrants’ adopting features of the host culture while maintaining aspects of their heritage culture

exclusionary

intolerant of immigrants’ heritage culture and of immigration in general

assimilationist

intolerant of immigrants’ heritage culture, demanding that they relinquish the culture and adopt the host culture

segregationist

opposed to immigrants and other cultures, preferring that immigrants return to their countries of origin

marginalization

simultaneous rejection of the culture of origin and the host culture

assimilation

a process by which members of an ethnic minority group lose cultural characteristics that distinguish them from the dominant cultural group or take on the cultural characteristics of another group

separation

individual rejection of the host culture and maintenance of the culture of origin

integration

embrace of the host culture and maintenance of the culture of origin

Integration is generally seen as the most desirable mode of cultural adaptation (Berry, 2006). Immigrants who adapt in this way show good levels of psychological adjustment and personal satisfaction. These are important considerations from an economic perspective and also from a law-and-order perspective; members of ethnic groups who are integrated are less likely to engage in disorderly or criminal activity and are more likely to engage in the political processes in Canada, such as the democratic voting process and even running for office. Because integrationists do not practise separation—they do not isolate themselves from the host culture—their allegiance to their heritage culture does not lessen their commitment to the welfare of the host nation (Berry & Sam, 1997).

HISTORY OF IMMIGRATION AND DIVERSITY IN CANADA

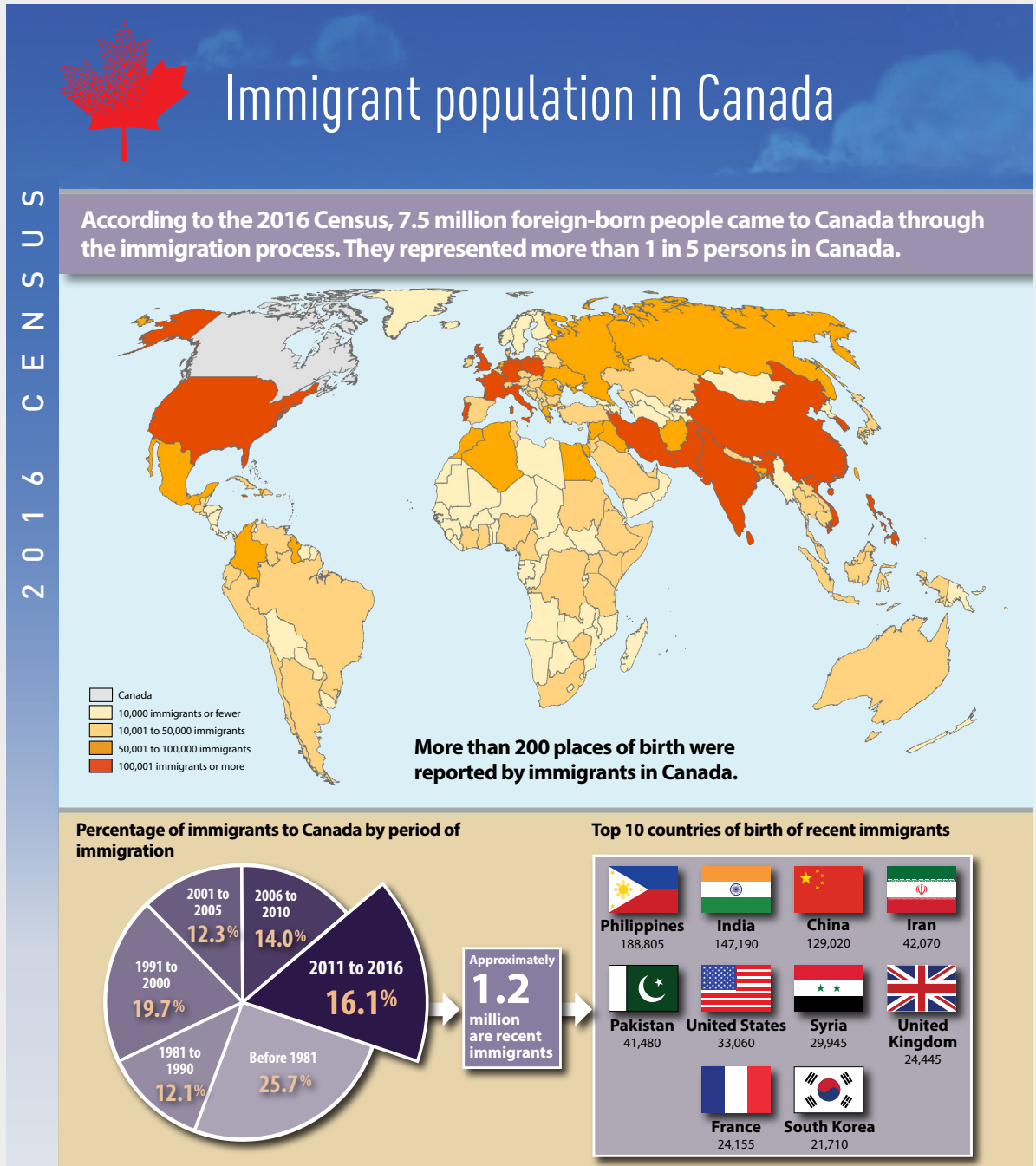
There are three main admission categories for people who immigrate to Canada: (1) they immigrate as skilled labour or investors in the *economic* category; (2) they are sponsored by *family*; or (3) they come as *refugees*. Each of these categories will be discussed in turn.

Immigration is and always has been an important factor in Canadian society. The latest reports from Statistics Canada indicate that 1.2 million people immigrated to Canada in the five-year period from 2011 to 2016 (see Figure 1.2). This process began several centuries ago, with the arrival of English and French explorers and settlers. At first contact between Indigenous peoples and European peoples in Canada, there were many Indigenous nations speaking a variety of languages. The French and English colonized the eastern part of what is now Canada and signed treaties with First Nations peoples acknowledging Indigenous nationhood.

In 1867, the English and French languages were given constitutional status at Confederation. Bilingualism became the core of Canada's approach to diversity. From the late 1800s to the mid-1900s, Canada's immigration policy was based on supplying a labour pool for settlement and agriculture; after this, immigration policy was based on establishing a Canadian industrial base. Canada recognized the right of minorities to maintain their culture and traditions, with some exceptions, such as how Canada over the centuries continued to try to prevent Indigenous peoples from maintaining their cultures and traditions.

In 1950, as a result of the Massey-Levesque Commission, which linked cultural diversity and Canadian identity, ethnocultural diversity gradually came to be understood as an essential ingredient in a distinct Canadian society. At that time, 92 percent of Canada's population growth was the result of birth rate. By 2001, immigration had outpaced the natural birth rate, and now birth rate accounts for less than one third of Canada's population growth, whereas immigration contributes about two thirds of population growth.

FIGURE 1.2 Immigrant Population in Canada



SOURCE: Statistics Canada (2017d).

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The 1960 *Canadian Bill of Rights* outlawed discrimination by federal agencies on the grounds of race, national origin, colour, religion, and gender. This policy was reflected in the *Immigration Act* of 1960, which stated that immigrants were not to be refused entry into Canada on the grounds of race, national origin, colour, or country of origin. This Act resulted in more immigration from Southern Europe, Africa, and the West Indies.

The *Official Languages Act* of 1969 required the government to give equal status, rights, and privileges to both official languages in federal institutions. It further required that these institutions must serve Canadians in the official language of their choice.

The 1970s and 1980s saw substantial numbers of refugees admitted to this country. In some cases, this was a result of Canada's official multiculturalism policy, established in 1971, which provided for programs and services to help individuals from diverse cultures overcome barriers to their full participation in Canadian society.

The 1982 *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* granted parents who are members of an English or French linguistic minority in the communities where they live to have their children educated in the official language of their choice. Section 27 of the Charter stated that the courts were to interpret the Constitution in a manner that would preserve and enhance the multicultural nature of Canada:

27. This Charter shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians.

Jean Chrétien, as minister of justice, commented on the importance of the Charter in protecting the rights of a multicultural and ethnically diverse population:

In a free and democratic society, it is important that citizens know exactly what their rights and freedoms are, and where to turn for help and advice in the event that those freedoms are denied or those rights infringed. In a country like Canada—vast and diverse, with 11 governments, 2 official languages, and a variety of ethnic origins—the only way to provide equal protection for everyone is to enshrine those basic rights and freedoms in the Constitution. (1982, p. v)

The concept of diversity expanded from language, ethnicity, race, and religion to include gender, sexual orientation, ability (or disability), and age. The rights of diverse groups are enshrined in other Canadian legal responses to diversity, including the following federal legislation:

- the *Canadian Human Rights Act*,
- the *Employment Equity Act*, and
- the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act*.

Provinces have responded to diversity issues by passing similar legislation, including pay equity acts, and developing programs to promote diversity. On

the international stage, Canada is signatory to, among others, the following agreements:

- the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (United Nations, 1948) and
- the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* (United Nations, 1966).



CLOSE-UP

ADITYA JHA

Canadian immigrants make up a large part of the country's population. Many immigrants come from many educational backgrounds and work in Canadian companies in prestigious roles. An example of a successful business entrepreneur is Aditya Jha. Aditya was born in Janakpur, Nepal, where he graduated with a post-secondary degree. His early business career began in India, Singapore and other South East Asian countries before coming to Canada. Aditya immigrated to Canada and first worked as a general manger with Bell Canada. Years later, Aditya was the co-founder of Isopia, a company specializing in software technology. After a successful run he sold the company for over \$100 million. His entrepreneurship and leadership skills led to many other start-ups, but in 2001, his focus changed and he started a charitable foundation. The foundation's purpose was to assist Canadians who were less fortunate and provide them with education and skills in entrepreneurship and business. The success of the foundation led to many people obtaining financial independence, including many Indigenous Canadians.

In 2012, Aditya Jha received the Order of Canada for his philanthropic efforts. His achievements and willingness to give back is an example of a successful economic immigrant.



Aditya Jha, philanthropist and entrepreneur
City: Toronto
Country of Origin: Nepal

In life, you always get more than what you deserve or less than what you deserve. You never quite get just the right amount. If you get less, you must work harder and smarter, and if you get more then you must give back.

—Aditya Jha, as cited in POA Education Foundation
(n.d., Some Personal
Quotes section)

SOURCE: POA Education Foundation (n.d.).

ECONOMIC IMMIGRANTS

In 2016, the majority of immigrants admitted to Canada—60.3 percent—were granted permanent residency under the economic category. These were people who had applied to immigrate to Canada and had been selected based on their education and work experience, in addition to other factors that demonstrated their likelihood of contributing to the economic development of Canada. They

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came as skilled workers and business immigrants with the capacity to invest in Canada and start businesses that would benefit the country. Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (2019) has an Express Entry pool where the most highly skilled individuals are prioritized for admission to Canada based on the current skill gaps in Canada's labour force. Programs also exist for employers to recruit overseas professionals to fill roles that require expertise unique to their industry when suitable candidates cannot be found in Canada.

Economic immigrants include entrepreneurs who have significant financial resources to invest or start companies in Canada. Immigrants' minimum capital investment amount varies over time, but these skilled professionals have the capacity to invest significantly to Canada's economy. Review the Close-Up box above for an example and an in-depth look at an immigrant entrepreneur, Aditya Jha.

IMMIGRANTS SPONSORED BY FAMILY

Almost 30 percent of immigrants who came to Canada between 2011 and 2016 were in the family category, meaning that they were sponsored by family members already established in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2017e). A permanent resident of Canada who wants to sponsor a spouse, dependent child, or parent needs to fill out an immigration application, which can be made through the family class sponsorship program. In order to qualify, the permanent resident must demonstrate their ability to financially support resettling family members by proving that they have the financial resources to meet their resettlement needs. Additionally, the resident must agree to be financially responsible for their family member for a predetermined period of time. The sponsored family member must have completed police checks and medical exams from their country of origin.



EXERCISE 1

Visit Statistics Canada's website to access an interactive model on immigrant population by selected places of birth (<https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/dv-vd/imm/index-eng.cfm>).

Examine the model to view where immigrants are coming from, under which category they are immigrating, and where they are settling in Canada.

REFUGEE POLICIES

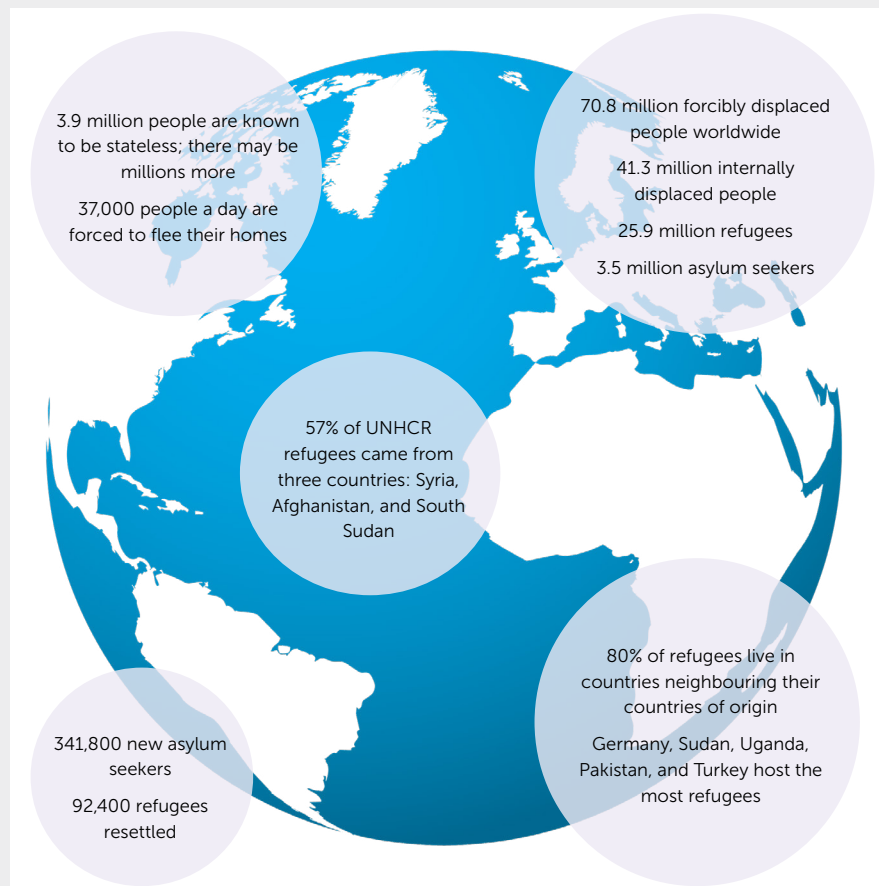
Article 1 of the 1951 United Nations (UN) *Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees* defines a refugee as any person who,

owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and

being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it. (UNHCR, 1983)

Welcoming refugees should be seen not as an immigration issue but as a human rights issue. In 2018, the UN Refugee Agency placed the number of displaced persons in the world at 68.5 million; 40 million of those were internally displaced, meaning that they had been forced out of their homes but had not yet crossed borders (UNHCR, 2019). Of those outside their country of origin, 85 percent were currently hosted in developing countries, with high numbers located in Turkey, Uganda, Pakistan, Lebanon, and Iran. The UN placed the number of refugees at 25.4 million—half of whom were under the age of 18. These numbers are the highest in recorded history. Approximately 3 million of these “displaced persons” were asylum seekers, which means they had fled their homes, requested sanctuary elsewhere, and were waiting for decisions on their claims. The number of people displaced from their homes daily is 44,400 (see Figure 1.3).

FIGURE 1.3 The Number of People Forcibly Displaced Worldwide



SOURCE: Based on UNHCR (2019).



CLOSE-UP

TINASHE MAFUKIDZE

Many immigrants who arrive in Canada come from turbulent countries and are seeking sanctuary and safety. Tinashe Mafukidze is an example of a refugee who arrived in Canada with her family fleeing from a refugee camp in Africa. Born in Zimbabwe, Mafukidze has made Canada her home, and she has been an inspiration to many youths through her career.

In 2018, Mafukidze was nominated as one of Canada's top 25 immigrants for her influence as a social innovator. But her journey wasn't always easy, and as a child she moved frequently with her mother and brothers to wherever her mother could find work. Soon her family found themselves living in a refugee camp for several months before coming to Canada for refuge. Mafukidze's future was unknown. She recalls, "One of my biggest struggles in my immigrant journey was navigating a new country without 'papers.' I would wish I could get a Canadian passport to go on those school trips across the border."

She was determined to be proactive and volunteered in causes she believed in and soon became an activist. She then went on to start projects that addressed complex issues, and she "would volunteer as much of my time on issues that I cared about."

After nearly 20 years in Canada, Mafukidze is an impact designer in Toronto. "[My] work focuses on curating customized solutions and supports for people and projects in Canada and the world that seek to drive systems level impact, innovation and change."

Mafukidze worked at York University's School of Social Work as a senior manager for the Youth Research and Evaluation eXchange (YouthREX). She is known as a changemaker in her support of youth programs and determining how well these programs benefit Ontario's youth.



Tinashe Mafukidze, Executive Director, Toronto Workforce Innovation Group (TWIG)
City: Toronto
Country of Origin: Zimbabwe

She is currently the executive director for the Toronto Workforce Innovation Group (TWIG), a leading-edge research and partnership organization responding to the diverse needs of local communities and businesses in the area of workforce development and future of work.

Mafukidze believes in making positive changes which came from personal experience and has lent itself to a success career. She describes herself as "a mixture of being adaptable when I need to be and always reflective about my experiences so I can learn and grow."

SOURCE: Canadian Immigrant (2018).

Canada has two types of refugee claimants. The first is a convention refugee who fits the definition under the UN convention; they are outside their country of origin and are unwilling to return because of a well-founded fear of persecution based on race, religion, political opinion, nationality, or membership in a particular social group such as women or people with an "unacceptable" sexual

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orientation. The second is a person in need of protection, which means that they are currently in Canada and their removal from Canada to their home country would subject them to a risk of torture, death, or cruel or unusual treatment or punishment.

The Immigrant and Refugee Board of Canada (IRB) is the independent board that decides on immigration and refugee matters. Most refugees to Canada come through the Refugee and Humanitarian Resettlement Program. The UN Refugee Agency identifies refugees for resettlement overseas; that is, a person cannot apply directly to Canada for resettlement but instead must be designated refugee status and then selected by UN workers as suitable for resettlement in Canada. Security clearances are conducted overseas, and interviews are completed prior to referral to Canada. A refugee claim can be made inland by people already in Canada but cannot be made by someone crossing into Canada from the United States, as the United States is a third-party safe country.

There is a private refugee sponsorship program by which people may apply to sponsor additional refugees still waiting for resettlement; however, these sponsors must provide financial and emotional support to any sponsored person for the length of the sponsorship or until the refugee can support himself or herself. Most frequently, this financial support lasts from one to three years.



EXERCISE 2

For a wider understanding of displacement and refugee crisis, watch the 2017 critically acclaimed documentary *Human Flow*, produced and directed by Ai Weiwei, which examines the greatest human

displacement in world history since the Second World War. Discuss as a class whether Canada could do more in addressing the crisis.

Canada has been home to refugees since before Confederation. The United Empire Loyalists, for example, flocked to Canada (along with many non-British subjects) during the American Revolution in 1776. Similarly, English Puritans found refuge in Canada in the 1600s after suffering religious persecution in their native country. Scots settled in Canada after the Highland Clearances of the 1600s, the Irish during the potato famine of the 1800s, Russians as a result of the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, and Armenians after the genocide of 1923. The origins of Canada's refugees continue to change. Just after the Second World War, refugees were primarily from Eastern Europe. Nowadays, the majority come from places such as South Asia, Somalia, Cambodia, Vietnam, Guatemala, and the Middle East.

Canada's humanitarian tradition with respect to refugees continues to be strong. From 2011 to 2016, Canada welcomed 860,000 refugees. The recent

refugee policy

humanitarian policy, based on the United Nations definition of a refugee, that assesses eligibility for entry to a country based on refugee status

Canadian census indicates this as an increase in refugee immigration. Canada showed its commitment to responding to humanitarian crises when it committed to welcoming more than 25,000 refugees who were displaced as a result of armed conflict in Syria.

Immigration and refugee policies need periodic renovation, and such changes have occurred in Canada. The 1976 Canadian *Immigration Act* introduced a **refugee policy** that formalized the country's approach to identifying and selecting refugees. The Act identified three routes to granting qualified refugees permission to resettle in Canada: overseas selection, special programs, and inland refugee-status determination.

In 1996, a review of Canada's refugee and immigration policy was initiated with the aim of making fundamental policy reforms and introducing new legislation. This resulted in the reintroduction of the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* of 2001. This Act and its accompanying regulations had the following aims:

- to be simpler, more modern, and more coherent than previous legislation;
- to respond effectively to Canada's global challenges of the 21st century;
- to ensure that Canada can preserve immigration as a source of diversity, richness, and openness to the world;
- to enhance Canada's advantage in the global competition for skilled workers;
- to maintain and enhance the country's strong humanitarian tradition;
- to deter migrant trafficking and to punish those who engage in this form of slavery; and
- to maintain confidence in the integrity of the immigration and refugee protection program.

The main reason for these changes to the country's refugee policy was to clear the backlog of refugee cases. On June 29, 2010, Bill C-11, the *Balanced Refugee Reform Act*, received royal assent. This Act affects the IRB and was intended to improve Canada's asylum system, resettle more refugees from abroad, and make it easier for refugees to start their lives in Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2011). Another set of significant changes to the refugee determination system came into force on December 15, 2012 as a result of the *Balanced Refugee Reform Act* and the *Protecting Canada's Immigration System Act*. These changes have been widely criticized on the grounds that they create a two-tier system for refugee protection that discriminates against some refugee claimants based on the country of origin, requires mandatory detention of designated foreign nationals, provides limited recourse for negative decisions, and provides limited access to social safety nets such as health care services.

THE SYRIAN REFUGEE CRISIS

In 2011 in Syria, increasing hostilities and civil war between several factions forced many Syrians to flee to neighbouring countries. By 2013, over 2 million refugees had fled the country, in need of peaceful resettlement elsewhere. In January 2015, the Canadian government pledged to resettle 10,000 Syrian refugees over three years; after the fall 2015 federal election, the newly elected government revised this plan to accept 25,000 refugees by the end of 2015. The target date was later extended to February 2016 to allow more time to process refugee applications. A total of 29,713 Syrian refugees were resettled between

November 4, 2015 and August 1, 2016 (Government of Canada, 2017).

Not all reactions to the newcomers have been positive. On January 8, 2016, a Muslim centre in Vancouver organized a welcome event for a group of Syrian refugees. After the event, around 30 attendees, including a number of children, were waiting for a bus when they were pepper-sprayed by a man bicycling past. The Vancouver police announced that they would treat the incident as a hate-motivated crime (see Chapter 2).

SOURCE: Azpiri (2016).



EXERCISE 3

With the Vancouver pepper-spraying incident in mind, examine the following quotation. Do you feel that acceptance of and respect for diverse cultures has to be legislated? Do you believe that, with increasing immigration, Canadians might not so readily give this respect and acceptance? Give reasons for your answer.

Compassion, acceptance, and trust; diversity and inclusion—these are the things that have made Canada strong and free. Not just in principle, but in practice. Those of us who benefit from the many blessings of Canada’s diversity need to be strong and confident custodians of its character. (Trudeau, 2015)

INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN CANADA

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, there was a significant Indigenous presence in Canada when the first Europeans arrived. Indigenous cultures were greatly affected by contact with Europeans. From initial contact with the Europeans, Indigenous nations were at a disadvantage. They faced social changes, new technologies, and imported diseases, as well as the Europeans’ quest for new lands.

The French and the British were the main European influences in North America from the 1500s to the early 1900s. They competed for dominance by establishing settlements. Both sides courted Indigenous peoples in their quest for trade and in their battles with each other over control of the continent. European settlement gradually pushed Indigenous peoples off the land, and they became dependent upon Europeans for their livelihood. Hunting skills disappeared,

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languages were lost, and traditions were abolished. Indigenous peoples came to be seen as wards of the government, unable to take care of themselves. Missionaries moved in to “save” the lost Indigenous souls, one result of which was the infamous residential school system in which many Indigenous children were physically, culturally, and sexually abused.

In the second half of the 20th century, oppressed peoples around the world challenged the remnants of colonialism and demanded equality. Some of these peoples proclaimed their independence and forged new nations. Others, such as the First Nations, Inuit, and Métis of Canada, demanded the right to sovereignty and self-determination within the framework of Canada (Roberts, 2006).

Attempts to address the needs of Indigenous peoples in Canada began in 1973. This was when Indigenous land rights, based on a group’s traditional use and occupancy of a certain area of land, were first recognized. In 1982, the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* recognized and affirmed the treaty rights of Indigenous (“Aboriginal” in the Charter) peoples to protect their cultures, traditions, and languages. In 1996, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples presented a comprehensive five-volume report to Parliament identifying the legal, political, social, economic, and cultural issues that needed to be addressed to ensure the future survival of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples in Canada. Two years later, the government responded with a plan to work in partnership with Indigenous peoples in Canada to improve their health, housing, and public safety; to strengthen their economic development; and to help them implement self-government.

Indigenous peoples account for a significant portion of the Canadian population. The 2016 census revealed that 1,673,785 individuals in Canada reported Indigenous identity, representing 4.9 percent of the Canadian population (Statistics Canada, 2017a). Those claiming First Nations identity numbered at about 977,230, making them the largest Indigenous ancestry group. Another 587,545 individuals reported Métis identity, and 65,025 individuals identified as Inuit.

Indigenous cultures will be lost if modern governments do not help protect them by enabling Indigenous peoples to continue their traditional ways of life on their ancestral lands. In North America, New Zealand, Australia, and many other places around the world, hundreds of Indigenous languages and cultural practices are either extinct or endangered. If the rights of Indigenous peoples to freely hunt, fish, and pass on their language and traditions are not restored or maintained, their cultures will disappear (University of Maryland, 2000).

IMMIGRATION TRENDS

This section examines immigration into Canada around the beginning of the 21st century.

ETHNIC ORIGINS

Ethnic origin, as defined in the census, refers to the ethnic or cultural group to which an individual's ancestors belonged. The 1901 census recorded about 25 different ethnic groups in Canada. At that time, people of either Indigenous, British, or French origins made up the majority of the ethnic groups reported.

The list of ethnic origins in 2016 includes much greater variety (see Figure 1.4); more than 250 different ethnic origins were reported in Canada's 2016 census (Statistics Canada, 2017b). Among these were the groups associated with Indigenous peoples in Canada and those associated with the European groups—the English, French, Scots, and Irish—that first settled in Canada. There were also groups associated with immigrants who came to Canada over the last century: Germans, Italians, Chinese, Ukrainians, Dutch, Polish, and East Indians, among others. Figure 1.5 shows the most prevalent ethnic origins in Canada and how these origins have changed over three generations. The three Asian origins most commonly reported were Chinese at close to 1.8 million, East Indian at 1.4 million, and Filipino at 837,130 (Statistics Canada, 2017c). For the first time, five new African origins—Edo, Ewe, Malinke, Wolof, and Djiboutian—and five new Asian origins—Hazara, Kyrgyz, Turkman, Bhutanese, and Karen—were published (Statistics Canada, 2017c). These new origins were mainly reported by foreign-born individuals and reflect the newest immigration wave. In 2016, 41.1 percent of the Canadian population recorded more than one origin (Statistics Canada, 2017c).

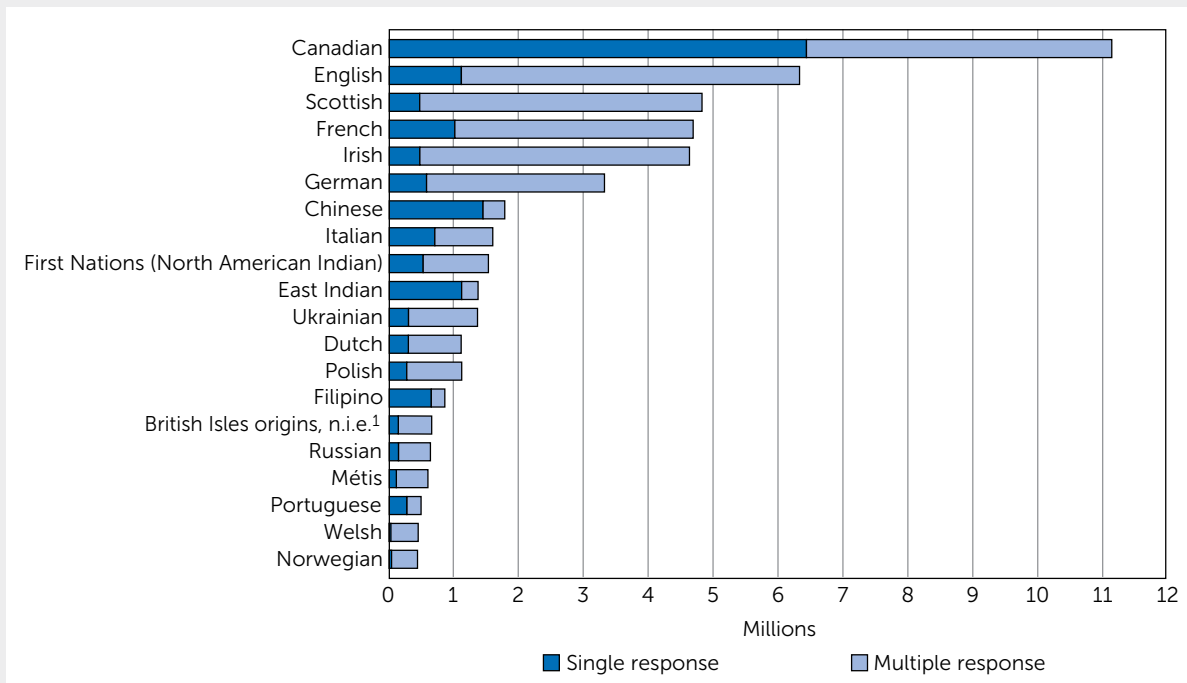
VISIBLE MINORITIES

Visible minorities are legally recognized in Canada; they are one of four groups designated under the federal *Employment Equity Act*. Section 3 of the Act defines visible minorities as “persons, other than Aboriginal persons, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour.” The other three such groups are women, Indigenous peoples, and people with disabilities. In 2016, Statistics Canada found more than one fifth of Canadians to be visible minorities, a total of 7,674,585; 95 percent of these people live in metropolitan areas.

The **visible minority** population in Canada has grown steadily over the past 35 years. In 1981, the estimated 1.1 million people in this group represented 4.7 percent of Canada's total population. In 1991, 2.5 million people were members of a visible minority group—9.4 percent of the population. This number increased to 3.2 million in 1996, which was 11.2 percent of the total population. By 2001, their numbers had reached an estimated 3,983,800—13.4 percent of the total population. Between 2001 and 2006, the rate of growth of the visible minority population was 27.2 percent, five times greater than the whole population's 5.4 percent rate of growth. From 2006 to 2011, the visible minority population increased by 23.5 percent, almost four times faster than the increase for the Canadian population, which was only 5.9 percent.

visible minority
individuals, other than
Indigenous peoples, who
are non-Caucasian in race
or non-white in colour

FIGURE 1.4 The Top 20 Ethnic Origins Reported Alone or in Combination with Other Origins (Single or Multiple Response), Canada, 2016



1. "British Isles origins, n.i.e." includes general responses indicating British Isles origins (e.g., "British," "United Kingdom") as well as more specific responses indicating British Isles origins that have not been included elsewhere (e.g., "Celtic").

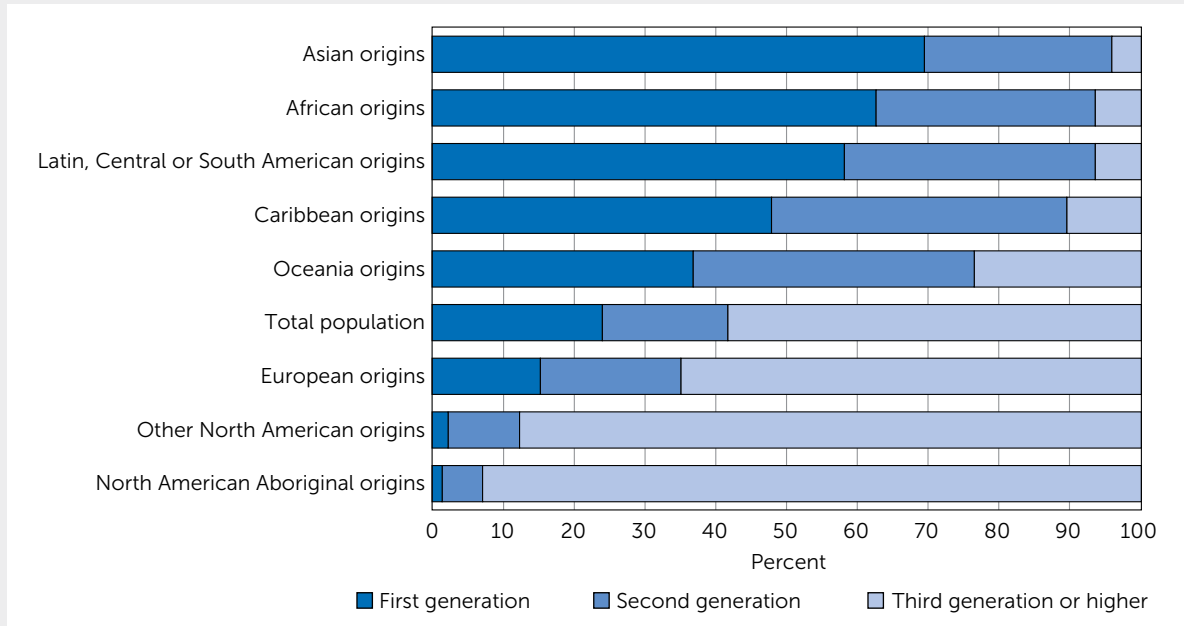
Note: In this chart, the sum of the ethnic origins is greater than the total population because a person can report more than one ethnic origin in the census questionnaire.

SOURCE: Statistics Canada (2017c).

If current trends continue, Canada's visible minority population will continue to grow more quickly than the rest of the population; by 2031, according to Statistics Canada (2011) projections, visible minority groups could represent roughly one third (14.4 million people) of Canada's total population. In comparison, the rest of population is projected to increase by just 12 percent during this period.

The 2016 census listed 1,924,635 individuals who identified themselves as South Asian, representing 25 percent of all visible minorities, or 5.6 percent of Canada's total population. The number of individuals in Canada who identified themselves as East Asian (1,577,060) increased to 4.6 percent of the population. This group accounted for about 21 percent of the visible minority population. The number of people in Canada identifying themselves as Black rose from 945,665 in 2011 to 1,198,545 in 2016, making them the third-largest visible minority group. They accounted for 15 percent of the visible minority population and 3.5 percent of the total Canadian population in 2016 (Statistics Canada, 2017f) (see Table 1.1).

FIGURE 1.5 Distribution of Ethnic and Cultural Origins of the Population, by Generation Status, Canada, 2016



SOURCE: Statistics Canada (2017c).

METROPOLITAN AREAS AND VISIBLE MINORITY GROUPS

According to the 2016 census, about 95 percent of visible minority groups resided in Canada's ten metropolitan areas, compared with almost half of the country's total population that lived in these areas. In 2016, more than 3 million visible minority persons lived in Toronto, making up 48 percent of the metropolitan's total population. In Vancouver, more than 1.1 million people were visible minorities, making up almost 50 percent of Vancouver's total population (see Table 1.2). The three largest visible minority groups in Toronto were South Asians, Chinese, and Black people (Statistics Canada, 2017f).

Visible minorities in Canada are highly educated. Of visible minorities aged 25–64, 68.9 percent have a post-secondary certificate, diploma, or degree, compared with only 64.1 percent of the general population; 38.2 percent of visible minorities have a university certificate, diploma, or degree at the bachelor level or above, compared with 25.9 percent of the general population (Statistics Canada, 2016a).

TABLE 1.1 Top Places of Birth of Immigrants and Recent Immigrants, Canada, 2016

PLACE OF BIRTH	NUMBER	PERCENT	RANK
Immigrant Population	7,540,825	100.0	
India	668,570	8.9	1
China	649,260	8.6	2
Philippines	588,305	7.8	3
United Kingdom	499,120	6.6	4
United States	253,715	3.4	5
Italy	236,640	3.1	6
Hong Kong	208,935	2.8	7
Pakistan	202,255	2.7	8
Vietnam	169,245	2.2	9
Iran	154,420	2.0	10
Recent Immigrants (2011–2016)	1,212,075	100.0	
Philippines	188,805	15.6	1
India	147,190	12.1	2
China	129,020	10.6	3
Iran	42,070	3.5	4
Pakistan	41,480	3.4	5
United States	33,055	2.7	6
Syria	29,945	2.5	7
United Kingdom	24,445	2.0	8
France	24,150	2.0	9
South Korea	21,710	1.8	10

SOURCE: Statistics Canada (2017f).

TABLE 1.2 Number and Distribution (Percentage) of the Immigrant Population and Recent Immigrants in Census Metropolitan Areas, Canada, 2016

Geography	TOTAL POPULATION		IMMIGRANT POPULATION		RECENT IMMIGRANTS (2011–2016)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Canada	34,460,065	100.0	7,540,830	100.0	1,212,075	100.0
Toronto	5,862,850	17.0	2,705,550	35.9	356,930	29.4
Montreal	4,009,790	11.6	936,305	12.4	179,270	14.8
Vancouver	2,426,235	7.0	989,540	13.1	142,535	11.8
Calgary	1,374,650	4.0	404,700	5.4	93,255	7.7
Ottawa–Gatineau	1,300,730	3.8	255,800	3.4	37,890	3.1
Edmonton	1,297,280	3.8	308,605	4.1	78,515	6.5
Quebec City	779,085	2.3	44,550	0.6	13,445	1.1
Winnipeg	761,540	2.2	181,960	2.4	52,460	4.3
Hamilton	734,885	2.1	177,070	2.3	17,425	1.4
Kitchener–Cambridge–Waterloo	516,085	1.5	118,615	1.6	13,975	1.2
London	486,500	1.4	94,690	1.3	11,960	1.0
Halifax	397,635	1.2	37,205	0.5	9,425	0.8
St. Catharines–Niagara	396,865	1.2	67,190	0.9	4,990	0.4
Oshawa	375,605	1.1	67,570	0.9	4,545	0.4
Victoria	357,695	1.0	65,615	0.9	7,690	0.6
Windsor	325,005	0.9	74,495	1.0	10,105	0.8
Saskatoon	288,900	0.8	45,160	0.6	18,585	1.5
Regina	232,615	0.7	36,910	0.5	16,195	1.3
Sherbrooke	205,735	0.6	14,550	0.2	3,940	0.3
St. John's	203,305	0.6	8,135	0.1	2,685	0.2
Barrie	194,445	0.6	26,135	0.3	2,040	0.2
Kelowna	190,565	0.6	26,450	0.4	2,995	0.2
Abbotsford–Mission	176,325	0.5	43,780	0.6	5,880	0.5
Greater Sudbury	161,820	0.5	9,360	0.1	1,005	0.1

(Table concluded on next page.)

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TABLE 1.2 Number and Distribution (Percentage) of the Immigrant Population and Recent Immigrants in Census Metropolitan Areas, Canada, 2016 (*Concluded*)

Geography	TOTAL POPULATION		IMMIGRANT POPULATION		RECENT IMMIGRANTS (2011–2016)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Saguenay	157,165	0.5	2,035	0.0	405	0.0
Kingston	156,470	0.5	18,405	0.2	1,725	0.1
Trois-Rivières	150,170	0.4	4,820	0.1	1,340	0.1
Guelph	150,030	0.4	30,880	0.4	3,680	0.3
Moncton	141,525	0.4	7,955	0.1	2,840	0.2
Brantford	131,640	0.4	16,470	0.2	1,100	0.1
Saint John	123,520	0.4	6,645	0.1	1,995	0.2
Thunder Bay	118,880	0.3	10,490	0.1	695	0.1
Peterborough	118,775	0.3	10,055	0.1	750	0.1
Lethbridge	113,920	0.3	15,365	0.2	3,400	0.3
Belleville	101,285	0.3	7,370	0.1	550	0.0

SOURCE: Statistics Canada (2017f).



EXERCISE 4

Is it time to retire the term “visible minority”? Consider that 50 years ago, visible minorities made up only 2 percent of Canadians, and the term was created in the 1980s to assist in removing barriers

to employment through the *Employment Equity Act*. Since it is projected that in 2031 one third of Canadians will be visible minorities, should we retire this category?

IMMIGRATION AND DIVERSITY

There has been a fundamental transformation in Canadian immigration since 1961. The “Old Canada” is still present—a country that resists multiculturalism; is predominantly rural, conservative, and white; and opposes social change. But this dated version of the country is no longer the main one, and it is under pressure from diverse ethnicities. This pressure will have a profound effect on,

among other things, the ways people communicate and the ways public services are delivered. As we become aware of cultural barriers to communication and the need to communicate on a global scale, we will see the need to incorporate the languages of diverse cultures into the public sphere. This will lead, for example, to a requirement that public service and business workers be bilingual or even trilingual.

Before 1961, the Canadian government deliberately sought to retain the British nature of Canadian society. Canadian culture was bound by a fairly uniform code of moral attitudes and manners. Profound differences of opinion or culture were not readily tolerated. The general cultural emphasis was on work, the accumulation of wealth, the written word, codified laws and regulations, and punctuality.

Since 1961, immigration has produced a society where social customs and manners are more diverse, dynamic, and fluid. These changes pose a challenge to Canadian civil authorities. How will someone with limited educational opportunities from a place with cultural values that are very different from Canada's be integrated into Canadian culture? How can we expect that person to understand something as complicated as Canada's *Criminal Code*? Most people whose families have been in Canada for more than three generations take for granted their understanding of what is socially acceptable, legal or illegal, or simply right or wrong; they have been raised within this cultural context. Such people also tend to assume that the predominant customs and laws in this country are somehow natural or superior to others. These assumptions are now being challenged, and the question of national identity—what is a Canadian?—remains open.

One of the challenges facing newcomers to this country is poverty. This condition is widespread among immigrant groups, and it is a problem not only for them but for our society as a whole. The children of immigrants and visible minorities are twice as likely as other Canadian children to live in poverty. Almost one in two recent-immigrant children lives in poverty (Brown, 2005). As Laurel Rothman has said,

here in one of the wealthiest countries in the world, with the lowest unemployment rate in 30 years, it seems an irony that so many [immigrant] children still live in poverty. All of these groups are growing Our national policy is to increase the number of immigrants ... but at the most basic levels of food and housing and income, these groups are being marginalized. (Brown, 2005)

One of the many reasons for this poverty is that male immigrants face barriers to good jobs. Earnings of full-time male workers who had recently immigrated to this country fell significantly in the period from 1980 to 2006, while earnings of Canadian-born men rose slightly. Discrimination still influences

hiring, despite the laws against it. Our society resists recognizing the professional credentials of immigrants, despite the shortage of qualified people in certain areas of our labour force, such as doctors in Ontario or skilled workers across the country. The low wages earned by immigrants put a strain on our social services. Some immigrants are returning to their homelands because they can't make a living here.

VISIBLE MINORITY CANADIANS IN THE LABOUR MARKET

Canada's increasingly diverse society has a number of problems to address. One problem concerns inequities in the Canadian labour market, which are featured in the report *Canada's Colour Coded Labour Market* (Block & Galabuzi, 2011). This report compares work and income trends among visible minority members of the Canadian population and the rest of the population (Myrie, 2011). Among the report's findings are the following:

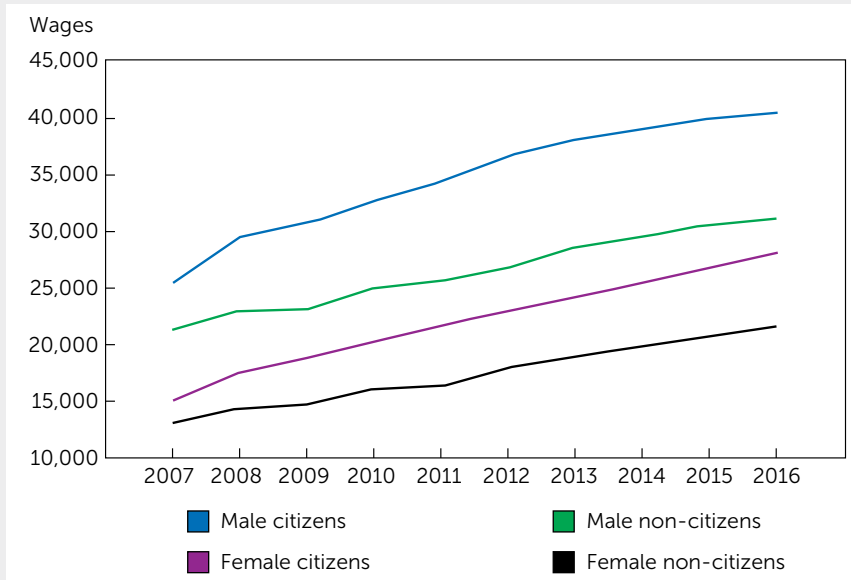
- immigrants from visible minority groups earn only 81 percent of what white immigrants earn;
- male immigrants from visible minority groups earn only 68.7 percent of white males' earnings;
- Canadian-born visible minority individuals earn less than other Canadian-born individuals with the same level of education;
- visible minority women make 56.5 cents for every dollar white males earn, while visible minority males earn 75.6 cents; and
- Canadian-born visible minority men earn 18 percent less than Canadian-born white men.

Although the income immigrants receive during their first year in Canada is very low in general, once settled, most see wage increases with time. A rising number of new immigrants are obtaining pre-admission experience in Canada through work permits, study permits, or refugee claims. For immigrants admitted to Canada in 2015, one third had pre-admission experience, compared with only one fifth a decade earlier. For the 2016 tax year, immigrants without pre-admission experience had a median income of \$19,800, compared with \$34,000 for those with pre-admission work experience.

Statistics Canada tracked the immigrant cohort's wages for the year 2006, finding a significant increase for those who obtained citizenship and acquired one of the official languages in the decade post-settlement (see Figure 1.6).

Despite employment equity, the economic situation of many immigrants suggests that racism and discrimination are still prevalent factors in our society when it comes to employment opportunities.

FIGURE 1.6 Median Wages of the 2006 Cohort of Immigrant Tax Filers, by Citizenship Status in 2016 and Sex, Tax Years 2007–2016



SOURCE: Statistics Canada (2018).



EXERCISE 5

Two problems facing immigrants—poverty and lack of acceptable credentials—have been mentioned.

List some of the other problems faced by immigrants and give examples of each.

DEVELOPING A CANADIAN IDENTITY

Demographic trends indicate that more and more people in this country are identifying themselves as Canadian. In the 2016 census, the most frequently reported ethnicities among third-generation immigrants were as follows (see also Table 1.2):

- Canadian (10.5 million),
- English (6.5 million),
- French (5 million),
- Scottish (4.7 million),
- Irish (4.5 million), and
- German (3.2 million).

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These numbers tell us that in 2011, over 30 percent of the population identified themselves as Canadian. This fact might suggest the possibility of defining a Canadian identity. However, a study done by Rudolf Kalin and John W. Berry (2000) suggests that the majority of those who identify themselves as Canadian are members of the Charter groups—in other words, descendants of English and French settlers. Slightly fewer than one half of people from other ethnic heritages chose to identify themselves as Canadian.

It is likely that as successive generations of immigrant families live in Canada, their members will lean more toward identifying themselves as Canadian. But this will be a gradual process. According to Statistics Canada (2006), immigrants were more likely than people born in Canada to report a strong sense of belonging to their ethnic or cultural group, and immigrants who had recently arrived indicated that their ethnic or cultural ancestry was important to them. This allegiance is reflected in the fact that there are more than 250 ethnic newspapers and magazines produced in the Toronto area alone. The mission of these media is to inform, to build community, and, as time goes on, to pass their cultural legacy on to the next generation.

Statistics show that the first generation of immigrants has the strongest sense of belonging to an **ethnic group**, with this sense of ethnicity declining considerably by the third generation. Identification with Canada increases with time in Canada, as does participation in non-ethnic organizations. Multiculturalism and cultural diversity seem to be working for Canada. It seems likely that, in time, a true Canadian identity will emerge—an identity that, instead of simply assimilating the country's new members into a uniform culture, will register their diverse values as contributions to Canadian society. And these new members, in turn, will come to see themselves as Canadian.

The search for a Canadian identity is ongoing. In 2013, Statistics Canada released a publication with answers to questions asked of Canadians on how they define their identity. Questions included identity measures indicating their appreciation of national symbols (such as the flag), their pride in being Canadian, and their shared values. The *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* and the national flag were ranked as the most recognized and important symbols of the Canadian identity. Other symbols included the national anthem, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and hockey. Immigrants were more likely than non-immigrants to believe that each of these symbols were very important to their national identity, and these symbols were rated higher in importance by visible minorities than by other Canadians. For example, the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* was rated the highest by visible minorities (82 percent), compared with all other Canadians (68 percent), as the most important symbol to national identity (Statistics Canada, 2013).

The important shared values that emerged for Canadians in the publication included human rights, respect for the law, gender equality, and ethnic and cultural diversity. Immigrants were again more likely to *greatly* believe that

ethnic group

group of individuals with a shared sense of peoplehood based on presumed shared socio-cultural experiences and/or similar characteristics

Canadians shared these specific values. Specifically, 62 percent immigrants and visible minorities believed strongly that Canadians valued multiculturalism; 37 percent of non-visible minorities listed multiculturalism as important (Statistics Canada, 2013).



EXERCISE 6

How would you define the Canadian identity? What is a Canadian? How does a Canadian differ from a citizen of any other country in the world? How do

Canadians differ from Americans? Be specific in your answers and give concrete examples.

When measuring levels of pride in the Canadian population, immigrants were again more likely to report being *very proud* of being Canadian (64 percent compared with 60 percent of non-immigrant Canadians) rather than being simply *proud* (Statistics Canada, 2013). Immigrants with Canadian citizenship indicated the highest levels of pride in Canadian identity. When examining children's responses to pride in being Canadian, second-generation immigrants (children of immigrants) exhibited higher levels of pride than children of Canadian-born parents—66 percent versus 59 percent, respectively (Sinha, 2013).

GENDER

Immigration plays a significant role in determining the composition of Canada's population. However, diversity in Canada extends beyond ethnicity, immigration, visible minority, religion, and languages; it also includes gender, gender identities, and sexual diversity.

There is a spectrum of terms that play a role in understanding gender diversity in Canada. The biological characteristics differentiating males and females are referred to as “**sex**.” The social or cultural characteristics associated with being male or female are referred to as “**gender**.” The World Health Organization defines gender as referring to the socially constructed roles, behaviours, activities, and attributes that a given society or culture considers appropriate for men and women (n.d.). **Gender identity** is a person's internal sense of being male, female, some combination of male and female, or neither male nor female. The environments in which people grow up shape their understanding of gender, **gender roles**, and gender identity.

Most people develop a gender identity that matches their biological sex. However, others have a gender identity different from their sex. Therefore, the terms “gender” and “sex” should not be used interchangeably. People who have a gender identity different from their biological sex and those who express their gender in ways different from social expectations may refer to themselves as **trans** and **transgender**.

sex

a person's biological status as assigned at birth, typically categorized as male, female, or intersex, and associated with physical attributes such as chromosomes, hormonal prevalence, and external and internal anatomy

gender

the culturally constructed roles, attitudes, feelings, and behaviours that are associated with a person's biological sex

gender identity

a person's internal sense of being male, female, some combination of male and female, or neither male nor female

gender roles

culturally informed norms of how males and females are expected to feel, think, and behave

trans or transgender

an umbrella term referring to people with diverse gender identities and expressions that differ from stereotypical gender norms and the biological sex assigned at birth

STATUS OF WOMEN IN CANADA

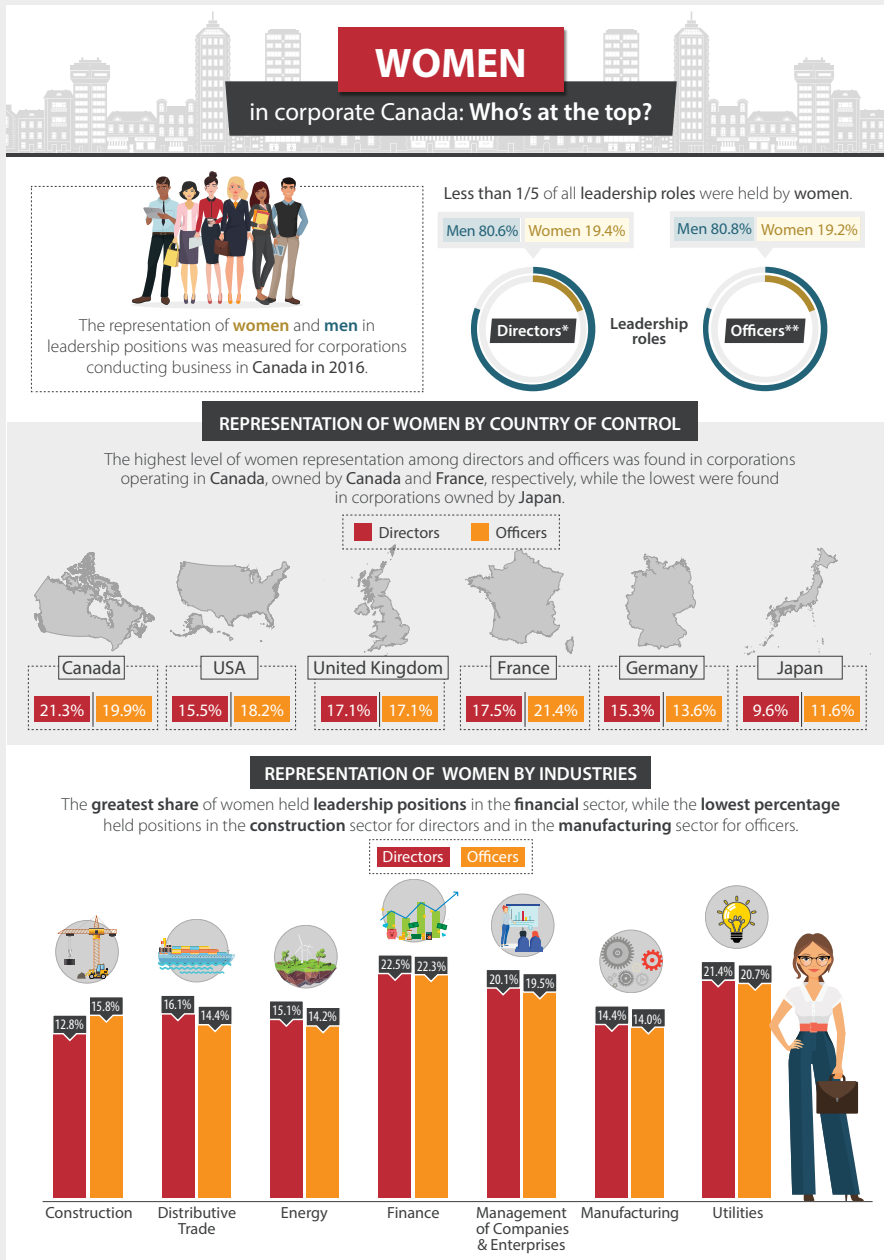
Women account for just over 50 percent of Canada's population. In November 2018, 61.4 percent of Canadian women were reported to have participated in the labour force, compared with 70 percent of men (Vecchio, 2018). However, in 2017, the number of women employed in management positions across Canada was only 593,400, versus 1,123,900 men in similar positions (Vecchio, 2018). Furthermore, within the highest levels of corporate leadership roles, only one in five are women (Vecchio, 2018). This speaks to the continued wage gap between the sexes: on average, women earn only 70 percent of what their male counterparts earn. Also affecting income is the fact that twice as many women are working part-time jobs when compared with men. Sadly, women disproportionately work in precarious, low-wage jobs. Another significant barrier to income equality is that women do a larger proportion of unpaid work than men in terms of managing households and caring for both children and aging parents (Vecchio, 2018).

The House of Commons June 2018 report on the status of women (Vecchio, 2018) cites that in 2016, women represented only 12 percent of the board seats of the Toronto Stock Exchange's publicly listed non-venture companies, and only 27 percent of women were on boards of directors of Crown corporations, agencies, and commissions. Furthermore, 73 percent of Canadian technology firms did not have women on their boards of directors. These are some of the most influential and lucrative positions in business, and women are barely represented. Furthermore, it has been noted that the wage gap persists even between men and women with the same levels of education. Women represent 56.1 percent of people enrolled in post-secondary programs, but they continue to earn less (Vecchio, 2018) (see Figure 1.7).

Occupational segregation is one piece of the wage gap puzzle. It is recognized that certain fields of work have an overrepresentation of either women or men, with women being overrepresented in those fields of work with lower pay, as well as in part-time and contract work. An example given in the House of Commons June 2018 report (Vecchio, 2018) is the comparison of the early childhood educator occupation versus the truck driver occupation. Truck drivers are 97 percent male and earn an average of \$45,000 per year, whereas early childhood educators are 97 percent female and earn an average of \$25,000 per year. In this specific comparison, early childhood educators are required to be more highly educated (Vecchio, 2018).

Another noticeable trend in the wage gap is that women's incomes flatten during prime working years, and their professional advancement often slows during times when career is interrupted by childrearing or eldercare. A *step back*, implying that women choose to step back, or a *push back*, meaning women are held back non-voluntarily from promotions to higher levels, affects pension contributions and leads to much lower levels of pension income for women post-retirement.

FIGURE 1.7 Representation of Women in Leadership Positions



Note to readers: The statistics presented cover the corporations that are publicly traded and privately held, as well as provincial and federal government business enterprises.

* Directors are responsible for supervising the activities of the corporation and for making decisions regarding those activities.

** Officers are responsible for the day-to-day operation of the corporation.

SOURCE: Statistics Canada (2016b).

GENDER AND SEXUAL HARASSMENT IN THE MILITARY

After media reports estimated that there were 1,780 sexual assaults per year in the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF), the military asked former Supreme Court of Canada justice Marie Deschamps to lead an External Review Authority (ERA) to investigate. Her inquiry targeted CAF policies, procedures, and programs that dealt with sexual misconduct and sexual harassment. In her final report, released in March 2015, she found that there was an “underlying sexualized culture” in the CAF that was “hostile to women and LGBTQ members” (Deschamps, 2015, p. 2). She wrote:

The ERA’s consultations revealed a sexualized environment in the CAF, particularly among recruits and non-commissioned members, characterized by the frequent use of swear words and highly degrading expressions that reference women’s bodies, sexual jokes, innuendos, discriminatory comments with respect to the abilities of women, and unwelcome sexual touching.

Although the most common complaints to the ERA related to this hostile, sexualized environment, the ERA also heard reports of quid pro quo sexual harassment. Some participants further reported instances of sexual assault, including instances of dubious relationships between lower rank women and higher rank men and date rape. At the most serious extreme, these reports of sexual violence highlighted the use of sex to enforce power relationships and to punish and ostracize a member of a unit.

The ERA found that members appear to become inured to this sexualized culture as they move up the ranks. For example, non-commissioned officers (NCOs), both men and women, appear to be generally desensitized to the sexualized culture. Officers tend to excuse incidents of inappropriate conduct on the basis that the CAF is merely a reflection of civilian society. There is also a strong perception that senior NCOs are responsible for imposing a culture where no one speaks up and which functions to deter victims from reporting sexual misconduct.

As a result of these attitudes, there is a broadly held perception in the lower ranks that those in the chain of command either condone inappropriate sexual conduct, or are willing to turn a blind-eye [sic] to such incidents. (Deschamps, 2015, p. 2)

Madame Deschamps identified a number of other deficiencies in policy and procedure that discouraged the reporting of sexual harassment and assault and entrenched the culture of hostility. In her report, she made ten recommendations. The first two targeted the sexualized culture, including the recommendation that the CAF acknowledge the serious problem of inappropriate sexual conduct. Recommendation No. 2 stated:

Establish a strategy to effect cultural change to eliminate the sexualized environment and to better integrate women, including by conducting a gender-based analysis of CAF policies. (Deschamps, 2015, p. 26)

SOURCES: Deschamps (2015); Pugliese (2015).

Finally, bias may account for women’s lower earnings. Statistics show that “women working in university-level science, technology and mathematics occupations (STEM) earned on average [\$]61,000 annually compared to [\$]71,000 earned by men” (Vecchio, 2018, p. 33). A study cited by Catalyst Canada showed that women in their first post-Master’s degree jobs in business administration were more likely to start at a lower position and wage than their male counterparts, with an average difference of \$8,000 in income (van Biesen, 2017, cited in Vecchio, 2018, pp. 36–37).

The wage gap increases when you measure the income gap for female population by single parent, female-led families and visible minority, new immigrant,

refugee, and Indigenous women: these groups all show a higher wage gap. For example, the rate of poverty for single mothers is three times higher than for the general female population. New immigrant women are overrepresented in the family class of immigrants and are often economically dependent on their male partners. A lack of extended family may limit their ability to attend language classes because of childcare needs, and language acquisition is known to be key to integration and employment for new immigrants. Because of financial dependence on male partners, immigrant women are at risk of poverty should their marriage break down. They are also vulnerable to domestic abuse due to shifts in family dynamics after resettlement.

In a May 2014 report, the RCMP estimated that there were 1,181 cases of Indigenous women who had disappeared or were murdered since the 1980s. Indigenous women account for 16 percent of Canada's female homicide victims and 11.3 percent of missing women, while they form only 4.3 percent of the total female population of Canada.

SEXUAL DIVERSITY

The term “**sexual diversity**” is often used with respect to sexuality or sexual orientation. “Sexuality” or “**sexual orientation**” refers to a person's emotional or sexual attraction. Canadians have become more tolerant and accepting of different sexual orientations. Not everyone is heterosexual; many are gay, lesbian, bisexual, trans, queer, or two-spirited (LGBTQ2). A society that recognizes and accepts people of all sexual orientations demonstrates sexual diversity.

sexual diversity

variations in sexual behaviours, orientations, and identities

sexual orientation

a person's sexual identity in relation to the gender or genders to which they are sexually attracted, whether heterosexual, gay or lesbian, bisexual, pansexual, asexual, or other

SEXUAL DIVERSITY IN CANADA

Until the 21st century, sexual diversity in Canada was less visible than it is now. The struggle for recognition and rights for the LGBTQ2 communities had been a long and hard road. Prior to the early 1970s, sexuality was tightly regulated by conservative institutions of the day. (McCaskell, 2016). In the early 1970s, there were gay rights marches in the country. These were small and almost invisible, and they were not having significant impact on Canadian society. However, in 1981, after the Toronto Police raided several gay bathhouses, the LGBTQ2 communities demonstrated in huge numbers never seen before in the country. Thousands flocked to Toronto to march against police brutality and homophobia and for the recognition of equal rights.

According to the 2011 census, about 2 percent of Canadians identify themselves as homosexual or bisexual (Statistics Canada, 2015). There were 64,575 same-sex couples living together in 2011, which represents less than 1 percent of all couples. About one third (21,015) of these couples were legally married; this number nearly tripled between 2006 and 2011 following the legalization of

same-sex marriage in 2005. Over 90 percent of all same-sex couples (married and common law) did not have a child living with them.

SEXUAL INEQUALITY

Canada is recognized as a world leader in sexual minority rights. In 2005, Canada became the fourth country in the world to legally allow same-sex marriage. But, even with legal equality rights, social inequality still exists for the LGBTQ2 community in Canada. There are stigmas and taboos related to sexual orientation among various ethnocultural groups, and construction of sexual identity differs across different cultures. Fear, hatred, and intolerance of people who are not heterosexual and cisgender leads to intense feelings and prejudice, which often result in discrimination, harassment, and hate crimes. There has been an increase in the number of hate crimes motivated by intolerance of sexual diversity: in 2013, there were 186 police-reported hate-crime incidents connected to the victims' sexual orientation (Allen, 2015); police-reported hate crimes based on sexual orientation rose 16 percent between 2016 and 2017 (Armstrong, 2019). Following are some other facts on police-reported hate crimes motivated by sexual orientation:

- Hate crimes motivated by sexual orientation are more likely to be violent compared with hate crimes targeting other groups.
- Males under the age of 25 are more likely to be both the victims and the perpetrators of violent hate crimes motivated by sexual orientation.
- Most of these violent hate crimes are perpetrated by someone unknown to the victim.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

Canada is a diverse, multicultural country that encourages all groups to retain their cultures and cultural practices. The process of embracing diversity has been lengthy; beginning in colonial times, it has now reached the stage where Canada accepts more than 200,000 immigrants yearly. South Asians are now the most numerous immigrants. South Asians, Chinese, and Black people are the largest visible minority populations. The trend of increasing immigration has many implications for the development of a Canadian identity.

Even though the sex structure of Canada's population encompasses a slim majority of females over males, gender inequality exists in power relations and pay equity in the workforce. Although women in non-traditional occupations such as policing are increasing in number, they are still facing challenges in regard to gender in their workplaces. Canada has legally recognized sexual equality; however, strong feelings of hatred toward sexual minority groups are evident in our society. Both diversity and society's response to diversity form a collective Canadian experience and identity.

KEY TERMS

acculturation, 9	exclusionary, 9	refugee policy, 18
assimilation, 9	gender, 31	segregationist, 9
assimilation ideology, 6	gender identity, 31	separation, 9
assimilationist, 9	gender roles, 31	settlement patterns, 8
civic ideology, 6	host community, 8	sex, 31
discrimination, 8	integration, 9	sexual diversity, 35
diversity, 4	integrationist, 9	sexual orientation, 35
ethnic group, 30	marginalization, 9	transgender, 31
ethnicity, 4	multiculturalism, 4	values, 6
ethnist ideology, 6	multiculturalism ideology, 5	visible minority, 21

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REVIEW QUESTIONS

TRUE OR FALSE?

- ___ 1. The term “multiculturalism” can suggest an ideal of cultural diversity.
- ___ 2. The term “ethnicity” refers to the ideologies of host cultures.
- ___ 3. Ethnist ideology is a “melting pot” ideology that accepts all immigrants indiscriminately.
- ___ 4. There is tension between Canada’s assumption that all citizens should be treated equally under the law and its principles of multiculturalism.
- ___ 5. Multiculturalism became a formal policy in Canada under Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau in 1971.
- ___ 6. A host community is made up of groups of people who have the power and influence to change attitudes toward the less established communities in the society.
- ___ 7. “Assimilation” refers to an immigrant’s rejection of his or her culture in favour of absorption into the main culture.
- ___ 8. Indigenous peoples were not recognized under the 1982 *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*.
- ___ 9. A person’s gender identity refers to the culturally constructed roles, attitudes, and feelings that are associated with the biological sex that was assigned at birth.
- ___ 10. More visible minority people live in Toronto than in any other city in Canada.

MULTIPLE CHOICE

1. "Diversity" refers to
 - a. country of origin
 - b. the variety of human qualities among different people and groups
 - c. a national ideology of a country or state
 - d. the prevailing attitude of the host country
2. Ethnist ideology is an ideology in which the state
 - a. defines which groups are permitted to assimilate
 - b. promotes a "melting pot" approach to assimilation
 - c. promotes a homogeneous approach to assimilation
 - d. creates funding for new Canadians
3. The *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* of 1988 was inaugurated to
 - a. deny to new Canadians the rights that are held by other Canadians
 - b. define the number of immigrants who could arrive in Canada
 - c. address the needs of new Canadians and disadvantaged groups
 - d. declare the dominant culture of Canada to be British
4. A host community consists of people who
 - a. determine the basic character and attitudes of the society
 - b. have a friendly attitude to all immigrants
 - c. come from English and French cultures
 - d. have a variety of marriage institutions
5. Marginalization occurs when
 - a. the cultural patterns of an ethnic group change
 - b. the host community rejects the immigrants' heritage culture
 - c. an immigrant rejects the host culture as well as his or her heritage culture
 - d. a visible minority immigrant group moves close to the host country's border
6. Canada has been home to refugees since
 - a. 1967
 - b. the Second World War
 - c. the latest census
 - d. before Confederation
7. From the 1500s to the early 1900s, the main European influences in North America were
 - a. the Vikings and Norsemen
 - b. priests and missionaries
 - c. Spain and Portugal
 - d. the English and French
8. Visible minorities are persons other than Indigenous peoples who are
 - a. Caucasian in race or non-white in colour
 - b. Non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour
 - c. Caucasian in race or white in colour
 - d. Non-Caucasian in race or white in colour
9. The highest level of women representation among directors and officers in companies is in which country?
 - a. Canada
 - b. France
 - c. United States of America
 - d. United Kingdom
10. Most new Canadians come from
 - a. South Asia
 - b. the Philippines
 - c. China
 - d. Pakistan

FILL IN THE BLANKS

1. Canada is the first nation to make a policy of _____ part of its national Constitution.
2. The assimilation ideology is a homogenization or _____ ideology.
3. When Canada was a colony of the British Empire, Canadians had limited _____ and were governed by a political elite.
4. Discrimination is the process by which a person is _____ of equal access to privileges and opportunities available to others.
5. Acculturation is the process of change in the _____ patterns of an ethnic group as a result of contact with other ethnic groups.
6. The four designated groups under the *Employment Equity Act* are women, people with disabilities, _____, and visible minorities.
7. The term “transgender” refers to a person whose _____ differs from that typically associated with the biological sex that was assigned at birth.
8. Immigrants to Canada are increasingly from _____.
9. Before 1961, the Canadian government deliberately sought to retain the _____ nature of Canadian society.
10. The children of immigrants and visible minorities are twice as likely to live in _____ as other Canadian children.