CANADIAN DIVERSITÉ CANADIENNE

VOLUME 1:1 SUMMER 2002 ÉTÉ

CANADIAN ETHNOCULTURAL COUNCIL
CONSEIL ETHNOCULTUREL DU CANADA

Celebrating 30 years of multiculturalism policy
Célébrant 30 ans de la politique du multiculturalisme

"Canada's Multicultural Policy has become one of our nation's guiding principles from which we can gather strength. The Policy has played a vital role in creating a nation where diverse communities are afforded respect and acceptance and where the choice to maintain one's culture and heritage is accepted as part of our Canadian identity.

Multiculturalism is an important fabric of our society. It has become a way of life, a way of doing business and a statement of who we are as a nation."
Art Hagopian, President

Founded in 1980, the Canadian Ethnocultural Council (CEC) is a non-profit, non-partisan coalition of national ethnocultural umbrella organizations which, in turn, represent a cross-section of ethnocultural groups across Canada. The CEC supports the principles of Canada's Multicultural Policy by encouraging the preservation, enhancement, and sharing of the cultural heritage of Canadians, the removal of barriers that prevent some Canadians from participating fully and equally in society, and the elimination of racism.

From Diversity Strength
The Canadian Ethnocultural Council's motto, as shown in its coat of arms, demonstrates that diversity is a natural element in our society with the power to strengthen us.

« La politique de multiculturalisme est devenue l'un des principes directeurs de notre pays et un principe d'où nous pouvons tirer de la force. La politique a joué un rôle crucial dans la création d'un pays où diverses communautés sont acceptées et traitées avec respect et où il est reconnu que le choix de conserver sa propre culture et son propre patrimoine fait partie de l'identité nationale.

Il est impossible de nier que le multiculturalisme constitue une composante essentielle de notre tissu social. Elle est devenue une façon de vivre, de faire des affaires, de même qu'un énoncé sur qui nous sommes en tant que peuple. On doit continuer à la renforcer et à l'appuyer. »
Art Hagopian, président

Fondé en 1980, le Conseil ethnoculturel du Canada (CEC) est un organisme sans but lucratif, non partisan qui regroupe un éventail d'organisations ethnoculturelles nationales représentant à leur tour différents groupes d'un bout à l'autre du Canada. Les membres du CEC s'efforcent d'assurer la préservation, la mise en valeur et le partage du patrimoine culturel des Canadiens ainsi que l'élimination des obstacles qui empêchent certains Canadiens de pleinement participer à la société, et la mise en échec du racisme.

La diversité notre force
La devise du Conseil ethnoculturel du Canada, écrite sur les armoiries, démontre que la diversité est innée à notre société et peut nous renforcer.

CANADIAN ETHNOCULTURAL COUNCIL
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ARTICLES

CANADIAN DIVERSITÉ CANADIENNE

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A NEW Beginning

The Association for Canadian Studies is proud to launch its new magazine *Canadian Diversity / Diversité canadienne* with this inaugural edition on the theme of future areas of research on identity. The texts and recommendations that follow were produced at a seminar on identity that took place in Halifax in October 2001.

The ACS is fortunate to have benefited from the contribution of some of Canada's leading scholars on identity issues. The seminar also included participation from analysts and policy-makers from around the country who regularly reflect upon the challenges that Canada faces with regard to its ever-evolving diversity. The presence of members of the Canadian Ethnic Studies Association and the Canadian Ethnocultural Council further enhanced the quality of the discussions that took place around identity issues. We thank them for their assistance and support in the production of this first edition of a magazine we hope will soon come to be known by its acronym 'CD/DC'. *Canadian Diversity / Diversité canadienne* could not have been generated without the invaluable support of the Department of Multiculturalism and many of those associated with it, including John Biles, Humera Ibrahim, Christine Racicot, Karen Ellis, Sylvie Groulx, Munro Pace, Ian Donaldson and many others. At the Association for Canadian Studies, Melissa Duncan and Robert Israel are owed a debt of gratitude, and a special thanks goes out to our President, Hector Mackenzie, for his ongoing support.

While *Canadian Issues / Thèmes canadiens*, the principal magazine of the Association, has dealt with issues relating to Canada's diversity, the level of interest in this area and the many and varied issues to which it gives rise offer considerable opportunity and need for reflection and discussion on an issue so fundamental to the country's future.

Canada is in the midst of a demographic revolution. The forthcoming 2001 census results on immigration and ethnicity will reveal that more than one out of five Canadians are foreign-born. We are truly a nation of immigrants with important historic foundations on which we continue to build. Managing diversity is a critical challenge both here and abroad, and in future editions of *Canadian Diversity / Diversité canadienne* the objective will be to openly address those issues that have made Canada a leader in the field. It is hoped that the magazine will become a forum for dialogue around the relevant issues in diversity.

Contributors will emanate from the academic, research, policy-making and NGO communities. The publication is aimed at bridging the gap between these communities. As with all ACS projects, your observations, suggestions and comments are welcome.

Jack Jedwab, Executive Director
Association for Canadian Studies

UN NOUVEAU début

L'Association d'études canadiennes est fière d'annoncer la publication de son nouveau magazine *Canadian Diversity / Diversité canadienne*. Ce numéro inaugural examine le thème des domaines de recherches futures sur l'identité. Les textes et recommandations qui suivent ont été produits lors d'un séminaire sur l'identité qui a eu lieu à Halifax en octobre 2001.

L'AEC est chanceuse d'avoir bénéficié des contributions de certains des académiques les plus importants du Canada dans le domaine de l'identité. Le séminaire a inclus la participation d'analystes et de décisionnaires de partout au pays qui examinent régulièrement les défis que le Canada doit surmonter pour ce qui est de sa diversité en évolution constante. Aussi, la présence de membres de l'Association canadienne des études ethniques et du Conseil enthnoculturel canadien a augmenté la qualité des discussions qui ont eu lieu au sujet des questions d'identité. Nous les remercions de leur assistance et de leur appui envers la production de ce premier numéro d'un magazine dont nous espérons sera bientôt connu par son acronyme "CD/DC". *Canadian Diversity / Diversité canadienne* n'aurait pu être réalisé sans le support inestimable du Département du multiculturalisme et de certaines personnes qui y sont associées telles que John Biles, Humera Ibrahim, Christine Racicot, Karen Ellis, Sylvie Groulx, Munro Pace, Ian Donaldson et plusieurs autres. À l'Association d'études canadiennes, nous devons une dette de gratitude envers Melissa Duncan et Robert Israel, et nous remercions spécialement notre Président, Hector Mackenzie, pour son appui soutenu.

Tandis que *Canadian Themes / Thèmes canadiens*, le magazine principal de l'Association, a déjà examiné des questions reliées à la diversité du Canada, le niveau d'intérêt envers ce domaine et les questions qui s'y rattachent offrent une opportunité considérable et un besoin de réflexion et de dialogue sur un sujet qui est fondamental à notre futur collectif.

Le Canada vit présentement une révolution démographique. Les prochaines données du recensement de 2001 sur l'immigration et l'ethnicité révéleront que plus de un sur cinq Canadiens sont nés à l'étranger. Nous somme réellement une nation d'immigrants avec d'importantes racines historiques sur lesquelles nous continuons de bâtir. Gérer la diversité est un défi critique ici et ailleurs, et dans les numéros futurs de *Canadian Diversity / Diversité canadienne* l'objectif sera d'adresser ouvertement les questions qui ont fait du Canada un leader dans ce domaine. Nous espérons que ce magazine deviendra un forum de dialogue sur les questions pertinentes de la diversité.

Les collaborateurs émaneront des communautés académiques, de recherche, de politique et des ONG. La publication vise le rapprochement entre les académiques et ces communautés. Comme cela est le cas pour tous les projets de l'AEC, vos observations, suggestions et commentaires sont les bienvenus.

Jack Jedwab, Directeur général
Association d'études canadiennes

Jean Augustine

SECRETARY OF STATE
Multiculturalism / Status of Women

SECRÉTAIRE D'ÉTAT
Multiculturalisme / Situation de la femme

To me, few words sum up the uniqueness of the Canadian experience better than «diversity.» In Canada, diversity is part of our everyday life. It is part of our history. It has earned us an international reputation. It has inspired our values of respect and dignity. It opens us up to others. It is a precious gift that we pass on to future generations. We have recognized it and enshrined it officially in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, whose 20th anniversary we celebrate this year, as well as in Canada's Multiculturalism Policy, which we adopted 30 years ago. Diversity is clearly at the very core of our traditions, our laws and our country.

Canadian Diversity is therefore a most appropriate title for a Canadian Studies magazine. I am certain that your publication, by discussing all aspects of Canadian diversity, will raise awareness of its richness and importance among readers from our country and beyond our borders.

As Secretary of State (Multiculturalism) (Status of Women), I congratulate the entire Canadian Diversity team and the Association of Canadian Studies for their contribution to the vitality of our society.

À mon avis, peu de mots résument mieux la singularité de l'expérience canadienne que « diversité ». Au Canada, la diversité fait partie de notre vie quotidienne. Elle est inscrite dans notre histoire. Elle fait la renommée de notre pays par le monde. Elle nous inspire nos valeurs de respect et de dignité. Elle nous ouvre aux autres. Elle est un bien précieux que nous transmettons aux générations à venir. Nous avons reconnue et consacrée officiellement notre diversité dans la Charte canadienne des droits et libertés, dont nous fêtons cette année le 20e anniversaire, ainsi que dans la Politique canadienne de multiculturalisme, adoptée il y a 30 ans. C'est dire combien la diversité est au coeur de nos traditions, de nos lois et de notre pays !

Diversité canadienne se révèle ainsi un titre des plus appropriés pour un magazine traitant des études canadiennes. En abordant toutes les facettes de notre diversité, je suis convaincue que votre publication saura sensibiliser les lecteurs et lectrices d'ici et d'ailleurs à sa richesse et à son importance.

À titre de secrétaire d'État (Multiculturalisme) (Situation de la femme), je félicite toute l'équipe du magazine Diversité canadienne et l'Association d'études canadiennes pour leur contribution à la vitalité de notre société.

EMBRACING DIVERSITY in Foreign Policy
LA DIVERSITÉ dans les Affaires étrangères

AS PRESIDENT OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR CANADIAN STUDIES (ACS) AND AS SENIOR DEPARTMENTAL HISTORIAN OF THE DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE – THOUGH I HASTEN TO ADD THAT I SPEAK FOR NEITHER ORGANIZATION IN THESE PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS – IT GIVES ME GREAT PLEASURE TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE FIRST ISSUE OF *CANADIAN DIVERSITY / DIVERSITÉ CANADIENNE*. AS THE VARIOUS ARTICLES ATTEST, THIS IS A TIMELY AND IMPORTANT PUBLICATION WHOSE FIELD OF INQUIRY HAS VITAL NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL IMPLICATIONS. MOREOVER, THERE IS CONSIDERABLE SCOPE FOR NEW AND INNOVATIVE RESEARCH, MUCH OF WHICH WE HOPE WILL FIND ITS WAY INTO THE PAGES OF FUTURE ISSUES OF THIS MAGAZINE. THAT FORWARD-LOOKING APPROACH ALSO PREDOMINATED IN THE SEMINAR ON «RESEARCH AND IDENTITY: THE NEXT DECADE» WHICH TOOK PLACE IN HALIFAX LAST YEAR, AND FROM WHOSE PROCEEDINGS MUCH OF THIS CONTENT IS DRAWN. AT THE RISK OF SOUNDING A DISSONANT NOTE IN THE MIDST OF THIS ERUDITE ATTENTION TO THE FUTURE, HOWEVER, I WOULD LIKE TO REFER BRIEFLY TO THE RELEVANCE OF THIS SUBJECT TO THE HISTORY OF CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. IN LOOKING BACK, I HAVE CHOSEN TO FOCUS ON A FEW MINISTERIAL OR GOVERNMENTAL REVIEWS OF CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY SINCE THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR, AN APPROACH WHICH WILL LIKELY LEAD TO THE COMMISSION OF TWO RELATED OFFENCES - GROSS OVER-SIMPLIFICATION AND CRASS GENERALIZATION – BUT WHICH MAY ENABLE ME TO HIGHLIGHT SOME ASPECTS OF THIS QUESTION THAT ARE RELEVANT TO THE THEME OF THIS PUBLICATION.

By Hector Mackenzie

En 1947, Louis St-Laurent, Ministre des affaires étrangères et ensuite Premier ministre du Canada, a présenté une allocution intitulée *The Grey Lecture* qui est devenue l'un des premiers énoncés au sujet de l'approche du Canada aux affaires internationales. Même s'il a peut-être sous-estimé l'importance de l'investissement étranger et du commerce international pour le Canada, le texte est considéré comme étant une déclaration directe ainsi qu'une représentation exacte des attitudes du gouvernement et du peuple canadien envers les affaires étrangères à ce moment. La majorité des déterminants clés de la politique étrangère canadienne notés par St-Laurent il y a cinquante ans demeurent valides aujourd'hui, en particulier l'importance singulière de la relation du Canada et des États-Unis, de l'engagement à respecter l'autorité de la loi en affaires internationales, de la croyance que les idéaux canadiens et un gouvernement démocratique pourraient servir d'exemple aux autres et de l'acceptation que le Canada a une responsabilité envers la communauté mondiale.

What is more remarkable to a reader now is what was absent then for understandable, if regrettable, reasons. Although there was explicit attention paid to Canada's historic duality and to the critical importance of national unity, there was nary a word about diversity in Canada's population nor a mention of Canada's Aboriginal peoples. Canada had long been a land of opportunity and a haven in the estimation of Canadians and foreigners alike, yet its immigration policies could still be seen as promoting "White Canada" and barring the door to people of colour. Though Canadian citizenship was being redefined and democratic government was extolled as a vital aspect of Canadian life, there were still formal and informal barriers to political participation for Canadians of Asian descent and other visible minorities whose contributions had helped to build Canada. In a lengthy *tour d'horizon* of Canada's outlook and commitments in international relations, which devoted considerable attention to continental, Commonwealth and European relationships, there were only two incidental references to Asia, none to Latin America and none to Africa. As for global challenges, the dominant concern for St. Laurent and for his colleagues in the Canadian government – as well as for Canadians in

general – was the threat posed by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and its allies in the cold war. In other words, the international agenda and Canada's response to world affairs reflected contemporary circumstances, but differed markedly from more recent developments and perspectives.

Two decades later, the review published by the government of Pierre Trudeau, *Foreign Policy for Canadians*, indicated some important changes in both respects, which corresponded to differences in Canadian domestic policy as well as international developments. As one obvious manifestation of an altered view of the rest of the world, the six booklets included one on Latin America and another on the Pacific, while that on the United Nations devoted considerable attention to Southern Africa. By this time, national unity had been seriously challenged, the «points system» had been introduced in Canada's immigration policy and there had been greater attention to the diversity of the Canadian population. Consequently, the first booklet in the series affirmed that "national identity, bilingualism and multicultural expression" were "the main preoccupations of Canada and Canadians today." Whether the policies that followed in the wake of the review altered course from what had come before has been the subject of considerable debate among scholars, but the wider gaze when the government looked beyond Canada's borders was certainly obvious.

By the mid-1980s, when there was a sequence of parliamentary and government reviews of Canadian foreign and defence policy, flows of immigrants and refugees had again altered the composition of the Canadian population, with significant implications for Canada's approach to world affairs. In its report, *Independence and Internationalism* in 1986, the Special Joint Committee on Canada's International Relations paid heed to this phenomenon. "New waves of immigration during the past 20 years from Asia, Africa and the Caribbean," the parliamentarians noted, "have led to the establishment in Canada of communities with deep personal concerns about problems in parts of the world that previous Canadian governments paid little attention to." Though the committee acknowledged that "Canada's bilingual and multicultural heritage represents an asset" for Canada in international affairs, it emphasized "that it is definitely not in the national interest to allow ethnic communities to draw Canada into taking sides on rivalries and disputes in their countries of origin." In other words, there was a greater awareness on the part of decision-makers that diversity in the composition of Canada's population was likely to have an impact on public attitudes towards policies and priorities for the country in foreign policy. In fact, the relationship between ethnic origins and the outlook on Canada's international relations had been established long before, with sentimental ties to Britain and France, or hostilities to regimes in central and eastern Europe, among significant parts of the Canadian population, as earlier manifestations of this influence.

Le Canada et le contexte global ont tous deux changé de manière significative au moment de la prochaine – et plus récente – réévaluation compréhensive de la politique étrangère canadienne, qui a abouti en la publication d'une déclaration, *Canada dans le monde*, par le gouvernement de Jean Chrétien. Des éléments qui avaient été omis en 1947 ont trouvé de l'importance en 1995. Dans l'introduction de *Canada dans le monde*, il est noté que « la position géographique du Canada lui donne un avantage important alors que de nouveaux pôles de pouvoir économique et politique émergent dans la région du Pacifique et en Amérique latine. » Cela a rehaussé ses autres actifs afin de créer « une politique étrangère active » qui pourrait « protéger et promouvoir les valeurs et les intérêts du *Canada dans le monde.* » Dans ce document, une attention considérable a été dévouée à ces « autres pays » qui d'après le comité conjoint avaient été ignorés ou négligés par les gouvernements précédents. Ce qui est évident pour n'importe quel lecteur est que le Canada et le monde avaient changé considérablement au cours de la décennie précédant *Canada dans le monde* - sans mentionner les cinq décennies depuis l'allocution de St-Laurent – et que les deux ont continué de changer depuis sa publication. Même s'il est très difficile, voire impossible, de prédire de tels changements, des tendances similaires auront probablement un impact sur la politique étrangère du Canada dans le futur.

There was a greater awareness on the part of decision-makers that diversity in the composition of Canada's population was likely to have an impact on public attitudes towards policies and priorities for the country in foreign policy

Many of the differences in outlook and policies since the end of the Second World War simply reflect these changes in national and international circumstances. Unquestionably, diversity has played its part in altering the context for decision-making, as well as the attitudes of decision-makers. The myriad of overseas connections of the Canadian people contribute to Canada's attitudes toward other countries and regimes, its reaction to events in the rest of the world and its response to global phenomena. The composition of Canada's population is very different today from its make-up in 1947, as is that of the foreign service and other elements in the Canadian government. The aforementioned trends and others as yet unforeseen will continue to alter our understanding of "Canada" and "Canadians," as well as our appreciation of the implications of these demographic changes for Canada's international relations, as for other areas of public policy and society. Moreover, as the articles in this issue of *Canadian Diversity / Diversité canadienne* attest, the importance of this subject will likely be even greater in the years to come – as an historian, however, I will leave the discussion of the future to others.

For now, I simply hope that you will enjoy the multi-faceted exploration which follows in the pages of this magazine.

IT'S A QUESTION of Identity

WHILE PLANNING FOR THE IDENTITY SEMINAR, A NUMBER OF INTERESTING QUESTIONS WERE RAISED ABOUT THE IDENTITY SEMINAR IN PARTICULAR AND THE SERIES OF SEMINARS ON THE RENEWED MULTICULTURALISM PROGRAM'S STRATEGIC GOALS (CIVIC PARTICIPATION, SOCIAL JUSTICE AND IDENTITY) IN GENERAL. THESE QUESTIONS, WHILE CATCHING ME OFF-BALANCE AT THE TIME, WARRANT ANSWERS. ANSWERS THAT WILL, I HOPE, BE OF INTEREST TO THE PARTICIPANTS OF THE SEMINAR ITSELF AND TO THOSE INTERESTED PEOPLE WHO HAVE TAKEN THE TIME TO READ THIS MAGAZINE. TO THESE ORIGINAL QUESTIONS (WHY A SEMINAR FOCUSING ON IDENTITY? WHY INVEST IN RESEARCH? AND WHY INVEST IN POLICY-RESEARCH NETWORKS?), I HAVE ADDED A FINAL QUESTION: WHAT NEXT?

By John Biles,
Metropolis Project Team[1]

WHY A SEMINAR ON IDENTITY?

In 1996, the Multiculturalism Program at Canadian Heritage was renewed. The streamlined version of the program reoriented what had hitherto been a collection of programs surviving from the dissolution of the Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship. This renewed program focused on three strategic goals:

Identity: fostering a society that recognizes and reflects a diversity of cultures such that people of all backgrounds feel a sense of belonging and attachment to Canada.
Civic Participation: developing, among Canada's diverse people, active citizens with both the opportunity and the capacity to participate in shaping the future of their communities and their country.
Social Justice: building a society that ensures fair and equitable treatment and that accommodates and respects the dignity of people of all origins.

The renewal exercise included extensive literature reviews, public opinion surveys, focus groups, consultations, media studies and a close look at the evolution of the program since its inception in 1971.

What became clear over the course of this exercise was that Multiculturalism was a program that had lost its focus. There was confusion over who exactly comprised the core stakeholders. The shift from cultural retention in the 1970s and early 1980s had given way to a focus on race relations in the mid-1980s and early 1990s. In turn, a further evolution towards less essentialist notions of identity at the time of the renewal exercise raised questions about complex and shifting identities. Where did children of mixed origin relationships fit? How would sexual orientation and (dis)ability connect with Multiculturalism? What role could the program play in addressing issues faced by urban Aboriginal peoples?[2] How would these changes be accommodated without expanding to the point where "scope-creep" rendered targeted programs indistinguishable from one another.

The conclusions from the renewal were that as identities became increasingly complex, it was vital to shift away from core grants that funded community-specific non-governmental organizations. It was decided that the most effective way to tackle issues faced by Canadians of diverse backgrounds was to move to project-focused grants that would bring individuals (regardless of their identities) together to tackle issues faced in common. This process has not been easy and in many ways remains ongoing six years later. Building coalitions of interest is time consuming, labour intensive and fraught with difficulties. At the same time, the end result is far more likely to effect systemic change.

What this process did not do was remove identity from the ambit of the Multiculturalism Program. Identity remained as one of the fundamental goals of the program. It remained for a very simple reason: it is important to Canadians – as individuals, as communities of interest and as a collectivity we call Canada. By defining the identity goal as "fostering a society that recognizes and reflects a diversity of cultures such that people of all backgrounds feel a sense of belonging and attachment to Canada," the renewed program moved the Government of Canada in the direction of a more complex understanding of identity – a contingent and ever-changing definition that still causes a great deal of concern in some quarters. It is a concern, especially among older Canadians who have not come to embrace uncertainty with the same equanimity as younger Canadians have done.

Identity is a difficult concept explaining a difficult lived reality. The Multiculturalism Program and its partners decided to tackle the concept with a two-step approach. First was the seminar that this magazine covers. The seminar explored some of the elements of everyday life that help shape our identities: sport, food, culture, immigration, the Internet, religion, commemoration, language, work, education, history, racism / discrimination and political participation / leadership. Each of these areas, and many more, shape who we are as individuals, communities and as a country. There could be many more, but it was felt that this range would expose the complexity of our identities and allow us to focus on under-explored areas. Indeed, this covered the greatest range of multicultural issues in one place since the publishing of J.W. Berry and J.A. Laponce eds. *Ethnicity and Culture in Canada: The Research Landscape*, by the University of Toronto Press in 1994.

The second step would be a seminar exploring the intersections of various identity markers (race, ethnicity, religion, heritage language, gender, (dis)ability, Aboriginal status, official languages, age, socio-economic status, region, sexual orientation); A seminar that will take place in April 2003.[3]

In summary, a seminar on identity was necessary to pull together participants from three levels of government, non-governmental organizations and researchers to more fully comprehend how identity (identities) remains important to Canadians and how it (they) impacts on public policy.

WHY INVEST IN RESEARCH?

The Multiculturalism Program has just celebrated its thirtieth anniversary. In that time, the program has had roughly fifteen Ministers, each with his / her own priorities; it has belonged to four different government departments; and it has faced a consistently high turnover of staff. An optimist can make a case for the importance of this kind of mobility as a multiculturalism diaspora carries diversity concerns across government. A pessimist can argue that it leads to lack of corporate memory, re-inventing the wheel and other amnesiac activities.

Largely speaking, the program has not fallen into the feared instant replay zone, and it has not done so because of the continuity in several communities; not least of which is a cadre of researchers that have been engaged with these issues and, by extension with the program, from its early days.

Along with cultural creators (a topic for another day), researchers act as both the canary on diversity-related issues and the continuity for a Program in constant flux. The advance warning offered by researchers is something that proves invaluable to policy-makers. Equally, the depth of understanding, the context and history of an issue is equally valuable as policy and program responses are envisioned, shaped and implemented.

Successful programs have invested in the canaries that signal change before it comes about and have relationships with researchers that can lead to rapid information exchange when necessary. Over time, these relationships also lead to thoughtful, methodologically sound research results to weigh various options and to guide policy development. In other words, an investment in research is an investment in knowledge-based decision-making, that is, in turn, an important harbinger of success.

WHY INVEST IN RESEARCH NETWORKS?

For six years, I have participated in one of the most innovative research projects I have encountered – the Metropolis Project[4]. This project brings together policy-makers, researchers and NGOs in an ongoing dialogue on immigration and diversity in cities around the world – a dialogue that is greatly enriched by the experiences of practitioners and policy-makers and the knowledge of researchers. It has been tremendously successful by almost any measure, yet this success was not assured then and is not assured now. It hinges on the ability of participants to establish trust in one another and to act collectively.

An oft heard refrain at the existing centres and one I continue to hear in Atlantic Canada, where we are working with a coalition to create an Atlantic Centre, runs as follows: "(Policy-maker) Researchers do not understand our time frames. We need information now, not in three years. (NGO) We know what the problems are. Stop wasting money on research and give it to us; we will fix the problems. (Researcher) NGOs and policy-makers do not understand the complexities of doing research and the sophisticated methodology necessary to yield reliable results." To over simplify,

policy-makers and NGOs don't read (at least not the work published in peer-reviewed journals by researchers) and researchers don't listen (at least not to the concerns of policy-makers and NGOs). There are of course exceptions, but they are exceptions!

After six years of work, the communities of policy-makers, NGOs and researchers at the existing Metropolis Centres have established relationships with one another. Relationships nurtured by face-to-face exchanges that have built significant levels of trust in one another – a store of Putnam's bridging capital. That capital can be spent to tackle particularly intransigent issues that insist upon a collaborative approach.

As mentioned above, there is significant flux in the policy world; flux that will only increase with mass retirements of baby boomers and the consequent opportunities for movement among those too chronologically challenged to retire and / or blessed with youth. The ability of policy-makers to establish networks of contacts in particular issue areas seems destined to decrease rather than increase. Indeed, the same demographic guarantees high turnovers in research and NGO communities as well. Networks promise to provide some long-term stability. These networks provide a means for a passing of the knowledge torch from one generation to the next, thus ensuring that the lessons of hard-won successes and noteworthy failures are not lost.

Given the commonality of interest, the networks are inexpensive to maintain and yield high returns to those involved. Examples include Metropolis in general, but also more focused networks like the Citizenship Education Research Network (CERN), the Political Participation Research Network (PPRN) and the nascent Religion in the Metropolis Network (RithM)[5].

In sum, research networks provide the skeleton that provides continuity across personnel changes in key institutions. They provide the frame that can connect communities of interest and magnify the impact of community development projects that too often sink from sight without transferring past practices to other communities.

SO WHAT? / WHAT NEXT?

An activity like the identity seminar leaves behind a "paper" trail that can be explored at a future date by historians or even by auditors! At the same time, it leaves much less tangible, but perhaps more valuable, trails in the connections forged and in the broadening of individual and collective thinking on particular topics and the promise of future partnerships.

There is a rich "paper" trail from this event. There are literature reviews of both French and English language literature on identity, available in either language, thus bridging distances caused by language barriers. There is a database of identity research that will shortly find its way on to the Internet as a research tool for everyone interested. There are challenge papers on a broad range of topics posted on-line. Versions of selected papers have been published in a special issue of the journal of *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, less academic summaries are available in this magazine.

The connections and future partnerships are harder to nail down. That said, there was a workshop on food and identity at the Sixth International Metropolis Conference in Rotterdam (2001). The papers were used by at least one graduate seminar at the University of Calgary to challenge students to think about identity broadly. The seminar on intersections of diversity in April 2003 will build on this work and broaden it further. Large-scale research projects on religion and diversity, as well as the media and diversity, are in planning stages by Paul Bramadat at the University of Winnipeg and Minelle Mahtani at the University of British Columbia. It has been mentioned that the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRCC) is considering a strategic grant competition in the area of identity for the fall of 2002. The work of participants in the seminar has influenced the work of the shared citizenship secretariat and other activities of the Canadian Identity Directorate at Canadian Heritage. Solid research domains on citizenship and identity, religion and culture, and language have been proposed for the Atlantic Metropolis Centre, which is under development. Thinking around the seminar contributed to the development of the survey instrument for the ethnic diversity survey. There will be more, especially in the wake of the intersections seminar, that should lead to the establishment of several policy-research networks.

In conclusion, the "paper" trail from the seminar, of which this magazine is a part, acts as a signpost to connect newcomers to emerging networks of common interest. The more intangible connections also contribute to the development of these networks. This fills the kind of canary-esque function that I mentioned earlier. As policy-makers, practitioners and researchers continue to grapple with how to deal with the complex identities of Canadians, Canadian communities and Canada as a country, this seminar and the connections it nurtured will equip us all to foster "a society that recognizes and reflects a diversity of cultures, such that people of all backgrounds feel a sense of belonging and attachment to Canada."

[1] The views expressed here are those of the author and not those of the Metropolis Project or Citizenship and Immigration Canada. John Biles was one of the research officers at the Multiculturalism Program until June 2001. His responsibilities included the seminar series discussed here. As the Metropolis Project Team was a core partner for the identity seminar, he participated at the identity seminar and is a member of many of the policy-research networks that emerged from the seminars.

[2] To further complicate issues, following the events of September 11, 2001, the lack of knowledge about religion in Canada has signalled a possible additional shift of multicultural concerns in Canada.

[3] See http://www.acs-aec.ca for more information.

[4] For more information see http://www.metropolis.net

[5] For more information select "policy research" off the main Canadian page on the network of Metropolis websites: http://www.canada.metropolis.net

THE PLACE OF MEMORY and Identity[1]

By Brian S. Osborne, Queen's University

CANADA HAS LONG STRUGGLED TO INTEGRATE PEOPLES SEPARATED BY GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, ETHNICITY, CLASS AND GENDER BY *NURTURING AN IDENTIFICATION WITH A STORIED-PLACE*. THE GEOGRAPHY OF IDENTITY SEEKS TO UNDERSTAND HOW PARTICULAR MATERIAL SETTINGS ARE TRANSFORMED FROM VERNACULAR LIVED-IN SITES INTO PSYCHIC TERRAINS THAT ARE EMOTIVE PROMPTS FOR VALUES AND THAT UNDERLIE A PROJECT OF SOCIAL COHESION.[2] IN OTHER WORDS, THE GEOGRAPHY OF IDENTITY PROMOTES A COLLECTIVE AWARENESS OF BELONGING THROUGH THE POWER OF A GEOGRAPHY OF SYMBOLIC PLACES AND A CHRONOLOGY OF SYMBOLIC TIMES THAT ARE INTEGRAL TO THE POLITICAL RATIONALE OF NATIONAL-STATE FORMATION. BUT TIMES AND PLACES ARE CHANGING. WHILE BESET BY THE FAMILIAR FRACTURES OF "WESTERN ALIENATION" AND "QUEBEC SEPARATISM," CANADA IS ALSO ENCOUNTERING THE COMPLEXITIES OF GLOBALIZATION IN A COSMOPOLITAN WORLD WHERE DIASPORIC CONNECTIONS ADVANCE PLURALISM AND HYBRIDITY RATHER THAN THE COMFORTING, IF ILLUSORY, SECURITY OF MONOLITHIC IDENTITY. THESE HAVE TO BE ACCOMMODATED BY NEW APPROACHES TO CONSTRUCTING NEW GEOGRAPHIES OF IDENTITY.

"CONSTRUCTING" NATIONAL IDENTITY

The diagnostic components of nation-state formation are political independence, the growth of state power, the development of military might and the consolidation of territory.[3] But the formation of a state-nationalism requires the nurturing of ideas that bind people *together*. Such national cohesion requires a sense of collective identity through the promotion of a sense of shared historical experience. This is especially necessary where "*new*" state-nations have had to confront the problems of assimilating diverse peoples into the body-politic and establishing a degree of national homogeneity or common central purpose.

This begs the question of whether these strategies are necessary in a *civil / liberal* national-state.[4] Civil, plural and liberal nationalisms are often thought to be rational and inclusive, whereas ethnic nationalism privileges a more emotional, exclusionary – and, all too often, pernicious – celebration of group identity. Yet, many civil / liberal states have pursued a *nationalizing* agenda by nurturing an emotional attachment to the *idea* of the state. They have attempted to subdue complex realities of plurality and diversity by constructing iconic landscapes and mythic narratives intended to nurture a cohesive collective memory.[5] In this way, the putative values of a particular national formation are rendered as a "symbolic space." This concept is central to Anderson's "imagined community"[6] and has been rendered variously as "representational space,"[7] "patriotic landscapes,"[8] "landscapes of sovereignty,"[9] "discursive landscapes"[10] and "memoryscapes."[11] All of these concepts convey the same meaning – the cultivation of a collective memory of a mythic history, acted out in a symbolically loaded place, reified in the present and projected into the future.[12]

To this end, national mythologies and symbols are manipulated to encourage identification with the state and reinforce its continuity and ubiquity. Through various devices, otherwise detached individuals are encouraged to recognize one another as members of a larger group, sharing a unified political space, and identifying with a common historical narrative of historical development.

PLACE AND IDENTITY

The central premise of the geography of identity is human attachment to particular spaces. People live in places and identify with them, or are alienated by them. Monuments, streets, neighbourhoods, buildings, churches and parks are all material *things*, but they also evoke specific kinds of meanings and serve as spatial coordinates of identity.[13] Material places and their representations are always ideological statements and it follows, therefore, that as society evolves and changes, places become dynamic and reflexive sites of identity formation. That is, there is an ongoing reciprocal relationship between people and the places they inhabit. People produce places, and yet they derive identities from them.

Certainly, we fully appreciate how place is important to non-western, premodern societies in the cultural ecological approach to subsistence strategies, social organization and ideology.[14] The argument may be extended to all societies. Self-knowledge and personal identity cannot be reconstructed without place-worlds. Not merely neutral containers, geography, locale, setting, place – whatever you wish to call them – are complicit in strategies of cultural survival. Places are defined by tangible material realities that can be seen, touched, mapped and located. But places are constituted by more than materiality. While they function as settings for social and economic reproduction, they also provide the stage where group-identity is acted out within the group, with other groups, and with government and other institutions. Through daily living in particular places, the abstraction of space is transformed into experience of place. Both a cognitively derived *knowing* about

place and an intuitive *sense* of place are profoundly integrated into peoples' identity.[15]

But there can be both positive and negative effects from this interaction of place and experience. As situated experiences construct places, human reaction to them can reflect alienation, ambivalence, as well as attraction. Places of natural or social disasters become sites of negative remembrance that make their own contribution to identities through "place-images" that become central to daily life and social practice.[16]

However, it may be argued that modernity has challenged shared identities and attendant social cohesion. Long-standing localisms are being replaced by the insecurities and destabilizing experiences of post-industrialism, late-capitalism and globalization. Perhaps it is not surprising that an array of initiatives referred to as "glocalisation" underscores the need for identification with the familiar and the particular, in a world beset by the dominance of the foreign and the general.[17]

MEMORIES OF STORIED PLACES

From an unitary perspective of the nationalizing-state, national identity is enhanced if the populace comes to constitute an *imagined community* possessing a *collective memory*.[18] From this perspective, the past does not merely evolve into the present, neither is it preserved through some objective process of record keeping. Rather, it is *socially constructed* through archives, museums, school curricula, official histories, monuments and public displays. These produce collective memories in which national history is rendered as a mythic narrative acted out on, bounded by, and bonded with, particular places. To this end, history, memory and identity are constantly being renegotiated to cultivate a people's identification with the nationalizing-state through foundation myths, heroic narratives, the personification of assumed national qualities and the identification with particular places. Ideally, the national metanarrative should reconcile social fragments with representations of order and harmony in the imagined community of the nationalizing-state. A shared narrative is crucial in ensuring that we are all on the page.

Such "narrative poetics" influence identity through the stories communities and individuals tell about how they came to be.[19] Always spatially grounded, they are associated with specific locales that become imbued with historically produced cultural meanings – the *genius loci*, spirit of place.[20] Indeed, perhaps the best container of place-memories are toponyms, the place-names that are so often the rich markers of place-based stories, events and associations. Often only in the inherited mental geography of places, they are prompts to a mental geography that is fundamental to peoples' identities.[21]

LANDSCAPES AND INSCAPES

The term for culturally loaded geographies is "*landscape*." As assemblages of humanly produced material form, they constitute cultural records arranged palimpsest-like through time and space that may be interrogated as artefacts and evidence. From this anthropology-driven perspective of landscapes as assemblages of material culture-traits and complexes, the focus has shifted to a more nuanced decoding of their symbolic meaning.[22]

Others have taken these ideas further by looking at landscape as a memory-system. People, events and their spatial reference points become reinforced in the collective memory by informal and formal acts of commemoration. These "landmarks" provide spatial and temporal co-ordinates for remembering.[23] Similarly, symbolically loaded sites and ideas come to be *lieux de mémoire* which conflate place, memory and history. Of course, all memories are located in places.[24] But rather than geography being merely the stage for the acting out of history, the two are closely imbricated throughout as chronotopes, points at which time and space intersect and blend together.[25]

Because of the emotive power of imagined place in marshalling people's sense of belonging, symbolic landscapes are often personified as homeland, motherland, fatherland and heimat. In this way, a nation's geographical setting is transformed into a visual condensation of political and cultural values and a depository of symbolic space and time.

MONUMENTS

Whereas landscapes often exist in general categories, monuments focus attention on specific places and events and are central to this endeavour of constructing symbolic landscapes of power.[26] *Statuemania*, the rage for commemorative statues, peaked in 1870-1914 throughout Europe and North America. In an age of increased loss of identity in a rapidly changing world, monuments anchored "collective remembering" in material sites that served as rallying points for a shared common memory and identity. They were the material signifiers of ideas that were intended to be immortalized. Perhaps more importantly, however, they represented the personification of the nation- or nationalizing-state, the transmission of mythic histories, a material and visual connection with the past and the legitimization of authority. Intended to function as visual prompts for the collective memorizing of an official state narrative, monuments depicted the human form in colossal heroic statues that rendered abstract principles in allegorical allusion. If effective, such public monuments were consensus builders and focal points for a visual condensation of an imagined national chronicle rendered in heroic symbolism. Often located in heroic pantheons established in national capitals, they were also carefully sited to underscore the particular symbolic role of particular places: the Statue of Liberty in New York, Vercingétorix at Alesia, King Alfred in Winchester.[27] Thus, portrait sculpture has joined flags, anthems, national chronicles, currency, coins, etc; as symbolic devices for building a sense of community, identity and nationalism.

But how do we interpret the meaning, significance and effectiveness of the monumental landscapes of power that have been constructed around us?[28] Monumental space cannot be approached simply through an interpretation of its iconography; its significance is a product of extensive webs of meaning. Indeed, it is the public reaction to monuments that determines whether or not they serve as passive visual statements contributing to social cohesion, or as active elements in a public discourse of redefinition. Elite groups and political authority have always sought to organize public space to communicate to the public a particular kind of national consciousness, a conformity to a particular

public order. Often, a patriotism is nurtured that is akin to a civil state-religion in which capitals, cemeteries, national monuments and cenotaphs are elevated to sacred spaces. Nevertheless, rather than being sites of consensus building, public spaces and their population of carefully selected monuments and statuary could become contested terrains.[29]

One problem is that monuments last too long. Memorials attempt to freeze ideas in space and time, and bronze, iron, marble and granite ensure forms become archaic and remain as enigmatic elements in the landscape. They are frozen in space while time moves on around them, their rigid materiality ensuring their estrangement from the ever-changing values of the society in which they are located. Ritualized remembrance and performance do ensure the relevance of some monuments, but others receive the ultimate insult of neglect, anonymity and disinterest. Still in others, contemporary events challenge the original values of the site, appropriate it for new causes, and thus revitalize them as visual statements of contemporary, albeit dissonant, values. Desecrating a statue amounts to iconoclasm; eliding it from the landscape is an exercise of power; re-erecting it means a correction and re-appraisal.[30]

Monuments, plaques and other mnemonic things always perform an action that is governed by conventions, contribute to the formation of social relationships, and often involve the sanction of prevailing systems of power. And as such, they are often contested.

CAPITAL / CAPITOL COMPLEX

Another principal site of place-making and remembering is the national capital. The *capital / capitol complex* is a focal point in the national imagination and, consequently, pantheons of heroic figures are incorporated into the public grounds and ceremonial spaces.[31] Not merely the locus of administrative power, the national-state capital consists of three components: the *capital* is the city housing the administration of the state or national government; the *capitol* is the building that houses government's lawmakers; while the *capital / capitol complex* consists not only of the capitol / parliament building itself, but also all the associated structures of government. Thus, capitol / parliament buildings are intended to be imposing, impressive, evocative of the dignity, majesty, power of the state, and also render visibly the symbolic bases of that power through the performance of mass ceremonials in ritual spaces.

Certainly, this was true in the late nineteenth century for such capitals as London, Paris, Berlin and Washington, as they embarked on the construction of spaces and landscapes of sovereignty suitable for choreographing the drama of state power. They became assemblages of inspirational monuments, imposing state architecture and theatrical civic display. Intended to be consensus builders, they were the focal points for identifying with the national chronicle.[32]

Like other political regimes, Canada also developed its *capital / capitol complex* as Ottawa was transformed into a symbolic space that reflected national ambitions and annexed other cultural spaces into the national domain.[33] Not simply a matter of vistas and arrangements of public buildings, the capital-complex increasingly came to be loaded with symbolic icons that rendered in allegorical terms the nation's progress from colony, through empire, to state-nation. Three nested-symbolic spaces may be recognized: the Parliament Buildings completed in the civil-Gothic "Canadian National Style;" Parliament Hill was populated by an array of political figures in appropriate poses; and the region beyond the cast-iron fence surrounding the Hill is being gradually transformed into a "ceremonial city," complete with suitable "ritual spaces" for the performance of state power and the celebration of a putative national identity.

These national sacred spaces – capitals, cemeteries, national monuments, cenotaphs – attempt to communicate "privileged narratives" of the national experience and cultivate a national consciousness. Yet, there is rarely consensus on the imagery of public statuary, national heroes and political iconography. Thus, paradoxically, objects, ceremonies and spaces that were intended to be symbolic of public order and to communicate public identification with that order, often become sites of contestation.[34]

PERFORMING IDENTITY

Monumental sculptures in public places relied upon solitary or small group interactions between the object and the individual. Where its location is appropriate, however, a monument may become the focal point of a ceremonial activity where the public may experience mythic-history through orchestrated commemorations and controlled spectacle.[35] Ideally, the involvement of large numbers of people in ritualized performances of remembering at these places reinforces societies' bonding with them, what they represented and with each other. National holidays, political extravaganzas, sporting events and the rites-of-passage of the great are all opportunities for the expression of a state-scripted national solidarity.[36]

With the democratizing of political power, publicly-performed ritual and ceremony became essential elements of the political process. Existing or newly planned *space-containers* became the sites for public ceremonies, public entertainment and public participation in choreographed performances. This practice of large-scale crowd choreography in public spaces may be linked to several contemporary developments: labour demonstrations; modern warfare; stage spectacles; cinema epics and dance reviews; marching bands; commercialized sport; and a general shift to visualization in culture in general. The transition from public sculpture-as-viewed object to public-as-sculpted masses required nation-wide participation in the theatrics of ideology in appropriate spaces: thousands performed as on-site actors; more thousands served as on-site spectators; and millions more were incorporated as distanced participant-voyeurs as listeners and viewers through national and international radio and film.

In this way, totalitarian states applied a whole panoply of devices such as marches, pageants, mass meetings, party rallies and military spectacles in which viewers and participants were reduced to the role of cogs in the collective machine of the state.[37] But non-totalitarian societies also exhibited a growing predilection for spectacle and such "ephemeral" mass-events as coronations, state-funerals and commemorations of significant state anniversaries. Ritualized and repetitive mass-performances were co-opted to cultivate the national imagination through spectacles and displays.

They were intended to prompt, nurture and focus specific recollections of the past and advance particular emotions, beliefs and ideologies. Encoded in metaphorical and symbolic form, carnivalesque rites, ceremonies and popular-festivities link people with a mythic past and reconstruct a present that promises a golden future. In this way, individuals are encouraged to see themselves as part of a collectivity with shared objectives. This combination of monuments, commemorations and performances can become a powerful mnemonic system that produces a mental geography of identity.

Indeed, the orchestration of the festivities and celebrations in landscapes of power has often been a conscious exercise to cultivate political consensus and suppress dissent or difference. They have often been located in times and places where dominant ideologies are being contested. They need to be analyzed, not for what messages are being transmitted and displayed, but also in terms of how they are being received and what reactions they elicit.[38]

COMMODIFICATION OF PLACE

But it's not only the nationalizing-state that turns to the manipulation of place and remembered history. Private enterprise and all levels of government – municipal, provincial and federal – recognize the economic potential of marketing places, stories and heritage as didactic, experiential and escapist enterprises.[39] A growing demand for the consumption of historical-tourism and entertainment has prompted an array of theme parks, ghost tours, romanticised murals and "historical" re-enactments and displays.[40] Perhaps prompted by nostalgia as our lives and place lose their distinctiveness in globalized economic and cultural morphings, the past is being rendered as a place for renewal and pleasure. Paradoxically, the onset of the "global" is prompting the rediscovery of the "local."

Certainly, the role of "heritage" is now being discussed in the context of marketing place in placeless times, and repackaged as an economic resource as cultural capital that is integral to plans for regional development. But it is also an exercise in identity-formation. Places are reinventing themselves as they reconstruct their heritage for representation to others. Heritage formation is also part of a dynamic process in which the past is being introduced into present definitions of local identity in the context of Late-Capitalism, the resolution being arbitrated, not by the muse of history, but by the *real-politik* of economics and community continuity.

CONCLUSION: DÉJÀ VU ALL OVER AGAIN

Clearly, identity and sense of belonging in the modern world are complex concepts and most people are effected by plural connections. Class, gender, religion and ethnicity compete with local, regional and national associations. Finally, globalization, migration and trans-national identities are challenging the liberal, nation-bound concept of citizenship and sovereignty. It follows, therefore, that any theorizing on the construction of Canadian identity has to embrace the challenge posed by peoples' nested sets of identities in a multinational Canada and a globalizing world.

For some, the preferred model for this Canada is a civil-nationalism based upon a rational adherence to liberal principles, rather than an ethnic nationalism characterized by emotional links to "blood and soil." And yet, despite this increasingly inclusive liberal agenda, internal divisions remain. For some, a persistent hybridity manifests itself in fundamental alienation, contention and antagonistic cultural differences that deny a putative social cohesion. It also challenges the dominant culture and advances counter-narratives for the future nationalizing-state.

Given these issues, what are the strategies for history-making, place-making, monumentalism and commemoration in a forward-looking Canada of the 21st century?

- Is there a need for new meta-narratives to be rendered in future strategies of commemoration and remembrance? These should nurture a civil / liberal nationalism based on an adherence to appropriate values to accompany the established initiatives of distinctive place, people and story.
- How can unity be achieved through the celebration of diversity? Identity, even plural identity, requires some degree of shared values, and a nationalizing-state must advocate a set of cohesive core values and celebrate them.
- How do we define new heroes, new historic events and new historic sites? It follows from revisiting former meta-narratives where peoples and events that were once silenced or sidelined could now be fore-grounded and highlighted. Others need to be discovered and to become the subjects of new monuments, commemorations or narratives.
- Do we need to revisit and edit the commemorative texts that dominate our mnemonic landscapes? As social values change, certain structures and places may need to be re-evaluated in terms of their contribution to the new Canada. Indeed, some of the existing representations may be regarded as offensive and hurtful and should be elided.
- Is there a need for a new paradigm of heritage commemoration? Rather than being declarative sites of conceptual closure, perhaps they should be ambiguous sites of individually negotiated memory at which there is a public construction of identity through an engagement with ambiguity, complexity and pluralism.
- Are there too many visual interventions in the landscape? The innovative concept of didactic commemorative plaques of the late nineteenth century is now so numerous in some places that it is close to becoming heritage pollution, while its effectiveness is also questionable.
- Can we unclutter valued heritage space by better use of "virtual realities?" New generations of Canadians may be more inclined to visit websites than heritage sites, and participate in all of the diverse means of information dissemination and virtual reality that that medium has to offer.
- And certainly at this particular juncture in our national journey, should we be thinking outside of the "national box" with its well-worn tools of patriotism? Is there not a need, more than ever, to continue to nurture a national culture that celebrates its place in the global system of diversity, with all the opportunities that that entails?
- All of these initiatives must be directed to the mission of achieving a social cohesion in what some have called the "first postmodern state." What are needed are initiatives that bind us together in a polity that is sensitive to

difference, while still pursuing commonly agreed upon goals and national priorities.

[1] This paper is derived from a position paper prepared for the Policy Research Seminar on Identity, Halifax, 1-2 November 2001, Sponsored by the Multiculturalism Program, Department of Canadian Heritage. This is a precis of a longer and more fully referenced version in *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, Vol. XXXIII, No.3, 2001, 1-40.

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THE IMMIGRATION PROCESS AND MINORITY IDENTITIES:

Where We Are and What We Still Need to Know

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THE IMMIGRATION PROCESS IMPACTS THE IDENTITY OF ETHNOCULTURAL, RACIAL, RELIGIOUS AND LINGUISTIC MINORITY CANADIANS. THE IMMIGRATION PROCESS REFERS TO THAT OF LANDING (AS IMMIGRANT OR REFUGEE) AND SETTLING IN CANADA. ALTHOUGH THE BEGINNING POINT IS WELL-DEFINED, THE END POINT MAY VARY WITH EACH INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP. HOWEVER, SETTLEMENT IS NOT SYNONYMOUS WITH ADAPTATION, INTEGRATION, CIVIC ENGAGEMENT AND (SOCIAL) CITIZENSHIP WITH ITS CONCOMITANT IDENTITY FORMATION; ALL OF THESE ARE PROCESSES THAT MAY GO ON FOR LIFE. WHILE ALL CANADIANS, WHETHER IMMIGRANTS, MINORITIES OR OFFICIAL MAJORITIES, ARE CONSTANTLY BEING TOUCHED BY ONGOING IMMIGRATION WHICH CHANGES THE FABRIC OF CANADIAN SOCIETY EVERY DAY, THIS PAPER FOCUSES ONLY ON THOSE MINORITY CANADIANS WHO HAVE ACTUALLY BEEN THROUGH THE IMMIGRATION PROCESS. AS WE GO THROUGH THE DIFFERENT STREAMS OF ACADEMIC LITERATURE FOCUSING ON IDENTITY CHANGE SUBSEQUENT TO THE IMMIGRATION OF ETHNOCULTURAL, RACIAL, RELIGIOUS AND LINGUISTIC GROUPS TO CANADA, WE FIND THAT THE BOUNDARIES ARE BOTH BLURRED AND MOBILE OVER TIME. INDEED, THESE CATEGORIES ARE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONS AND THE IDENTITIES BASED THEREUPON VARY OVER TIME AS A RESULT (TASTSOGLOU, 2001).

Identity may be defined "as the distinctive character belonging to any given individual, or shared by all members of a particular social category or group" (Rummens 2000). The concept is other-referenced, relational, comparative and contextual. Identities are socially constructed and subject to ongoing negotiation and reconstruction. The identities dealt with in this article are group identities.

ETHNICITY AND RACE

Both concepts of ethnicity and race are products of people migrating and coming into contact with others, under specific historical conditions. "Race," broadly speaking, refers to real (or imagined) phenotypical differences among groups of individuals, differences that have been socially singled out, associated with negative qualities and historically utilized as rationalizations of discrimination against the bearers of these (cf. Bolaria and Li 1988). Conversely, an "ethnic" group is characterized by held-in-common behaviours and cultural traits that are constructed as different and originating in a country other than where they are observed. In a broad definition, ethnic groups include racial groups as well, since race is one of the markers that has been used to separate groups. In a narrower definition, ethnic and racial groups are quite different and cannot be put together. There is an important analytical difference between "culture" and "ethnicity". Although neither culture nor ethnicity are fixed entities, culture refers overall to "a way of life that a group of people develops in order to adapt to a set of external and pre-existing conditions" (Li 1999:10), while ethnicity refers to "the world views, traditions and practices brought by immigrants to Canada, and dynamically reproduced and transformed within the Canadian context" (Stasiulis 1990: 276). The term "racial minority Canadians," a socially constructed term, in a contemporary context refers to the legal term "visible minorities." Members of "visible minorities" in Canada are defined as

National Archives of Canada (PA-10257)

"persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour" (*Employment Equity Act* 1995).

MODELS OF IMMIGRANT INCORPORATION

Models of immigrant incorporation constitute another outcome of increasing population movements and involve identity-shaping processes for ethnocultural, racial, religious and linguistic minority Canadians. Some of the models have inspired, and are intertwined with, specific immigration and settlement policies (e.g. assimilation), while others are more theoretical (e.g. integration as racialized parity).

When ethnicity is seen in terms of its content and on the level of ethnic identity (individual level), it is logical to inquire about what factors help to maintain such an identity and what forces compel it to change. Driedger (1996) has created a conceptual model in an attempt to both compare / contrast some of the more contemporary theories of ethnic change and persistence (e.g. assimilation, amalgamation, pluralism, modified assimilation, involuntary pluralism) and to synthesize them in order to understand the factors that contribute to ethnic change and persistence. Michel Page (1992) conceives of integration as a non-linear process that depends on the position of various ethnic groups in society, the location and wishes of individuals, and the structure of institutions, creating thereby three ideal types of (primarily cultural) immigrant integration.

Theoretical models of integration or ethnic change and persistence frequently fall into a reductionist trap by ignoring gender. Problems of integration encountered by male immigrants are assumed to represent universal problems of immigrants. Yet significant evidence exists to suggest that the integration process is considerably more challenging for women than for men.

While empirical and feminist studies successfully avoid the reductionist trap, they either do not engage the discourse of integration or they take "integration" as a concept for granted. While the anti-racist literature better addresses the concept of integration, the gender dimension is underplayed. In an effort to synthesize feminist and anti-racist perspectives, it has been suggested (Miedema and Tastsoglou 2000) that there is value in seeing integration as a process of seeking / acquiring class, racialized and gender parity.

Beyond the integration model, though not incompatible with this last definition of integration, immigrant incorporation has also been defined as a process of enlarging opportunities for civic engagement. A broad conception of citizenship practices (cf. Stasiulis and

Bakan 1997) that emphasizes practice rather than status is consistent with this approach to civic engagement because of the focus on practice, and not legal status. Formal citizenship is not a requirement for civic engagement, although citizenship or legal status, class and racialization may be important in shaping civic engagement.

A significant body of mostly international literature originating in cultural and post-colonial studies focuses directly on the new types of identities (diasporic, transnational, cosmopolitan, post-national) produced by contemporary trends such as globalization, transnationalism and the development of new geo-political entities such as the EU (Tastsoglou, 2001: 13-15). Overall, globalization has a pluralizing effect on identities, producing a variety of possibilities. To the extent that such a literature is empirical, it is mostly non-Canadian based.

CANADIAN IMMIGRATION POLICIES AND PRACTICES

Immigration policies are the institutional part of the immigration process. As a result, they, too, involve identity-shaping processes for minority Canadians. Labour market and demographic considerations, as well as political factors (cf. Hawkins 1989), have historically led Canadian immigration policies. Racism and sexism have been interwoven with assessments. The first control to immigration was introduced through the 1869 Immigration Act, while one major control introduced after 1879 was the legal discrimination in the selection processes of potential immigrants, based on their source countries or the "institutional racism" of the immigration process. This has been applied, at various times, to people of various origins, especially Chinese, South Asian, Jewish and Japanese immigrants.

Institutional discrimination has not only been part of Canada's immigration policies, but also of its citizenship and other immigrant-related policies. As such, it has had an effect on the identities of ethnocultural groups that have either been defined as inferior "races" or as "other" at various times in history.

From 1907 until 1936, deportation was an economic and political tool in the hands of the Canadian state to reduce the numbers of poor, unemployed and politically undesirable. The policies concerning domestic workers constitute another important aspect of immigration policies. Systemic features of such policies have historically been their racial, patriarchal and class biases. Domestic work has been a particularly racialized form of work that is also circumscribed by class and gender criteria (cf. Calliste 1989: 133- 65).

In terms of the overall institutional structures of immigration policy, Canadian policy underwent enormous changes from the early, and openly racist, preferred treatment given to British subjects until 1947. Indeed, it constantly expanded to include other European groups, then "preferred nationalities;" it subsequently opened up immigration through the introduction of a point system in 1967 (cf. Kubat 1993). Shedding the overt racism has resulted, since the 1960s, in a rise of immigration to Canada originating from non-European countries.

Canada's refugee policies are part of the immigration process. As a result, refugee experiences of claiming refugee status can be expected to have an impact on their individual and collective ethnic identities. Overall, although fair protection has been provided to those refugees who gain access to the system, many barriers still prevent genuine refugees from gaining entry to make a claim.

CONTEMPORARY CANADIAN RESEARCH ON IMMIGRATION, ETHNOCULTURAL AND RACIAL IDENTITIES, RESEARCH AND POLICY ISSUES

Contemporary empirical research on ethnic identity in Canada concurs for the most part that such identity is socially constructed and thus variable, other-referenced and always in process. More specifically, research findings can be grouped in two categories: those that identify (a) some of the most important factors that contribute to the making of immigrant identities among specific ethnocultural minority groups in Canada and (b) the content and parameters of such identities at specific moments in time in the lives of specific ethnic groups. The first category comprises geo-political developments in the country of origin, ongoing negotiation of ethnic organizations with the Canadian state about particular ethnic identities, ongoing negotiation of more recent arrivals with already existing ethnic communities, adaptation to Canadian culture and laws stage in life, gender, transnational networks and participation in community organizations.

On the other hand, there are also studies that focus on factors that contribute to the preservation of ethnocultural identities, assuming that such identities are rather fixed. Such factors include the following: an educational system which sustains language transmission and religious training; a family embedded in traditional culture; residential segregation; the perception of group discrimination; practical factors such as number of years in Canada, age at arrival and citizenship status; high self-esteem; and collective action as a mobility strategy.

More research is necessary pertaining to Canada's different ethnic, racial, religious and linguistic minority groups and to the impact of the immigration process on their identities. Gender and class are cross-cutting issues that need to be investigated further and, ideally, included as components in every analysis and study. The links and intersections between ethnic identity, gender and class in specific ethnocultural groups need to be further investigated, as they are impacted by the immigration process. The role of gender and gender relations in language retention and in constructing / reproducing ethnoreligious identity also need to be further investigated.

In addition, in terms of ethnic identities specifically, the following are some questions arising from the literature: how the actual processes of ethnic identity formation of specific groups are socially negotiated; how the content of ethnic identity changes over time within a single immigrant generation and over generations; and how political developments in the homeland affect the development of identity. Further research is needed in comparing the ethnic identity construction process and content of various immigrant generations within specific ethnic groups. More research is also needed to better understand the differ-

ences among immigrant ethnic groups in ethnic identity retention and the factors accounting for such differences. How do the particular circumstances of emigration and immigration affect the identities of immigrants to Canada? What is the impact of the institutional aspects of the immigration process on the identities of Canada's diverse minorities? On the other hand, some substantive areas where research and policy gaps may exist include mental health and ethnicity, aging and ethnicity and social mobility for specific ethnic groups and generations.

With modern societies becoming increasingly diverse and often more pluralistic as a result of globalization and transnationalism, new questions arise in the field of transnational, diasporic and post-national identities that remains virtually unexplored in Canada (Tastsoglou, 2001).

THE IMMIGRATION PROCESS AND LINGUISTIC MINORITY CANADIANS

Linguistic minorities are those who speak as mother tongue a language other than English or French. Linguistic minorities are always ethnocultural (including racialized) and often religious minorities as well. While there is some literature (cf. Reitz 1980) on language as one of a number of ethnic identity factors, most of the ethnicity literature tends to ignore issues of language, while studies of linguistic pluralism in Canada fail to consider issues of ethnicity (de Vries 1990: 231). More recently, research has focused more on this connection of language and ethnicity (cf. Davids 2000).

Besides the gender, class and ethnicity intersection in the formation of linguistic identities, there are several other important questions with respect to the impact of the immigration process on language retention and ethnic identity. Some important questions include: Are ethnic identity and language retention necessarily connected? Can there be ethnocultural identity without linguistic competence? If so, what kind of identity? How will it differ from group to group? To what extent can the symbolic uses of an ethnic language play a role in enhancing identities? What are the effects of immigration on language retention of first-generation immigrants? What is the relationship between their ethnic identity and language shift? What are some of the reasons for the shift? Are there back-and-forth shifts over the lifetime? What are the long-term benefits of heritage language instruction? What are the effects of economic globalization and increased travel and communication on ethnic languages?

THE IMMIGRATION PROCESS AND RELIGIOUS MINORITY CANADIANS

The relationship between religion and ethnicity has been a subject of debate and remains problematic. According to one interpretation, religion is one of the markers of an ethnic group (de Vries 1990). According to another interpretation, religion is one of the four pillars of the "sacred canopy" of a people - the other three being ethnic culture, community and land (Driedger 1989).

More research is needed on religious identities and the impact of the migration process on them. More studies are needed, especially on religion's instrumental use by ethnic groups to build / reproduce their identity as well as their ethnic communities. What may be the role of different religions in the identities of religious and ethnic minority Canadians? Under what conditions and in what ways is religion important for ethnoreligious minority Canadians? There are hardly any studies directly focusing on the importance of religious beliefs and practice among the immigrant generation and their variance over time. What is the impact of Canadian secular multicultural ideology, policy and practice on ethnoreligious groups that tend to view the state and the world in religious terms? Does it limit religious practice? Finally, is there an overall trend toward more pan-ethnic or pan-religious congregations, as the different faith communities become more ethnically diverse? What would the implications of such a phenomenon be for ethnocultural communities and identities?

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DIVERSITÉ ET SPORT :
Dis-moi quel est ton sport et je te dirai qui tu es

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18 JUIN 2002. SÉISME DANS ST-LÉONARD, MONTRÉAL. L'ÉQUIPE D'ITALIE EST ÉLIMINÉE DU TOURNOI DE LA COUPE DU MONDE DE FOOTBALL PAR LA CORÉE DU SUD. TROIS JOURS PLUS TARD, MÊME SCÉNARIO DANS LE WEST ISLAND CETTE FOIS-CI; L'ANGLETERRE PLIE PAVILLON DEVANT LE BRÉSIL. LE 25, EN DEMI-FINALE LE RÊVE DU DIABLE ROUGE SUD CORÉEN S'ÉCROULE SOUS LE ROULEAU COMPRESSEUR DU BRÉSIL. AU MÊME INSTANT, AU RESTAURANT BAYOU BRÉSIL DE MONTRÉAL, C'EST L'EFFERVESCENCE.

Entre fierté et déception, les performances des équipes représentatives des nations d'origine engendrent des réactions contrastées chez les Canadiens issus de diverses communautés culturelles. À ce titre, la Coupe du monde de football, comme les Jeux Olympiques et autres grands événements sportifs d'envergure mondiale sont autant révélateurs de la diversité culturelle canadienne. Mais là ne s'arrête pas le rôle voire l'influence du sport en ce qui a trait à la production et la reproduction des multiples identités culturelles, de classes, de race, d'âge et de genre au Canada, comme dans toutes les sociétés multiculturelles.

Pratiques corporelles socialement construites, les sports ont une fabuleuse facilité à acquérir différentes significations et fonctions sociales, selon les acteurs qui se les approprient. Ils «...servent de mode d'inculcation de normes culturelles, de processus d'expression de résistance au contrôle et à la domination des lieux de construction des identités sociales, de support aux idéologies et aux représentations sociales. Bref, [ils] font partie de l'imaginaire collectif. Leur pouvoir métaphorique et leur malléabilité ont rendu leur insertion possible dans tous les secteurs de la vie sociale.»[1]

Dès les débuts du développement du sport au Canada, les sports ont été mis à contribution dans la construction d'une certaine identité nationale canadienne. Jeu des premières nations, la crosse a été transformée en sport vers le fin du XIXième siècle pour affirmer une culture nationale canadienne distincte de celle imposée par l'empire britannique, nous rappelle Robidoux.[2] Le hockey sur glace a eu aussi pour fonction de représenter métaphoriquement l'identité canadienne.[3] Il est toujours un des éléments fondamentaux de cette identité. Enfin, la pénétration du sport dans la société canadienne a aussi interpellé les élites de cette société, lesquelles ont déployé diverses initiatives afin que l'âme canadienne française puisse s'exprimer par et à travers le sport.[4] Les vagues successives d'immigration ont imprimé leur marque dans le développement du sport et de la société canadienne en amenant avec elles leurs pratiques et organisations sportives. Pensons ici, entre autres, à la contribution des immigrants Finlandais, Ukrainiens, Juifs et Hongrois au développement du sport ouvrier canadien durant les trois premières décennies du XX^{ième} siècle[5]. Les exemples précédents témoignent du fait qu'hier comme aujourd'hui, à travers le sport, comme dans les autres facettes de la vie sociale, les questions de la reconnaissance et de la promotion de la diversité culturelle se sont toujours posées avec acuité.

Pour les nouveaux immigrants, comme pour les membres des différentes diasporas qui sont parties prenantes de la société canadienne, le sport peut jouer d'un côté comme de l'autre de l'alternative entre l'acculturation à la culture dominante et la reproduction de la diversité.[6] Le sport contribue à l'intégration à la culture dominante quand les membres de ces communautés participent dans les sports et les institutions dominantes à titre d'individus, sans que soit prise en compte leur identité culturelle minoritaire. L'image des héros sportifs issus des communautés minoritaires servent aussi ces fins, en désignant ceux-ci comme des citoyens bien intégrés à la culture de la majorité dont ils deviennent des dignes représentants. Ici, le potentiel du sport à représenter et à rassembler autour d'une cause commune, la nation d'accueil, sert d'agent de socialisation, de reproduction d'une identité nationale univoque. Les distinctions de classe, de race, d'origine ethnique s'estompent. Il contribue à la fusion des individus et des cultures au sein d'un tout universel, voire d'une identité civique.

À l'opposé, le sport peut s'avérer un formidable véhicule d'affirmation et de reproduction d'identités culturelles diverses en marge de la culture dominante. L'exemple évoqué précédemment des résonances de la Coupe du monde de football sur de nombreux Canadiens, c'est-à-dire l'identification à l'équipe représentative de la nation d'origine, en est une première manifestation. En

outre, à travers la pratique des sports associés à leur nation d'origine, ou la mise sur pieds d'équipes culturellement homogènes au sein de ligues sportives, les membres des communautés culturelles se donnent des moyens de vivre leur identité culturelle. De même, les exploits des athlètes issus des communautés culturelles peuvent servir à célébrer la différence culturelle au sein de la culture dominante. Enfin, le sport peut servir de prétexte, de justification de rassemblement des membres de communautés où sont reproduites les formes de sociabilité propres à la nation d'origine, où sont renouées les identités des membres de ces communautés.

Le même type d'alternative se présente également pour les nations fondatrices du Canada. Les travaux de Paraschak[7] sur les premières nations démontrent comment selon les régions, diverses manifestations sportives sont les véhicules, soit d'une acculturation aux sports «occidentaux » ou, au contraire, d'affirmation et de reproduction de leurs identités nationales. Elle nous apprend, par exemple, qu'au Nord, les Dénés et les Inuits ont une grande habileté à refaçonner les événements sportifs en fonction de leur propre culture, même lorsqu'ils n'ont pas le contrôle de ces événements; alors que la situation inverse semble prévaloir dans la partie méridionale du pays.

Les travaux de Dallaire[8] sur les *Jeux de l'Acadie, les Jeux francophones de l'Alberta* et les *Jeux franco-ontariens*, de leur côté, nous donnent de sérieux indices à savoir comment se produisent et se reproduisent des identités hybrides chez les jeunes issus des communautés francophones minoritaires au Canada dans le cadre de ces événements sportifs et culturels.

Bien qu'exemplaires, ces travaux ne touchent que la pointe de l'iceberg car, en effet, s'il est possible d'identifier quelques travaux publiés ici et là, ceux-ci sont tout autant des marques de l'ampleur de notre méconnaissance du sport dans la société canadienne; notamment en ce qui a trait à son rôle et sa contribution possible à la diversité canadienne. Si, comme l'ont exprimé Taylor et Wymlicka, le défi pour le Canada à titre de pays polyethnique et multinational consiste « … à non seulement respecter la diversité, mais aussi à respecter cette diversité dans la façon de concevoir la diversité[9] », les paragraphes précédents nous laissent savoir que nous ne pouvons faire l'économie d'une meilleure compréhension du sport dans la société canadienne.

À ce titre, le chantier qui se dresse devant nous est colossal. La tâche est d'autant plus grande qu'il n'existe pas de programme de subvention, ni d'enveloppe désignée pour supporter la recherche sur le sport au Canada. Jusqu'ici, l'intérêt bien sporadique du gouvernement fédéral en ce qui a trait à la recherche sur le sport s'est limité, soit à l'encadrement dans le but de l'amélioration des performances des athlètes de sport de haute performance comme facteur d'affirmation de la fierté nationale, soit à la connaissance des facteurs biologiques et psychologiques contribuant à l'amélioration de la condition physique des canadiens et à la pratique régulière de l'activité physique. S'en est trouvé presque totalement occulté tout questionnement sur le poids et les modes d'affranchissement des barrières socio-économiques à la pratique; comme toute considération des facteurs culturels qui entrent en cause dans la pratique sportive et qui sont partie prenante de la diversité culturelle canadienne. Dans ce contexte, il est à souhaiter que le gouvernement fédéral prenne pleinement la mesure du préambule de la nouvelle loi C-54, loi favorisant l'activité physique et le sport, laquelle souligne qu'il «…reconnaît que l'activité physique et le sport font partie intégrante du mode de vie des Canadiens et de leur culture et procure des avantages sur les plans de la santé, de la cohésion sociale, de l'activité économique, de la diversité culturelle et de la qualité de la vie». Il est à souhaiter également que le ministre se donne les moyens «…d'entreprendre des études et des recherches sur l'activité physique et le sport, ou y apporter son concours.»[10]

Dans ce contexte, de nombreuses pistes de recherches doivent être investiguées dont les suivantes :

- Quel est le rôle précis du sport dans la promotion de la diversité canadienne? On en sait très peu en effet sur le poids et les sens que revêt le sport dans les diverses communautés culturelles.
- Quel est le rôle actuel et le potentiel du sport dans la promotion de la citoyenneté sociale et culturelle?
- Comment se jouent à l'intérieur de ces communautés les intersections entre les identités culturelles, de genre et de génération pour constituer soit des barrières, soit des chances de participation dans les sports?
- Quelles formes de prestations de services de sport les administrations publiques locales, provinciales, territoriales et fédérales doivent-elles mettre en place pour assurer la promotion de l'inclusion, de l'habilitation et de l'intégration dans le respect de la diversité et le respect des différentes manières de concevoir la diversité?

[1] S, Laberge et J. Harvey, Présentation, *Sociologie et sociétés*, vol 27, no 1, 1995. p.8

[2] M. Robidoux, Imagining a Canadian Identity through Sport : A historical interpretation of Lacrosse and hockey, *Journal of American Folklore*, 115(456), 2002. pp. 211-227.

[3] Idem, p. 222. Voir aussi R. Gruneau & D. Whitson, *Hockey Night in Canada : Sport, identitites and Cultural politics*. Toronto : Garamond, 1993.

[4] Voir à titre d'exemple, G. Janson, *Emparons-nous du sport*. Montréal : Guérin, 1995.

[5] Voir le chapitre trois de B. Kidd, *The Struggle for Canadian Sport*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press. 1996.

[6] Voir aussi N. Dyck, *Immigration, Integration and Sports in Canada*, Unpublished paper commissioned by Heritage Canada for the Policy Research Seminar on Identity, Halifax, 1-2 november 2001.

[7] Voir entre autres V. Paraschak, Variations in Race race Relations : Sporting Events for native People in Canada, *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 14(1), 1997. Pp. 1-21. V. Paraschack, 'Reasonable amusements' : Connecting the Strands of Physical Culture in Native Lives, Sport History Review, 29, 1998. Pp. 121-131.

[8] Voir entre autres, C. Dallaire, Minority francophone youths in Canada: From singular identities to plural and hybrid identities. Paper presented at the International Sociological Association XVth ISA World Congress of Sociology, July 7-13, 2002 in Brisbane, Australia. Ainsi que C. Dallaire et C. Denis. "If you don't speak French, you're out": Don Cherry, the Alberta Francophone Games, and the Discursive Construction of Canada's Francophones. *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 25(4), 2002. Pp.415-440.

[9] W. Kymlicka, Le citoyenneté multiculturelle, Montréal : Boréal, 2001. P. 268.

[10] Loi C-54, article 5a.

[11] Pour une discussion de cette problématique voir : J. Harvey, Politique du sport et citoyenneté : vers un nouveau cadre normatif d'évaluation des politiques du sport au Canada, *ISUMA*, 3(1), 2002, pp. 134-139.

YOUTH, IDENTITY, DIVERSITY AND EDUCATION:

Building Capacity for Research and Policy

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THE NEED TO BUILD RESEARCH CAPACITY

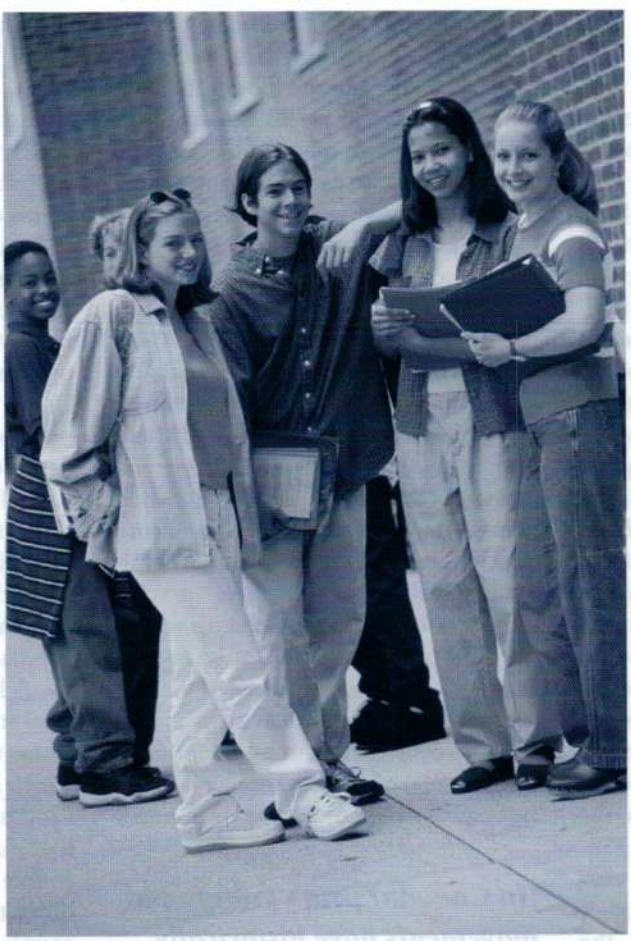
YOUTH ENGAGE IN IDENTITY WORK THAT IS FUNDAMENTAL TO ADOLESCENCE AS A LIFE STAGE OF ITS OWN. WITH SUCH WORK, THEY NEGOTIATE PLACES, TIMES AND RELATIONSHIPS IN A VARIETY OF LANDSCAPES. IN CANADIAN RESEARCH LITERATURE, AS REVIEWED IN HÉBERT (2001A), LITTLE WORK HAS YET BEEN CARRIED OUT IN SYSTEMATIC AND COMPREHENSIVE WAYS TO EXPLORE THESE NOTIONS WITH RESPECT TO MULTIPLE YOUTHFUL IDENTITIES FROM POSTMODERNIST PERSPECTIVES. BUILDING THE CAPACITY TO CARRY OUT SUCH RESEARCH MEANS DEVELOPING A CADRE OF INTERCONNECTED AND COLLABORATIVE RESEARCHERS WHO PUSH THE BOUNDARIES OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH AND WHO CONSCIOUSLY DRAW ON DIFFERENT RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES AND DISCIPLINARY TRADITIONS (HÉBERT, 2001A) TO DEVELOP A LEXICON OF IDENTITY. THIS WOULD NECESSARILY TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE SHIFTING TERRAIN, THAT IS, CRITICAL THEORY THAT EXAMINES THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN KNOWLEDGE AND POLITICS (POPKEWITZ AND FENDLER, 1999). PREFERRED MEANS OF DOING SO WOULD NECESSITATE EXAMINING AND DEVELOPING THE ABILITY TO READ AND INTERPRET IMAGINARY WORLDS, TRANSCULTURALISM AND NEW ETHNICITIES, DIFFERENCE AS COMMONPLACE, CULTURAL LANDSCAPES, AS WELL AS CREATIVE WAYS OF NEGOTIATING, PARTICIPATING, RELATING, SYMBOLIZING, KNOWING, OPPOSING, RESISTING AND ENGAGING – ALL AS PART OF BELONGING AND BECOMING.

RESEARCHING LANDSCAPES

To research youthful landscapes would require moving beyond traditional imaginary societies, such as the nation-state or native region, to consider at least six imaginary worlds which can arise to locate identity formation, five of which are proposed in Appadurai (1990) and a sixth added in Paakkunainen (2000). How does the real, but unstable and fluid, cross-border contact between friends, tourists, fellow students, co-workers and immigrants create a meaningful *ethno-landscape* for youth? How is a *techno-landscape* created when technology is unplaceable, defying physical borders, breaking down human spatial consciousness, geography and architecture and the aesthetic world of imagination, as well as social and political relationships and modern foundations of identity? How does the imaginary world of money and capital transfers, where many virtual manoeuvres relate to values incomprehensible to most citizens, result in a *financial landscape* of some relevance to youth? How does the *ideological landscape* interact with youthful aspirations when it means the non-committed or non-participatory dimension which, for Appadurai, restricts politics to organizations, leaders and governmental procedures, such as international agreements, policing or political democracy? How can youth make meaning of the *media landscape*, which includes multi-formed and multi-valued short and often generalized narratives of the media and the industry of arts and culture? Based on the writings of young people in countries around the Baltic Sea, another horizon is added for the construction of identities as a basic risk and learning process. For example, the *ecological landscape* refers to nature, especially as it concerns ecological balance and discussion of the basic meaning of life (Paakkunainen, 2000). As the basis for projection, if attempts are made to reproduce stereotypical lifestyles in new contexts, these come to signify interpretation and the birth of new styles.

RESEARCHING TRANSCULTURALISM AND NEW ETHNICITIES

To research transculturalism and new ethnicities would require a focus on young people's own views and stories of themselves and others. Interdisciplinary studies could examine perceptions of what is real, rational, affective and imaginary. Explorations are needed, more specifically, of making, using and blending cultural symbols; of conventional and youth cultural styles; of negotiating intercultural and common / public places; of balancing conflicting urban and cultural geographies and how these shape everyday practices of precaution and adventure; of the construction of safe and dangerous places; of mental maps of spaces and associative practices; of embodiment of places; of democratic values and patterns of participation; of ways of crossing social borders and categories; of the influence of factors of choice and non-choice; of the interplay between ways of knowing that circulate globally, traditionally and locally; and especially of youth's own narratives on the construction of self and of others. Studies of meta-cognitive strategic competence among adolescents from a diversity of backgrounds, as linked with other identity shaping phenomena, would add to our knowledge base of how young people solve the 'problem' of identity production and how they deal with issues such as not having a home to go back to. Studies of youthful identity formation with respect to dimensions of deconstruction, ambivalence, alienation and resistance, as well as dimensions of groundedness, forms of life and the acquisition of social networks, and individualized social capital would be useful (Kilbride, 2000; Raffo and Reeves, 2000; Hébert et al, 2002).



In terms of schooling, research in Canadian schools is needed on the expression of transcultural identities that create a social and political base for individuals who challenge the equation of 'fitting in,' as well as the heavy reliance on individualism and self-reliance, rather than on a willingness to help others – all of this being a part of academic engagement. Research is also needed on curricula that ask students to critically examine the making and enforcement of social borders that focus on consistency between implicit and explicit messages, and that provide for the development of strategic competencies for learning how to learn and how to become. Models of classrooms and teacher education that are democratic and empowering, the influences between multiple identifications and transparent administrative styles, and pedagogies that are accountable to cultural communities also need to be understood. Situated in studies of transnationalism and economic realities, research is also needed on the influences of novels, films and other cultural

representations on youthful lives, on conceptions of self and others, on political stances and positionings, and more generally on the identity work of essence to adolescence as a life-stage. Finally, research is needed on the meanings of socio-educational policies, programmes and projects that focus on schooling on the centrality of identity formation, the development of strategic competencies for learning and becoming, and the relocation of learning within a broader process of construction of self and of society for the world we want, in the context of economic, political and communicative globalization.

THEORETICAL PROBLEMS

In the theorization of the subject of identity, some problems remain to be resolved, as pointed out by Stuart Hall (1996) and Lynn Fendler (1999). In deconstructing key concepts such as gender, culture, race and ethnicity, in putting them under erasure, and in indicating that they are no longer serviceable when there is nothing else available to think with, means continuing to think with them, but to think differently, without using them with their original meanings or in their original paradigms and theories. Cancelling them allows them to go on being read as if in a form of double writing, a code in which meaning is in the interval between the inversion. Identity is such a concept, operating in the interval between reversal and emergence. We can no longer think of it in the old way, as a problem, yet certain questions cannot be raised at all without it. Secondly, although the question of agency in relation to a politics of location is central, what is crucially needed is a reconceptualization of discursive practice, to attempt the rearticulation of the question of identification lodged in contingency, subjectification and the politics of exclusion. Thus, identity work among youth entails discursive practices, strategic competence, the marking of symbolic boundaries and the production of frontiers and their crossing, so as to consolidate the process.

Furthermore, still according to Hall (1996), the body is radically deconstructed in this new conception of power and is reconstructed in terms of its historical, genealogical and discursive formations at the intersection of multiple disciplinary practices. However, this is problematic for several reasons. Methodologically, as implied above, discursive practices are notoriously unstable, contradictory and contingent, which renders this type of analysis, if entirely exclusive to a corpus of data, unreliable theoretically; thus, a theory of discursivity is required. Conceptually, as Hall notes, this bodily deconstruction suggests that nothing, not even the body, is sufficiently stable for self-recognition or the understanding of others. This, however, fails to recognize that this is precisely how the body has functioned to stabilize the subjectivities in the individual (Hall, 1996:11-16). Invoking the body as the resting-place of theories and disciplinary practices does not resolve the relationship between the individual, the subject and the body when, instead, it fractures and disperses.

A more well-established critique has to do with theorizing resistance within theories of power, such as Foucault's, in which the conception of the subject is self-policing and no attention is given to what might interrupt, prevent or disturb the insertion of individuals into the subject positions constructed by such discourses. What is inadequately theorized are psychic responses or interior mechanisms that might be produced or fail, or be resisted or negotiated. In other words, if the self, social relations and knowledge are all socially constructed, then identifying the source(s) of voice, resistance, agency, authenticity and / or autonomy becomes a major theoretical challenge, as does prediction (Fendler, 1999). As a result, the efficacy of disciplinary power is overestimated and the individual body is poorly understood, for postmodernism cannot account for experiences that occur outside of the realm of the body. What becomes necessary, as Foucault (1987, 1977) later realized, is to look for forms and modalities by which the individual recognizes him / herself as a subject, that is, in a relation of self to another, a territory that belongs to the problematics of identity.

(In Canada) youth groups and movements have historically played a decisive role in nation-wide decision-making, and mainstream politicians and major intellectuals address issues of youth policy as important topics.

YOUTH RESEARCH TAKING ITS RIGHTFUL PLACE

A persistent bias permeates a decade or more of research on the negative aspects of adolescence, such as risk-taking and adolescent turmoil, especially in the case of minority youth (Ayman-Nolley and Taira, 2000). Yet, society has two responsibilities towards adolescents: One is to search for the pieces of the adolescence puzzle that are still unknown and the other is to use the knowledge and more complex understandings of this stage of life to better facilitate and nurture adolescents' development (Ayman-Nolley and Taira, 2000). There is still insufficient research on adolescents' minds and on their desire to devote life careers to the pursuit of new ideas and social reforms (Piaget and Inhelder, 1969). Interdisciplinary and collaborative research is at the core of a more comprehensive, complex and complete approach to adolescence. It is critical for the fields of psychology, sociology, cultural studies and educational research to come together for greater insights to enrich science and society.

Youth research has often reflected the marginalized position of young people in society and has had little impact on state policy within the discourse of governance (Cohen and Ainley, 2000). Youth services similarly receive severe cuts whenever a populist administration's knives are poised; and many youth workers, including teachers, eschew theoretically grounded approaches. Yet in comparison, in most European countries other than Britain and its former colonies, including Canada and the USA, youth groups and movements have historically played a decisive role in nation-wide decision-making, and mainstream politicians and major intellectuals

address issues of youth policy as important topics.

The youth question is potentially at the cutting edge of interdisciplinary inquiry in the human and social sciences. It has an important role to play in reconstituting the problematics of identity and modernity. It may also serve to focus policy debates around the nexus of social contradiction in post-colonial states. But until we transcend the narrow empirical nature of most youth transition studies, typical of modernist perspectives, the youth question will remain sidelined.

It is time that the study of youth takes its rightful place as a major site of theoretical and empirical research in the human and social sciences, but this will necessitate a more productive dialogue between different perspectives. One possible approach is to build bridges between youth studies and other disciplines, such as cultural studies, in order to advance research and policy beyond these limitations. Greater interdisciplinarity and a wider empirical base will require more strenuous intellectual engagement to sustain creative synthesis. The youth question is an important and potentially productive site of theoretical and policy innovation.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR RESEARCH AND POLICY

There is doubt, and with doubt comes hope. Anyone who doubts is struggling against false certainty, non-ambiguity and the either-or dichotomy. Once appearing as a weakness in cultures of faith and certainty, doubting now becomes a virtue, the launching point of productivity, to which everything larger-than-life and generally accepted is alien because it negates the ultimate standards of humankind: reservations, uncertainty and 'yes-but' (Paakkunainen, 1997).

Attempting to develop a research capacity in Canada for policy-making necessitates raising doubts about the efficacy of current multiculturalism policy and suggests that a reconsideration of multicultural policy as it was formulated within modernist perspectives is required, for it promised much and delivered little (May, 1999a). Since its inceptions, the academic and media debate on multiculturalism has increased exponentially, and the curriculum industry equally expanded without much evidence of the latter activity building upon a research base generated by the former. Yet, the lives of minority students have changed very little. In order to address adequately the impact of structural racism on students' lives, their social and economic futures, as well as the post-modern accounts of identities as multiple, contingent and subject to rapid change, a more complex view of wider social and cultural power relations is necessary, as is a better theorization of multicultural education, critical to social and educational policy.

A broad, radical, democratic alliance (small 'a') of anti-racist / multicultural educators and critical pedagogy theorists, which has only just begun in Britain, is also necessary in Canada and in the United States (May, 1999a). In all three countries, the distancing between these positions and the similarity of the criticism from reactionary commentators pressures scholars and activists alike to adopt a more contingent, situational account of racism, ethnicity, culture and identity. In Canada, as a polyethnic and multinational state, serious attention must be given to globalization in its many dimensions (economic, social, cultural, religious, and political) and its impact on our country, on the changing nature of work and school; its historical and contemporary links with racism and colonialism; and the differential distribution of social and political power among ethnic, cultural and social groups. Multiculturalism policy and education are linked to debates in social science theory concerning the historical construction of 'nation-states'; the central role of language and education in perpetuating a common civil culture; the more plural alternatives implied by a politics of multiculturalism in terms of public representation; and the balance between pluralism and the need for social cohesion.

The key to the reconceptualization of multicultural education and policy is to incorporate both a critical and non-essentialist approach to cultural difference (May, 1999b; Fleras, 2002; Hébert, 2001b). A liberal multiculturalism is concerned with sameness in a belief that individuals from diverse race, class and gender groups share a natural equality and more commonalities than differences. Inequalities of position across groups is typically viewed as due to lack of social and educational opportunities. Critiques of this view of multiculturalism focus on the unexamined nature of sameness, of the discourse of diversity, but of assimilation to white male (Eurocentric) culture as the norm. While still addressing multiculturalism as a problem to be resolved, it neglects to recognize unequal power distribution and webs of power in which operate race, class and gender. Moreover, liberal multicultural educators tend to hold the view that they "can bring about an unspecified change without either clarifying the nature of the change or understanding the historical, social and epistemological dimensions of all educational metamorphosis" (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1997: 13). *Pluralist multiculturalism* focuses on difference and values diversity; in education, this means learning about the values, knowledge, beliefs and behaviours of various groups. This position calls for multicultural literacy, building pride in heritage and cultural differences. Some of the characteristics of liberal multiculturalism are shared: both fail to problematize whiteness and Eurocentric norm and also fail to decontextualize race and gender. Critiques of this conception of multiculturalism point out that it cannot deliver the promised emancipation; that it confuses psychological affirmation with political empowerment, then fails to see the power-grounded relationships between identity construction, cultural representations and struggles over resources (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1997: 16-17). A *left-essentialist multiculturalism* does not recognize the historical situatedness of cultural differences. Since identity formation is socially constructed, it is constantly shifting in relation to unstable discursive and ideological formations. Moreover, an essentialist approach tends to romanticize the historical past, often connecting it to a time when the essence of a particular identity was developed as if it transcends the forces of history, social context and power.

Emerging from the critical theory of the Frankfurt school of the 1920s, a *critical multiculturalism* is concerned with how domination takes place, as well as the way human relations are shaped in the workplace, in schools and in everyday life. Critical theory promotes self-reflection that results in changes of perspective, whereas critical pedagogy helps students and teachers to understand how schools work by exposing students to sorting processes and power involvement within the curriculum. Class is a central concern, as it interacts crucially to contextualize race, gender and other axes of power, giving rise to inequalities. Within this perspective, cultural reproduction consists of ways in which individuals produce, revamp and reproduce meanings in a context constantly shaped and reshaped by power. This conception of multiculturalism draws upon literature and analytical methods of cultural studies to gain deeper understandings of how race, class and gender are represented in various social spheres. A critical multiculturalism concerns itself with issues of justice, social change and their relation to the pedagogical, where the term 'pedagogical' refers to the production of identity. One example of this would be the way we learn to see ourselves in relation to the world. In a curriculum of critical multiculturalism, the diverse resources of each community open the school to a variety of community traditions, histories and cultures formerly discredited within the school. The stories, the worldviews, the music, the politics, the humour and the art of the hereto marginalized community become a central part of everyday school life, always viewed within the context of the general curriculum. To implement such a curriculum, it is necessary to critically analyze the nature of past-present relationships and to search for new ways of seeing in a variety of spaces (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1997: 23-26, 237, 240, 246).

To situate the development of a research capacity within a critical non-essentialist multicultural perspective, three principles apply (May 1999b; Bhabha, 1994). A first step is to unmask and deconstruct the apparent neutrality of civil democracy, i.e., the supposedly universal, neutral set of cultural values and practices that underpin the public sphere of the nation-state. A second key move is to situate these cultural differences within the wider nexus of power relations of which they form a part. The third key move is to maintain a reflexive critique of specific cultural practices that avoids the vacuity of cultural relativism and allows for criticism, transformation and change, where difference is lived rather than objectified.

Only then could multiculturalism policy benefit from critical postmodernist research on youth, identities, ethnocultural / racial / religious / linguistic diversity and education. And only then could such research reciprocally benefit from the framework of policy to examine and further theorize practices.

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RESEARCHING COMMUNITY, LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE:

What Does the Literature Say and What Do Leaders Want?

BY Jack Jedwab, McGill University

THE STUDY OF LEADERSHIP, GOVERNANCE AND IDENTITY IN MINORITY COMMUNITIES BENEFITS FROM AN INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACH THAT COMBINES THE HISTORIC, SOCIOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL DIMENSIONS OF THE RELATIONSHIP. ELCOCK CONTENDS THAT STUDIES OF LEADERSHIP IN MANY COUNTRIES SUFFER FROM AN ABSENCE OF ANALYTICAL AND COMPARATIVE FRAMEWORKS THAT ARE SUFFICIENTLY ROBUST TO MAKE SENSE OF THE COMMON ISSUES AND PROBLEMS LEADERS CONFRONT.

Leadership can significantly influence identity formation and community vitality. As it relates to identity, leadership is very often intertwined with the issue of governance. It might be said that leadership is a product of the surrounding environment and is thus affected by group structures and the type of services they deliver or benefits they offer to members of the community.

Much of the work dealing with the history of ethnocultural communities focuses on the settlement experience of immigrants and their initial efforts at community formation. The communities' histories remain crucial to an understanding of the current state of their governance and leadership. Comparative studies of the community experience across several markers of identity can be very useful in expanding our knowledge of institutional development.

The length of time that a community is established in a given society does not imply that it will either have an elaborate institutional infrastructure or strong leadership. In many instances it is quite the opposite, as such rootedness results in less institutional development. Over the generations, the sense of attachment to the source country may diminish; therefore, the leaders' capacity to mobilize the members of a group around such identification is also likely to decline. Mobilization often depends on the extent to which group members share particular identity needs that are best served by community institutions. Research needs to focus on the evolution of community formation, with a focus on how community needs and priorities change over time.

Governance, leadership and identity are very much affected by the sociodemographic conditions of a particular community. The critical mass and geographic concentration of the community are important factors in its development. Dual and multiple identities represent yet another important consideration that influences community involvement. The early histories of ethocultural communities point consistently to strong ties between ethnic and religious identity, both in terms of governance and leadership. The extent to which leaders reflect the multidimensional nature of the community, as well as their ability to appeal to its various elements, can serve as important agents for mobilization.

The growing diversity of immigrants' origins has resulted in a proliferation of community organizations which reflected the increasingly multiethnic character of the population. By the late 1980s, however, it became more difficult to establish institutional infrastructure based on ethnocultural identification. This was, in part, the result of government making greater efforts to incorporate and recognize community needs within the institutions of the state while at the same time significantly reducing support to organizations that promote ethnic identification.

Prior to the 1960s, this generally involved non-elected structures and leadership, and limited intervention from the State in what was considered to be the private domain. Although the State provided some institutional support, the community organizations were generally required to provide services to their members.

Since then, the decline of organized religion has affected the status and prestige of the clergy, and in many cases – though by no means all – community leadership shifted to more secular bodies. Secularization tended to strengthen the ethnic dimension of a group's identification and, with the encouragement of the State, ethnocultural organizations were to a great extent able to fill the institutional void left by the clergy.

Community initiatives and decisions can have ramifications, directly or indirectly, for the entire society and therefore government is interested in its orientations and its activities. How that interest manifests itself and what form it takes are important areas of inquiry.

The rise of the welfare state meant that the provincial government offered most of the major services previously provided by the community organizations. The State's abiltity to reasonably accommodate the needs of minorities has modified the approach of certain community organizations and comprehending these evolving roles is an important area for further inquiry.

Geography is an important contributing factor to the expansion of provincial associational life, as higher residential concentration makes for greater opportunities for interaction amongst community members. Bringing together ethnocultural community leadership from across the country requires a resource base that not all groups possess.

Reductions in federal government support may render more complex the cooperation of ethnocultural communities on a national scale. At the same time, ethnic community organizations may not possess an easily defined common national agenda. The respective roles of federal, provincial and municipal administrations in relation to diversity issues and community needs is a critical area for research. It is also important to examine the expectations that community members have as regards the respective levels of government and where and when they think that state involvement is relevant.

The democratization of community structures has drawn increasing attention to the numbers and / or influence of persons involved with a given institution. In the case of the ethnocultural communities, few studies have closely examined the relationship between leadership and governance in terms of the nature of the community's constituents. Institutional legitimacy remains tied to the real or perceived representative character of a given community organization.

Since the 1970s, the increasing number of ethnocultural organizations has in part been attributed to the advent of multiculturalism. The support for community development provided under the multicultural policy was said to have played an important role in the expansion of formal, ethnocultural organizations.

Funding distributed to communities through the federal multiculturalism program has dropped considerably since the 1980s and this has had varying effects on the institutional development of ethnocultural communities. By the 1990s, the multicultural policy ceased providing support to most ethnocultural organizations and, consequently, a weakening of the national dimension of ethnocultural governance ensued. Kobayashi attributes the diminished capacity for concerted action on the part of leaders of ethnocultural organiza-

tions operating on a national scale to the reduction in departmental support. It remains unclear to what extent the policy shifts have implied an erosion of the population's attachment to ethnic identification.

Studies on governance and leadership have stressed the presumed opposition between the attachment to one's ethnocultural origins and the importance that those who identify with such groups attribute to the need for equality and non-discrimination of citizens. Nonetheless, community advocacy is often necessary to defend the group's interests. How and where does the advocacy role fit into the community organization?

Some contend that ethnic political activity can hurt democratic practice in that organizational leaders encourage citizens to focus on narrow communal interests above broader societal goals. Until recently, few studies examined this assertion. Further research on the discourse of contemporary ethnocultural leaders is required in order to support this notion.

In a series of interviews with Quebec ethnocultural leaders, Lapp examined their role in encouraging community members to participate in the political process. She challenges the idea of ethnic communities as places where electoral machine politics "reign supreme" and where ethnic blocs "vote en masse" for a particular party in return for community favours. Rather, Lapp contends that ethnic communities are places where civic duty and political engagements are taught and reinforced and that leaders are important agents of political socialization.

Lapp found that leaders' arguments were more likely to refer the individual to the broader political matters than to the particular interests of the ethnic community. In effect, ethnocultural leaders use national, provincial and municipal elections as occasions to reinforce community members' sense of belonging to the larger society. She concludes that ethnocultural leaders' discourse are both community-based and society-based. This is yet another area that requires more examination.

Do leadership positions in ethnocultural organizations offer opportunities to attain political office, or do those who occupy such functions encounter problems in pursuing such goals? Many politicians of ethnocultural backgrounds have had previous experience in such community organizations. There has been no extensive study of the transition from an ethnocultural organization to the municipal, provincial or federal political scene. It would be useful to look at the degree to which the discourse of politicians from ethnocultural backgrounds evolves when they embark on formal politics.

Reaction was solicited to the ideas and thoughts expressed above from leaders of a number of non-governmental, ethnocultural organizations. They identified directions for research and policy related to issues of leadership and governance that are summarized in the remainder of this text.

They summed some of the main issues they faced in the following way: With respect to individual leadership, they point out that minority communities experience difficulty in developing and retaining group leaders. Amongst the challenges in this regard are finding individuals willing to take on voluntary leadership roles, excessive demands on community leaders, scepticism over the motives of group leaders and limited financial or skills-development support for community leaders.

With respect to the interconnected issue of community organizational capacity, leaders identified several problems to be addressed: the ongoing challenge of keeping community organizations stable and effective in the face of declining government support for community organizations; the issue of dealing with conflict that can arise between local and national community organizations; and the question of determining who speaks on behalf of the community. This is said to be linked to the issue of the "representativeness" of community leaders when they speak on behalf of their community and how they address the multiplicity of divisions that may exist within any identity community based on such characteristics as age, gender, sexual orientation, religious observance and class. They note that it is realistic for the State and the broader society to expect that leaders represent all community voices.

The principal recommendations for future research put forward by non-governmental leadership focused on representational and capacity-building dimensions of leadership, both within ethnocultural and broader public settings. The following ten research initiatives have been identified:

1) The way in which members do or do not identify with particular communities;
2) the link between leadership in community organizations and leadership in the larger society – are they exclusive or complementary?
3) How to define leadership success stories or models?
4) How do social divisions within communities (e.g. gender, age) relate to who become leaders and how is leadership viewed by the members?
5) With a focus on youth within ethnocultural communities, what is their view towards ethnic identity and how does this affect their view of community leadership? Do they see ethnic associations as imposing a burden upon them, or is participation in ethnocultural communities seen as facilitating participation in mainstream society?
6) What alternative forms of political organization / participation would enable ethnocultural minorities to influence leadership in mainstream electoral politics?
7) What are the expectations of the community for ethnocultural community leaders, which would provide some measure of assessing their leadership and governance?
8) What are the opportunities for (or barriers to) participation in community leadership?
9) What has been the real impact of government policy, and the ongoing change of priorities in the area of funding meant for community organizations?
10) Finally, exploring community mobilization strategies – by whom, when, and why – and the reasons why they have or have not been effective.

MEDIA, DIVERSITY AND IDENTITY:
Recommending Routes for Research on Media and Diverse Identities in Canada

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THE PORTRAYAL OF MINORITIES IN CANADIAN MEDIA SERVES TO PLAY A FORMIDABLE ROLE IN SHAPING THE FORMATION OF CANADIAN MINORITY IDENTITIES. THIS PAPER PROVIDES A CRITICAL REVIEW OF STUDIES THAT EXAMINE THE COMPLEX RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CANADIAN MEDIA AND MINORITIES.[1] MEDIA RESEARCHERS HAVE INSISTED THAT IT IS IMPERATIVE TO RESEARCH MEDIA-MINORITY RELATIONS BECAUSE THE MEDIA PLAY A CRUCIAL ROLE IN THE CREATION OF SOCIAL IDENTITIES (HENRY 1999). THE MEDIA PROVIDES AN IMPORTANT SOURCE OF INFORMATION THROUGH WHICH CITIZENS GAIN KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THEIR NATION, AND OUR ATTITUDES AND BELIEFS ARE SHAPED BY WHAT THE MEDIA DISCERNS AS PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE. SIMPLY PUT, THE MEDIA IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE WAYS THAT CANADIAN SOCIETY IS INTERPRETED, CONSIDERED AND EVALUATED AMONG ITS RESIDENTS.

Decisions about representations of cultural diversity ought to be envisioned within a series of competing discourses taking place within media institutions. Despite what we would like to believe, Canadian media is not fair, democratic nor objective in nature (Hacknett, Gruneau, Gutstein, Gibson and NewsWatch Canada 2001). The media has the power to choose which images of minorities dominate the public domain. As researchers have demonstrated (Fleras and Kunz 2001; Henry 1999), the media propel certain traits, most often negative, about minorities into the spotlight, whilst others are downplayed or completely absent from representations. How does this affect identity formation among minority groups?

Negative depictions of minorities teach minorities in Canada that they are threatening, deviant, and irrelevant to nation-building. Non-reflective media personalities and recurrent stereotypes impact negatively upon the identity of minority Canadians because these portrayals suggest who we are as Canadians, who is allowed to belong, and who is located on the peripheries of Canadianness (Bullock and Jafri 2001). They also affect non-minority Canadians' understandings of minorities through the replication of negative stereotypes of minority groups.

This paper progresses in the following fashion: The first section provides a comprehensive literature review of studies completed in Canada about media-minority relations. It then explores some other areas of research related to work on media and minorities, including the research that has examined ethnic media, audiences, media ownership and the role of media workers in depicting ethnic minorities. Finally, it examines some of the key theoretical and empirical challenges to the field by posing some potential research questions that have been determined after discussions with professionals in this area.

ETHNIC MINORITY PORTRAYAL – UNDER-REPRESENTATION AND MISREPRESENTATION

From its inception in the late 1960s to the 1980s, research on media-minority relations was largely preoccupied with examining the two main ways in which ethnic minorities are problematically treated in media accounts. Firstly is the under-representation (or absence) of ethnic minorities. The second refers to the misrepresentation (or negative portrayal) of ethnic minorities. Both of these forms of partiality – under-representation and misrepresentation – ultimately have much the same impact: they limit citizenship and provide justification for the continued oppression of minorities in Canada. Under-representation and misrepresentation will be explored in turn.

a) Under-representation

The under-representation of a range of cultural groups in Canadian media has been suggestive of their unimportance or their non-existence. Most of the early research on ethnic representation was concerned with unveiling their absence in the media in order to demonstrate this claim. Various researchers have found that despite the culturally diverse nature of Canadian society, that very diversity is regularly absent from media representations (Fleras and Kunz 2001; Fleras 1994). This is particularly disappointing given that Canada has capitalized on multicultural principles as a framework for governing ethnic diversity.

Early studies pointed out that the problematic media depiction of immigrants is by no means a recent phenomenon. Anderson has demonstrated that newspaper accounts in the late 1800s were vehemently anti-Chinese. Minorities remain largely absent from magazines and soap operas in Canada (MediaWatch 1994). MacGregor's study of visible minority women in the magazine Maclean's over a thirty-year period (MacGregor 1989) unveiled the invisibility of women of colour in the national magazine. As Fleras (1995) points out, the lack of minorities in the Canadian media is the rule, rather than the exception. Media researchers have indicated that the impact of minority marginality in the media only serves to further entrench the invisibility of ethnic minorities in society (Fleras 1995). The very invisibility of minority issues and minority communities in Canadian media contribute to a sense of "otherness" for minority Canadians.

b) Misrepresentation

A beneficial result of these early studies was that it provided an impetus for media researchers to examine how the media portrays ethnic minorities when they are actually represented. Researchers have suggested that the representation of non-dominant cultures generally expanded in recent decades (Fleras 1995). However, most studies have concluded that such expansion has been very careful not to challenge Eurocentric cultural hegemony (Crawford 1998; Jiwani 1995; Fleras 1994). One of the ways in which Eurocentric hegemony is retained is by limiting the kinds of portrayals of ethnic minorities in the media to negative or exotic stereotypes.

Ethnic minorities have insisted that media portrayals of their constituents reveal an unrelenting negativity in their portrayal. Media researchers have pointed to the negative depictions of ethnic minorities in a variety of studies (Tator 1995; Fleras 1995; Miller 1994; Ungerleider 1991). Many researchers agree that in mainstream media in Canada, ethnic minorities are presented as threats, with overt positionings of "us" and "them" in which the former is an assumed mainstream audience and the latter is the ethnic minority (Fleras and Kunz 2001; Daley 1997). Non-white groups are portrayed as "mysterious, inscrutable or incompatible" with the dominant culture (Sun 1997-98).

To summarize this section, Canadian studies of ethnic representation in the media have been concerned with unveiling the trivialization of minority experiences in order to point out the media's inability to effectively hold up a mirror in which Canadian society can see its wide array of ethnic diversity accurately depicted. The narrow range of images of ethnic minorities has effectively decreased the ability of minorities to be seen as positive contributors to Canadian society.

BEYOND CONTENT ANALYSIS: OTHER AVENUES OF RESEARCH

As is evidenced by these studies, much of the critical focus upon media representations of ethnic minorities tend to come to fairly pessimistic conclusions. Researchers also make the valid

point that absence and negativity confirm the non-normality of ethnic minorities and make up the majority of studies of ethnic minority representations in the media (Dunn and Mahtani 2001). It has been suggested that this reliance on a binary conceptional framework for analysis – either evaluations that focus on under-representation or misrepresentation of minorities in media – does not necessarily create ample room for media researchers to consider other sophisticated theoretical frameworks to understand media-minority relations. As Fleras has suggested, "Studies to date have emphasized descriptive accounts that rarely delve into causes, impacts and solutions" (Fleras 1992:340). Other researchers have agreed, coming to "the growing realization that pointing out wrongs and abuse does not necessarily solve the problem" (Fraser 1994:15). This perspective was echoed in interviews with media researchers (see the recommendation section of this paper).

Thus, in the past ten years, research has moved beyond these two modes of analysis towards a more nuanced discussion of minority-media relations. Media researchers have started to direct their attention away from simply citing examples of under-representation or misrepresentation in the media towards attempts to understand why these images are tolerated and produced at all. The following section will show how researchers have moved beyond content analysis as the sole methodological tool. First, it examines research that unravels the relationship between media ownership, economic imperatives and minority representations. Second, it explores the research on the role of the audience in consuming these media portrayals and where the audience has the power to select and interpret these images. Third, it uncovers the growing literature on ethnic media. Media representations of ethnic groups are not accepted uncritically by audiences. The so-called 'ethnic lobbies' have a track record of scrutinizing media representations. Some ethnic minority groups now have dedicated 'news watchers' or media watchdogs. Finally, there is a body of literature focusing on media workers – those who create the representations themselves.

a) Media Ownership

Fleras (1994) has suggested that much of the existing research on media and minority coverage has underrated the challenges of restructuring media-minority relations. In their attempts to tabulate all the wrongdoings of media representations, Fleras says that

researchers have downplayed the "commercial logics" underpinning these portrayals, and ignored the constructed nature of media reality and corporate commitments. He recommends a reconstitution of researchers' analytical sites by exploring the mass media as a contested site for control among competing sectors (Fleras 1994). Canadian media researchers have posited about the role of economics in media representations of ethnic minorities (see Miller 1998). It has been suggested that fair representation of ethnic minorities is simply not possible in mass media because such efforts cost too much in a world where the bottom line is profit, and cutbacks thrive. Some researchers have disagreed with this supposition, claiming that a fair depiction of visible minorities in the news is achievable through changes in leadership in media organizations – changes that would not be costly in the slightest (Miller 1998; Canadian Newspaper Association's Diversity Committee 1994). As Hackett et al. demonstrate, what is not reported is as significant as what is reported and the reasons behind those decisions are in part influenced by the growing monopoly of media ownership in Canada.

b) Audiences

There is a concern that these media analyses tend to assume that audiences are merely passive consumers, unable to participate in developing challenges to stereotyping or the invisibility of ethnic minorities in the media. In the last decade, some media researchers have begun to explore the ways that ethnic minorities are developing particular strategies to resist their problematic media portrayal by acting as media "watchdogs" or creating their own discourse analysis studies. Goodall et al. (1994:174) insist that such audiences are "active participants in the creation of meaning and argue back at the media in their continual dialogue (often unvoiced) with them." For example, following decades of exclusion and insensitive representation, people of colour have become almost completely disenchanted with mainstream media (Goldfarb Consultants 1995).

c) Ethnic Media

In Canada, ethnic media are often referred to as the "third media" – a title that includes a wide array of media outlets, including ethnic presses and non-English and non-French programming (Fleras and Kunz 2001; Fleras 1994). There are mixed feelings among Canadian researchers about the role of ethnic media in challenging problematic minority representation. Lawrence Lam

(1980) provides one of the key research projects in this arena. He found through an analysis of ethnic media consumption that ethnic media are not important sources of help and information for immigrants. Surlin and Romanov (1985) suggest that ethnic papers create safe places for ethnic cultures to thrive whilst at the same time providing an entree for newly arrived immigrants who wish to adapt to their new environment. Black and Leithner (1991; 1987) note that the integration of ethnic minorities into the country's political process has not decreased, despite the fact that there had been a decline in ethnic media consumption. Suggesting that ethnic media studies are concerned with the process of immigrant adaptation versus institutional accommodation and racial discrimination, Fleras (1994) has pointed out some of the limits with explorations of ethnic media. In particular, he makes the claim that ethnic media has been dismissed as "largely inconsequential in one way or the other as sources of assistance or information about Canada" (Fleras 1994:271).

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d) Media Workers

The practices and routines of the newsroom and other sites of cultural production are increasingly being recognized as spaces where methods of research can be directed (Mahtani 2001a; Fleras and Kunz 2001; Greenberg 2000; Henry and Tator 2000; Bredin 1993). Research into media worker selections of what are considered to be newsworthy stories has been significant. Researchers have argued that what constitutes news values is judged according to the dominant culture's interests, using established frameworks of interpretation that reveal the institutional flaws of the business (see Dunn and Mahtani 2001; Miller 1998; Siddiqui 1993). Resources and time pressures that demand decisions-on-the-run only exacerbate the reliance upon such narrow frames.

Despite the slowly increasing presence of 'journalists of colour' in the 1990s (Mahtani 2001a) researchers have found that senior media workers (sub-editors, news directors, executive producers, etc.) have remained almost exclusively middle class males of the dominant cultures (Carter, Branston and Allan 1998). These media gatekeepers mitigate against attempts by non-white media workers to represent diverse cultural experiences (Dunn and Mahtani 2001). Numerous research reports have argued that most media workers make decisions about stories and images depending upon their own understandings of audience composition (Mahtani 2001a; Joynt 1995; Miller 1998). Newsmakers work on the premise that the "national audience" shares the same values as they do and that they are programming for "national" interests, even though this "national audience" is nowhere near as homogeneous as the upper echelons, where stories related to ethnic groups are not considered mainstream stories (Dunn and Mahtani 2001; Miller 1998; Ungerleider 1991). Most media workers assume a mainstream white audience who is like them (Miller 1998) as the majority of media workers are white, although this number is slowly increasing (Mahtani 2001a; Henry and Tator 2000). The experiences and events of ethnic minorities are often considered to be too specific to be of general interest, unless there is a story of normative deviance to tell (Henry 1999). Researchers and media workers themselves have called for a greater number of non-white media workers and media and journalism students in order to challenge these prevailing viewpoints (Dunn and Mahtani 2001; Chideya 1995).

This paper provided a general summary of the literature on media representations of minorities in Canada. While these studies have carefully cited and tabulated kinds of portrayals of minorities, I believe that they have provided largely descriptive accounts which do not necessarily explore the causes of such problematic representations, their impact upon understandings of the nation-state, nor potential solutions towards challenging absent, negative and stereotypical images. In interviews with experts in this field, it was suggested that future research situate the sites of resistance available to visible minorities to combat such portrayals. There are several areas that merit research potential. The next section raises several research questions emerging from this literature review, as well as interviews with media professionals and academics working in this field.

THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL QUESTIONS: POSSIBILITIES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

I conducted interviews with media researchers in Canada between January and May 2001 to gauge potential research avenues in the area of media-minority relations. These interviews took place via email questionnaires with academic researchers who were interested in issues of minority representations, and appointed in various departments ranging from Communications, Sociology, Geography, Journalism and History among other disciplines. I also interviewed professionals who worked in the media – including media directors in advertising, television and radio producers and reporters. Drawing from these interviews, and my own critique of the literature, I suggest some arenas for future research.

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There was a general call to alter the focus from previous studies, where we have witnessed a preoccupation with

tabulating media's wrongdoings. Without dismissing the importance of these earlier studies, there is an interest in developing other kinds of proposals and recommendations that move beyond criticism of media images of minorities towards a greater understanding of why these stereotypical images are in fact tolerated at all. In particular, there seems to be a heightened call to engineer changes within media institutions themselves through quantitative and qualitative studies that analyze media representations of ethnic minorities in the media. The recommendations are as follows:

1. The literature review of the work on media-minority relations gleans some important omissions. Many researchers and media workers made it clear that they want to see more content analysis for a start. Although it is true that our studies have thus far relied upon discourse analysis as the key methodological tool, we do require more detailed studies that employ this method. Apart from the repeated interest in more detailed content analysis studies of Canadian entertainment (including sitcoms, dramatic series and film), the key omissions include an analysis of Aboriginal media (see Fraser 1994) and ethnic minority representation in Francophone media.

2. As evidenced in the literature review, studies about audience response are rare (although see Goldfarb 1995; CAF 1992; Lam 1980). Many of the media researchers insisted we require a greater understanding of ethnic minorities' comprehension of their treatment in the media. What do ethnic minorities expect of the mass media? How do they perceive their treatment? Furthermore, we cannot stop at those questions. We need to further question how negative images impact their self-identity and esteem.

3. We require studies that explore the relationship between identity formation, minority images and the variations within different minority communities. Given the variety between members of various minority groups, we also need to consider how people who identify as members of more than one minority group contemplate their portrayal in media accounts. We have yet to complete a study about the ways in which "mixed race" Canadians contemplate their portrayal in the Canadian media, for example, or Francophones who also identify within various minority groups, like Greek-Francophones or South-Asian Francophones.

4. We require a more precise examination of the role of ethnic media in combating negative portrayals of minorities in the media. In particular, how do ethnic media affect the mainstream press? Many of the stories in the ethnic press rarely make it into mainstream media newspapers or television reports and are effectively ghettoized and segregated. We need to discover ways for these stories to "break" in larger mainstream organizations like the Globe and Mail, the National Post, and CTV and CBC. In interviews for this paper, many mainstream media workers suggested that they rarely use ethnic media as a source of information. Why are ethnic newspapers and programmes not of interest to mainstream media workers?

5. Do mainstream media organizations in Canada continue to perceive their audience as white mainstream, or is there an acceptance of a multifarious audience? Mahtani (2001a) has explored this topic with Australian (SBS) and New Zealand broadcasters. We may well want to complete similar research here in Canada. How do the mainstream media think about their audience? Who do they think are watching and consuming their media? What do they see as the impact of their perceptions of their audience versus their actual demographic? What are the steps being taken to address this diverse audience? If advertisers are beginning to realize that minorities have growing spending power, we need to find out if other Canadian mass media sources are recognizing the consuming potential of minority groups.

6. Researchers have effectively pointed out the media wrongdoings. We have yet to explore the ways the media "does it right." Our history of research in this area bears out this claim. Many of our content analyses have focused upon citing negative images. Our discourse analyses may well become more nuanced through a tabulation of positive images as well. We should conduct case studies and interviews with producers and reporters at programmes that have made their focus targeting a diverse audience, making it their mandate to accurately portray minorities – namely, CITY-TV and CHUM-TV.

7. Several media researchers observe the need to examine the discourses about ethnic minorities that prevail in newsrooms in Canada. Unfortunately, few of us have had the opportunity to conduct interviews with media workers, primarily because of the difficulty in acquiring access, and because many media workers have expressed concerns over confidentiality (Mahtani 2001a). More than any other area, researchers insisted the importance of anchoring studies about ethnic minority representation through a situated analysis of organizational and behavioural practices within the media's sites of production. In interviews with media researchers, it was

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suggested that we go straight "to the source" – the media organizations themselves – in order to better comprehend why these negative portrayals proliferate. We need to extend existing studies by interviewing media professionals – especially journalists – to understand the mechanisms through which distorted and stereotypical representations are produced. Who makes decisions around media representations of minorities? What is the relationship between institutional representation and media representation of minorities? Are ethnic minorities involved in the production of these images? Does it make a difference if there are more ethnic minorities working in media production, or are they effectively silenced in the newsroom, as some suggest (Mahtani 2001a; Henry and Tator 2000; Henry 1999). In other words, what are the experiences of media workers of colour? A media researcher suggested "focusing upon the experiences of minority newsmakers who work in relatively homogeneous workplaces...does the question of ethnic identity figure more strongly for minority media practitioners than for white practitioners?" John Miller recommended conducting a similar study to his own 1994 analysis of institutional representation of minorities. Others agreed, proposing quantitative analysis projects that would help us acquire more statistics on the number of minorities behind the scenes at various media organizations. One media worker asked: "How many senior executives, programmers, directors, editors, etc; are visible, ethnic, religious minorities? Assuming that these numbers are small, how do we change them?"

8. Drawing from the previous recommendation, there is a need for media researchers to work more closely with media organizations themselves. Of course, this is no easy task, given the "closed shop" mentality of various media organizations. However, we must encourage liaisons with media workers and stress that their representations do have an impact on curtailing cultural citizenship in Canada. A key problem is that media professionals often do not realize that their representations misrepresent or under-represent minority groups (Dunn and Mahtani 2001; Mahtani 2001a). When they do realize that representations are problematic, there is often a "laissez-faire" attitude expressed – that the very problem of minority representation is so entrenched within the structure of the media organization itself, and thus almost impossible to combat. Therefore, we need to find ways to reach media workers and present our findings in an accessible format – outside of our academic journal papers – in order to encourage other kinds of representations and to propose the possibility of diversity training that will be useful to them. Henry and Tator (1999) have been particularly effective on this front, producing summary reports and one-page analyses for various mainstream media organizations.

9. Several media researchers who were interviewed recommended more theoretical examinations in the field. As mentioned earlier, a dualistic framework of under-representation or misrepresentation has dominated the majority of the literature on minority relations and media. One media researcher suggested a thorough excavation of communication pedagogy in Canada: "What kind of framework does communication education assume in Canada? What kinds of issues might this give rise to, in relation to critical communication scholarship? An examination of television production courses and textbooks, complemented by interviews with white and non-white media practitioners, would facilitate this type of scholarship."

10. How does the growing monopoly of media ownership affect equitable representations of minorities? This is a particularly salient issue in this country, given the tightening of media budgets from coast to coast and continual layoffs at various newspaper presses. How does this affect the stories Canadians see and hear about ethnic minorities? What are the ramifications for rural towns when the stories they read about in the local paper are only available from mainstream Canadian Press (Mahtani and Mountz 2001)? What is the relationship between minority representation and mass ownership of media organizations (Winter 1997)? It has been suggested that the cost of accurate portrayals is not high (Miller 1998; Dunn and Mahtani 2001). We may well investigate this issue through qualitative, in depth, open-ended interviews with media workers in this country. Some researchers suggested projects that examine how our media products sell across the border and around the world. It has been surmised that media products with greater ethnic diversity sell better abroad. We require research that explores the relationship between sales and the portrayal of equitable ethnic diversity in media.

CONCLUSION: MOVING BEYOND BLAME TOWARDS SOLUTIONS AND STRATEGIES

This paper insists that the ways the media portray and report on minority groups in Canada greatly affects the ways the public perceives minority groups in Canadian society. Varied research across disciplines demonstrates that minorities are regularly stereotyped in mass media. Media images can promote attitudes of tolerance and harmony, or fear and negativity. When media representations fail to represent Canada's minorities with sensitivity, the entire country suffers the consequences. Our task as researchers should be to create a "united front" against the preponderance of these stereotypical images by enhancing our current discourse analysis projects, coupled by further studies with media workers to examine the reasons lurking behind the continued proliferation of these images. Media workers need to consider and create alternative representations of minorities, and it may well be our task to develop alliances with them to encourage other sorts of images. Researchers interviewed for this report have recommended routes for research through new methodological approaches that will serve as a means towards more inclusive and equitable representations of minorities in Canadian media, where minorities are no longer marginalized but imagined as an integral part of the Canadian nation-state.

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[1] A clarification of terms seems useful at this point. It is important to note that I am employing the term "minorities" throughout this paper to encompass a wide rubric of racial, cultural, and ethnic and linguistic groups, including "visible minorities," "cultural groups," "racialized peoples," "non-whites," "religious minorities" and "people of colour" in order to mirror the work of other researchers in this field (Fleras and Kunz 2001; Henry 1999). However, employing this identification is contentious. The term can be essentialist, and often fail to recognize the great diversity of ethnicities, cultures, and religious and linguistic differences that come under this definition. I refer the reader to Karim's insightful examination of the struggles between discourses on ethnocultural terminology that reflect different conceptions of majority-minority relations in Canadian society (see Karim 1993).

MARKET INCENTIVES AND PENALTIES
for Minority Languages

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SOCIAL SCIENTISTS HAVE STUDIED THE RETENTION AND LOSS OF MINORITY LANGUAGES IN CANADA AS AN ASPECT OF ETHNIC IDENTITY. RESEARCHERS HAVE USED DIFFERENT APPROACHES IN DEFINING AND MEASURING ETHNIC IDENTITY, AND HAVE COME TO CONFLICTING CONCLUSIONS REGARDING WHETHER ETHNIC IDENTITY IS A RESOURCE OR A PENALTY FOR SOCIAL MOBILITY IN CANADIAN SOCIETY. THIS PAPER FOCUSES ON MINORITY LANGUAGE IDENTITY TO SEE HOW IT CHANGES AND WHAT KIND OF MARKET RETURNS IT BRINGS. TO THE EXTENT THAT NON-OFFICIAL LANGUAGE IDENTITY PROVIDES POSITIVE MARKET RETURNS, SUCH RETURNS CAN BE SEEN AS PROVIDING INCENTIVES FOR ITS MAINTENANCE IN THE HOME SETTING; CONVERSELY, EARNING PENALTIES OF NON-OFFICIAL LANGUAGE IDENTITY CAN BE INTERPRETED AS DISINCENTIVES THAT DISCOURAGE ITS BEING PRESERVED AS MOTHER TONGUE OR HOME LANGUAGE. THUS, STUDYING THE ECONOMIC RETURNS OF MINORITY LANGUAGE IDENTITY REPRESENTS ONE WAY OF ASSESSING WHETHER A SPECIFIC COMPONENT OF ETHNIC IDENTITY HELPS OR HURTS LABOUR MARKET PERFORMANCE. IN TURN, THE ECONOMIC VALUE OF MINORITY LANGUAGE IDENTITY PROVIDES A BASIS FOR UNDERSTANDING WHY MINORITY LANGUAGE IDENTITY PROSPERS OR DECLINES OVER TIME IN CANADIAN SOCIETY.

ETHNICITY, ETHNIC IDENTITY AND MINORITY LANGUAGE IDENTITY

The term "ethnicity" comes from the Greek word *ethnikos*, the adjective of *ethnos*, which means heathen nations or peoples not converted to Christianity. In the contemporary context, "ethnicity" is often used to designate the notion of a people of a similar heritage. Thus, the concept of ethnicity implies an identity or a sentiment of likeness based on descent, language, religion, tradition and other common experiences.

The internationalization of capital and labour under capitalism has greatly fractured the solidarity of ethnic identity that used to correspond more closely to nations and peoples. At the same time, increased international migration has resulted in people moving across nation-states in large numbers and cultivating in destination societies' hybrids of ethnic identities, which often reflect the exigencies of contemporary life and only nominally the endurance of cultural traditions.

In an immigrant society such as Canada, there is no simple and direct correspondence between "ethnicity" and "ethnic identity." There can be many identities, even within the same ethnic group, with overlapping cultural and behavioural features. As well, ethnic identity may reflect less the robustness of common past traditions than the viability of present conditions that nourish or stifle such components.

Studies of ethnic identity are further complicated by the fact that there are substantial differences in how "ethnic identity" is framed and measured. Consequently, conclusions regarding "ethnic identity" are influenced by different elements being included or excluded in mapping out the composite concept.

PATTERNS OF MINORITY LANGUAGE IDENTITY

The extent to which Canadians adopt a non-official language as mother tongue or home language reflects the linguistic diversity in Canada, as well as the degree of commitment or identity towards non-official languages. Findings from previous Canadian censuses indicate that (1) linguistic diversity in Canada has increased in more recent censuses largely as a result of immigration; and that (2) the pull towards adopting English as mother tongue and home language has been strong.

Data from the 1996 Census reveal that there is substantial linguistic diversity among foreign-born Canadians, in terms of adopting a non-official language as mother tongue or home language, but the linguistic diversity declines dramatically among native-born Canadians. For example, those with a non-official language mother tongue account for 67 per cent of foreign-born Canadians and those with a non-official home language account for 45 per cent. However, only 6.2 per cent of native-born Canadians speak a non-official language mother tongue and only 2.8 per cent speak a home language other than English or French.

Comparing foreign-born Canadians to native-born Canadians, the decline in percentage of people with a non-official language mother tongue or home language for the same ethnic group may be viewed as the rate of loss of minority language identity. The loss of minority language identity is more severe among those not of visible minority origins and less so among those of visible minority origin. These differences reflect partly the changing patterns of immigration.

Europeans have been immigrating to Canada for a longer history due to the past bias in favour of European immigration. Thus, immigrants from Asia, Africa and other non-European source countries only began to enter Canada in large numbers beginning in the late 1960s. This has resulted in a difference in the duration in Canada for European Canadians and for visible minority Canadians. Thus, native-born Canadians of European origin are more likely to have been in Canada for several generations than native-born visible minorities, thus having a longer time to lose their ethnic language identity and to convert to official languages than visible minority Canadians. No doubt, there are also other differences in ethnic groups, in that some groups have developed a stronger sense of distinct community in enabling their members to preserve their identity. However, differences in these factors are insufficient to explain why, over time, all non-official language groups tend to lose the ethnic language and convert to official languages.

MARKET VALUE OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGE AND MINORITY LANGUAGE IDENTITY

One explanation of why official languages in Canada, especially the English language, have such a strong pull in attracting newcomers to convert to them over time is that the ability to speak official languages carries definite labour market returns. In contrast, knowledge of non-official languages has been shown to carry an income penalty, based on an analysis of the 1991 Census.

The 1996 census data show that for male and female Canadians, there are positive returns associated with bilingualism in English and French and with unilingualism in English. However, there are penalties for those who speak only French, and even greater penalties for those who speak neither official language. When variations in schooling, experience, job characteristics, nativity, years of residence in Canada and labour market features are taken into account, male Canadians who only speak English earn about $199 below the average ($31,792) yearly, as compared to those who speak only French earning $1,101 below the average. Bilingual male Canadians have a definite income advantage, but those who speak neither official language suffer the largest income penalty. The pattern is essentially the same for female Canadians, although the magnitudes of income difference that can be attributed to knowledge of official languages tend to be smaller.

The effect of mother tongue on earnings is unequivocal. For males, those who speak English as mother tongue have a definite earning advantage and this advantage is maintained in the magnitude of $911 above the mean, even after controlling for other variables. However, those who speak French as mother tongue and those who speak English and French as mother tongues suffer an income disadvantage. Most male speakers of mother tongues in non-official languages also suffer an

earning penalty, except those who speak German, Netherlandic languages and Italian. However, even male speakers of these mother tongues have an earning disadvantage when variations in other factors have been taken into account. The only speakers of a non-official mother tongue who do not suffer an income penalty are those who speak Portuguese as mother tongue, and their net earnings remain $838 above the average every year. Among the speakers of non-official mother tongues, those who speak Greek suffer the most, followed by Chinese, then by Ukrainian and by other Indo-Iranian languages.

For female Canadians, the income advantage of those who speak English as mother tongue is also maintained after variations in other factors are taken into account, but their advantage tends to be smaller than their male counterparts. Similarly, the income penalty for those female Canadians who speak French only or both French and English as mother tongue tends to be smaller than their male counterparts. Like male Canadians, all female speakers of a non-official language as mother tongue suffer an income penalty, except for those who speak an Arabic mother tongue and those who speak a Portuguese mother tongue. The magnitudes of earning disparity among those who speak a non-official language as mother tongue tend to be smaller among females than among males.

The data on official languages and mother tongue indicate that those who speak the official languages have an income advantage than those who don't. When all the mother tongues are considered with other variables, English mother tongue has an income advantage for both male and female Canadians, whereas speakers of most non-official mother tongue suffer a net income penalty.

The pattern of returns associated with home language is similar to that associated with mother tongue. The data on home language also show that English home language carries a definite market advantage, whereas most speakers of a non-official home language suffer an income penalty. The penalty tends to be particularly severe for male speakers of Chinese and other Asian languages.

IMPLICATIONS OF MARKET DISINCENTIVES ON MINORITY LANGUAGE RETENTION

The analysis of the 1996 Census confirms that the adoption of a non-official language as mother tongue or home language brings no earning advantage and in fact a net income penalty, except for a few language groups among women, whereas having English as mother tongue or home language yields a consistent income gain for both men and women. It does not really matter whether the income disadvantage is reflecting the true value of non-official languages or what non-official languages symbolize. There are negative returns attributed to non-official languages or to features associated with non-official languages. Examples of such features include a foreign accent, a foreign image and, in some instances, a foreign (non-white) race. They become social markers in discounting the earnings of those identified with such unfavourable characteristics.

Over time, as most non-official language mother tongues and home languages are repeatedly paired with income penalties, speakers of minority languages learn to dissociate themselves with such "foreign" languages and with characteristics associated with them in order to minimize the earning penalty. At the same time, the income rewards of the English language become incentives, especially for immigrants and their children, to convert to English as mother tongue and home language. Thus, the combination of market disincentives associated with non-official languages and the net income advantage of English mother tongue and home language probably helps to explain why minority language identity declines dramatically over time, especially among native-born Canadians.

CONCLUSION

The analysis shows that there is a substantial variation in linguistic diversity in Canada, although such diversity tends to be much stronger among foreign-born Canadians than native-born Canadians. The decline of non-official languages as mother tongue or home language among native-born Canadians, compared to among the foreign-born, indicates that there is a loss of minority language identity in Canada. Neither immigration-related demographic change nor ethnic cultural variation is sufficient to explain why minority language identity systematically declines over time.

The analysis indicates that those who have the knowledge of the official languages have an income advantage over those who do not have such knowledge and that English mother tongue or home language yields an income gain for both men and women when variations in other factors have been taken into account. In contrast, most non-official language mother tongues or home languages bring a net earning penalty, but the negative returns vary depending on the language and depending on the gender. In general, the income disadvantage tends to be larger for male speakers of non-official languages than for their female counterparts.

Thus, there are substantial market disincentives that can be attributed to non-official languages. At the same time, the net income gain associated with English tongue or home language serves as incentives to attract non-English speakers to convert to English mother tongue or home language. Over time, these market disincentives and incentives probably encourage Canadians to abandon non-official languages as mother tongue and home language in favour of the English language.

In terms of the debate about the effect of ethnic identity on social mobility, the present analysis only suggests that minority language identity, as an aspect of ethnic minority identity, jeopardizes economic performance in the Canadian labour market. However, until more is known about ethnic identity as a multidimensional concept and about how different dimensions influence market outcomes, claims regarding whether ethnic identity helps or hurts social mobility can only be partial and tentative.

SERVICE PROVISION BY
Institutions and Identity

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THERE IS WIDESPREAD AGREEMENT THAT INSTITUTIONS MUST RESPOND TO THE PLURALISM OF CANADIAN SOCIETY (TROPER & WEINFELD, 1999). WHAT IS LESS CLEAR IS HOW THEIR SERVICES SHOULD BE ADJUSTED TO ACCOMMODATE DIVERSE IDENTITIES IN CANADA. THIS HAS RAISED COMPLEX ISSUES IN A WIDE VARIETY OF POLICY DOMAINS. PROVIDING SERVICES TO A DIVERSE POPULATION HAS BEEN DISCUSSED EXTENSIVELY IN THE FIELDS OF EDUCATION, HEALTH AND SOCIAL WORK. CHANGING PERSPECTIVES IN THESE FIELDS HAVE REFLECTED SHIFTS IN THE FEDERAL UNDERSTANDING OF CANADIAN IDENTITY. AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE APPROACHES PROPOSED IN THIS LITERATURE IS PRESENTED AND THEIR IMPACT ON THE DIVERSE IDENTITIES OF CANADIANS IS EXAMINED. PERSPECTIVES ARE SITUATED IN THE CONTEXT OF THE EVOLVING NATIONAL VISION OF CANADIAN DIVERSITY.

NATIONAL VISION OF IDENTITY AND DIVERSITY

Prior to the 1960's, Canadian identity was linked to western European culture and to being white (Samuel & Schachhuber, 2000). An explicitly racist immigration policy favoured the entry of white, preferably British-origin, Protestants (Abu-Laban, 1998). Cultural assimilation of immigrants and Aboriginals was promoted (Harper, 1997: Samuel & Schachhuber, 2000).

Following *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights* in 1948, principles of universalism gained ascendancy (Abu-Laban, 1998). The immigration laws of 1967 explicitly stated that there would be no discrimination of race nor colour nor religion and created the universally applicable point system. Equality of opportunity was emphasized, differences among Canadians were downplayed, and a vision of a national identity that transcended ethnicity, race and class was promoted (Harper, 1997).

There was a shift from universalism to an emphasis on differences, following the adoption of the *Official Languages Act* in 1969 and the introduction of the policy of official Multiculturalism in 1971. A vision of Canada as a mosaic within a bilingual framework defined cultural pluralism as the very essence of Canadian identity. Members of all ethnic groups in Canada were encouraged to maintain their cultural heritage (Esses & Gardner, 1996). Although the principle of social justice was an explicit element of the policy, it was largely put into practice through support of cultural programs celebrating cultural diversity (Esses & Gardner, 1996).

By the end of the eighties, demographically, the proportion of foreign-born Canadians from non-European regions and the number of visible minorities had increased significantly (Beaujot, 1999). The focus of multiculturalism was redirected from cultural support to redressing inequities, and combating prejudice, discrimination and racism (Department of Canadian Heritage, 2001).

SERVICES, DIVERSITY AND IDENTITY

Schools in Canada have been designated as the central institution for maintaining or transforming ethnic, racial, linguistic and religious identities. In the health and social work fields, diverse identities affect client access and utilization of services. At the start of the twentieth century, perspectives about Canada's pluralism reflected assimilation biases in each of these fields. By the end of the millennium, many of their practice models were advocating an anti-racist agenda (Harper, 1997; Tsang & George, 1998).

ASSIMILATION BIAS

During the first half of the twentieth century, ethnicity was conceptualized as a temporary phenomenon that could be replaced with a mainstream national identity through schooling (Davidson, 1996). In an historical review of educational services, Harper (1997) concluded that during this period schools in Canada specifically intended to ensure conformity to a narrowly-defined Canadian identity. As most immigrants in Quebec were integrated into the English rather than the French school system before Bill 101 in 1977, this identity reflected Anglo-Saxon culture and Western European values (Harper, 1997). Residential schools for Aboriginal children provided the most extreme examples of school services in Canada with an explicit and aggressive assimilation mission.

The effect of this assimilation mission on diverse identities was mixed. Sociological studies of ethnic persistence indicate that second-generation members of some groups assimilated into the mainstream society as predicted. Some retained an ethnic identity while participating in mainstream institutions and some continued to live much of their lives within ethnic enclaves (Breton, 1964; Herberg, 1989). The negative, long-term effects of the residential schools on the identities of Aboriginal students are still being reported (Royal Commission on aboriginal Peoples, 1996).

Although literature about diversity was sparse in the health and social service fields before the eighties, earlier perspectives focused on deficiencies or inferiorities needing correction, reflecting the biases associated with the assimilation vision of Canadian identities (Tsang & George, 1998). Members of given racial or ethnic groups were variously identified as at-risk for diseases (Padilla, 1981), for deviant social behaviour (Rubingon & Weinberg, 1971) and for social disorganization (Moyniham, 1965). Immigrant status was viewed as potentially pathological, placing the person at risk for mental health problems and for social maladjustment (Tsang & George, 1998).

The deficiency-based perspectives have been discarded and there is no systematic research evaluating their effects on identity. The impact of immigration on health and adjustment, however, continues to be investigated without the implicit inferiority assumptions of the earlier work.

IMPLICIT AND EXPLICIT UNIVERSALISM

Following the Second World War, educational theories reflected principles of universalism (Harper, 1997). Schools were to create a meritocracy, with success based on individual ability and motivation. Equality of opportunity for all students was prescribed and discriminatory practices were condemned (Harper, 1997). A cornerstone belief was that education offers people of different ethnocultural backgrounds a route to social mobility and to full participation in the mainstream society (Davidson, 1996). Recent research data indicate, however, that school services worked better for members of some groups than

Although the principle of social justice was an explicit element of the policy, it was largely put into practice through support of cultural programs celebrating cultural diversity

for others. An analysis of 1991 census data revealed that although the educational level of many ethnic group members was at or above the national level, Black / Caribbean and Aboriginal groups ranked substantially below it (Lian & Mathews, 1998). Furthermore, this study revealed that visible minorities have lower incomes than other Canadians have at the same educational level.

In the health and social services literature, an implicit universalism was reflected in a second approach to ethnocultural diversity prior to the eighties. Differences were either simply ignored (Masi, 1988) or there was an insistence that all clients be treated in the same way, whatever their gender, culture, ethnicity or race (Cooper, 1973). This denial of difference was manifested in curricula for health and social service professionals which provided little information on ethnocultural and racial diversity until the end of the eighties (Masi, 1988).

This implicit universalism was problematic for some clients. Intercultural counselling studies, for example, indicate that ethnicity, race and culture influence service providers' interpretations, diagnoses and treatment (Arthur & Januskowski, 2001). The Canadian Task Force on the Mental Health Issues Affecting Immigrants and Refugees (1988) also concluded that racial stereotypes bias client assessment and that a lack of understanding of a patient's culture leads to misdiagnoses.

PROMOTING CULTURAL PLURALISM

During the seventies and eighties, a multicultural education movement emerged that promoted cultural pluralism (Bruno-Jofré & Henley, 1999). Schools began to supplement their curricula with information about the food, festivals and folklore of various cultures (Kehoe & Mansfield, 1993). The major thrust of these initiatives was to support cultural retention and to promote respect for cultural differences (Bruno-Jofré & Henley, 1990).

The contribution of multicultural education to identity is difficult to assess, as evaluation research is scarce. An extensive literature review by Gamlon, Berndorff, Mitsopolous and Demetriou (1994) revealed that most publications about the topic were descriptive. Critiques, however, accumulated arguing that their impact on students' identities was limited (Thomas, 1987; Tator & Henry, 1991).

Health and social service providers were slower than educators were to respond to the Multiculturalism Policy. By the early eighties, however, a movement calling for multicultural care was initiated and gained momentum

Health and social service providers were slower than educators were to respond to the Multiculturalism Policy. By the early eighties, however, a movement calling for multicultural care was initiated and gained momentum (Masi, Mensah, & McLeod, 1993). Its impetus came primarily from front-line service providers and ethnocultural community leaders (Canadian Task Force on Mental Health Issues Affecting Immigrants and Refugees, 1988).

Although the concept of multicultural care included the notions of equity and anti-racism (Masi, McLeod, & Mensah, 1993), the principal emphasis was on respecting *cultural* differences among clients, and language and customs were highlighted. This literature condemned the ad hoc use of unofficial translators and discussed the influence of culture on behaviours, such as dietary customs, rituals related to birth, terminal illness and death, communication styles, time orientation, folk medicines, family structure and gender roles (Kleinman, 1989). Programs were established to train cultural interpreters to act as brokers in interactions between professionals and culturally diverse clients (Cairncross, 1989). Agencies also began to translate educational materials into some of the languages spoken by members of the ethnocultural communities being served (B.C. Multicultural Health Coalition, 1989). Mainstream institutions developed policies permitting clients to practice their own customs. For example, hospitals attempted to respect patients' religious beliefs about food, rituals related to death and dying and customs surrounding childbirth. Information booklets listing customs of various cultures were developed as quick references to be consulted by service providers as needed.

Another attempt to respect cultural differences was the parallel service approach in which culturally specific organizations provided services to their own communities. For instance, Aboriginal service providers began developing programs designed specifically for Aboriginal clients. They incorporated a distinct Aboriginal worldview and traditional healing approaches, such as the healing circle (Morissette, McKenzie, & Morissette (1993).

These initiatives were not systematically evaluated. Critics, however, described the multicultural programs in mainstream institutions as "cook book" responses, based on the false assumption that members of a cultural group uniformly subscribe to easily identifiable sets of beliefs, values and customs (Matsuoka & Sorenson, 1991). They pointed out the non-acknowledgement of linguistic and ethnic differences within populations from the same country of origin, as well as the internal divisions within ethnic groups related to gender,

Critics ... described the multicultural programs in mainstream institutions as "cook book" responses, based on the false assumption that members of a cultural group uniformly subscribe to easily identifiable sets of beliefs, values and customs

class and political orientation. Tenuous funding and difficulties finding qualified personnel were problems associated specifically with parallel organizations (McNicoll & Christensen, 1996).

EQUITY, INCLUSION AND ANTI-RACISM

By the nineties, a new emphasis had emerged in the education, health and social service literature highlighting issues of equity and inclusion. Equity was understood in the sense of a levelled playing field rather than equality of opportunity (McLeod & Krugly-Smolska, 1997). Attention shifted from affirming cultural differences to acknowledging differences in privilege and power. In education, scholars began to make distinctions between multicultural and anti-racist education (Troyna, 1987; Harper, 1997; Dei, 2000). The former was described as seeking to create a greater degree of tolerance among students through positive representations of diverse customs. In contrast, the aim of anti-racist education was to challenge the social construction of race and the overlapping forms of oppression marginalizing some groups. School boards began to develop policies to combat racism and discrimination in schools.

A substantial body of research supports arguments for anti-racist education in Canada. Studies document that visible minority students experience racism in schools throughout the country, regardless of the proportion of visible minorities in the area (Potvin, 1999: Dei, 1994: Kelly, 1998: Baker, Varma, &Tanaka, 2001). Findings, however, regarding the actual effect of anti-racist educational policies in transforming identities are scarce. Studies suggest, however, that there may be a gap between the policy and what happens in practice (Solomon & Levine-Rasky, 1996).

In the health and social services literature, there has been a quest to develop more inclusive counselling approaches (Pederson, 2001). This search was built on earlier cross-cultural counselling models and included an emphasis on the impact of racism on the counselling relationship (Dyche & Zayam, 1995). Tsang and George (1998), for example, have proposed a model that is explicitly committed to an anti-discriminatory and anti-oppression position.

Social workers advocated an anti-racist approach as an alternative to multiculturalism (Christensen, 1995; James, 1996). They argued for interventions that attend to racial experiences, intersecting oppressions, empowerment and the development of critical consciousness.

Studies document that visible minority students experience racism in schools throughout the country, regardless of the proportion of visible minorities in the area

At the organizational level, bridging models have been developed to address equity issues. They involve partnerships between mainstream agencies and members of ethnocultural communities. Their goal is to facilitate access to mainstream resources and, at the same time, provide culturally congruent services to diverse clients (Matsuoka & Sorenson, 1991; McNicoll & Christensen, 1991).

As in education, little research has evaluated or compared the effect of the various anti-racism and equity-promoting models on outcomes nor assessed their impact on identities (Tsang & George, 1998). Studies, however, continue to find that, in practice, settings, cultural and racial differences are barriers to access and to the utilization of health and social services (Stephenson, 1995: Roy, Rhéaume, & Hétu, 1998 Browne, 1995; Baker & Cormier-Daigle, 2000; Browne, Fiske & Thomas, 2001).

CONCLUSION

Insufficient evidence is available regarding the impact of multicultural, anti-racist and various service models in education, health and social work. There is a need for comparative studies assessing their effects on students and clients from different ethno-cultural backgrounds living in areas with differing degrees of ethnocultural diversity and in different regions of the country. Studies suggest that there is a gap between formal multicultural and / or anti-racist policies and actual practice. This needs further investigation. In education, more research needs to be conducted examining the actual interaction of diverse groups of parents and students with school services. In the health and social service fields, studies of the factors that impede or facilitate the implementation, in practice, of intercultural and anti-racist policies need to be conducted. Finally, research has demonstrated that racism compromises access to appropriate services. Further research is necessary on the prevention of racism and discrimination in the provision of services.

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ETHNOCULTURAL SPECTACLES AS
Stages for Ethnic Self-Representation

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FOR THE PURPOSES OF THIS PAPER, AN "ETHNIC CULTURAL SPECTACLE" MAY BE DEFINED AS AN ORGANIZED EVENT IN WHICH A GROUP REPRESENTS ITSELF BOTH TO ITS OWN MEMBERS AND TO NON-MEMBERS. SUCH EVENTS ARE SPECTACLES TO THE EXTENT THAT THEY ARE HIGHLY DRAMATIC, ENTERTAINING AND, IN A LITERAL SENSE, EXTRAORDINARY; THAT IS, THESE ARE SPECIAL OCCASIONS OR PERIODS IN WHICH AUDIENCE MEMBERS ARE EXPECTED TO BE ENGROSSED AND OFTEN ENTERTAINED BY A DEMONSTRATION OF SOME ASPECT OF A COMMUNITY. SOME OF THE BEST EXAMPLES OF CANADIAN SPECTACLES ARE THE ETHNOCULTURAL FESTIVALS HELD IN MANY CITIES ACROSS THE COUNTRY.

ROLE ONE: ALTERNATIVE ECONOMY OF STATUS

In order to demonstrate the way in which cultural spectacles might represent alternative economies of status, let me briefly describe the spectacle with which I am most familiar: Winnipeg's Folklorama. In this two-week summer festival (the largest and longest-running ethnocultural festival in the world[1]), approximately forty of the city's ethnic groups organize "pavilions" in which they represent their culture to themselves and to outsiders. In Folklorama pavilions, these representations take the form of cultural displays, food and beverages and a forty-five minute show featuring distinctive folk songs, dances or dramatizations. These pavilions are located in public and private spaces throughout the city and collectively attract a total of approximately 450,000 visitors each year.

Folklorama pavilions are labour intensive operations that are almost entirely dependent on large numbers of volunteers. Within these contexts, not only is solidarity generated, but so too is a kind of alternative social structure which may be quite distinct from that in which participants are involved during the rest of the year. Cultural spectacles thus become their own microcosms in which individuals, who might occupy relatively low-status social positions during the rest of the year, can temporarily assume positions of considerable status.

For a brief period of each year, ordinary people become – or at least are sometimes treated as – minor celebrities. For those who seek an elevation of social position, the pavilion might represent an economy of status (Bramadat 2001) in which a valued social good (status) is distributed or generated according to an alternative method. Even though this alternative economy only operates for a short period each year, it might be a crucial ingredient of one's sense of overall well-being. One could surmise that one's attachment to a Canadian identity (or the Canadian dimension of one's more complex identity) might be augmented by the awareness that Canadian society (government and public) accepts and, in some cases, celebrates a variety of ethnicities through these festivals.

ROLE TWO: SITES OF DIALOGICAL SELF-DEFINITION

The second way in which cultural spectacles influence the construction and maintenance of ethnic identity is that they represent backdrops against which individuals and groups can participate in the so-called politics of identity. So, an ethnic cultural spectacle may represent a symbolic site in which they articulate a particular account (or

"story") of themselves (as Sikh-Canadians, Croatian-Canadians, etc.). When Folklorama pavilion organizers create a cultural display and decide what forms of entertainment they will use to represent their group, this decision obviously forces group members to clarify for themselves the ways they want to understand themselves and be understood by outsiders. Such stories may sometimes amount to transnational fictions or efforts to preserve the identity-generating links between Canada and some other (even "imagined") homeland (Anderson 1983; Bramadat 2001).

In short, spectacles may facilitate the presentation of dramatic performances of identity directed not only by, but also *at themselves* in order to tell a certain kind of story about what it might mean for individuals and groups to combine within themselves various identities. Since more and more generations of children born in Canada lack an unmediated personal memory or experience of another (i.e., neither French nor English) language, religion or non-Canadian place, regular performances of identity are crucial means of perpetuating or recreating a particular identity in many communities. By encouraging ethnic communities to re-enact and re-experience concentrated versions of a particular ethnic identity in a public manner, spectacles such as Folklorama exemplify the form of Canadian multiculturalism that encourages conversational partners to speak from (but not necessarily to limit themselves to) specific discursive locations. Scholars may argue that the identities celebrated in such festivals are often reified, whereas identity is also (or, according to some, only) dynamic, constructed and "processual" (Baumann 1999). However, we should not overlook the reasons (different in each case) that communities choose to depict themselves in one way and not another.

ROLE THREE: PUBLIC EDUCATION ABOUT ETHNIC IDENTITY

a) Fighting General Prejudice

The public performances of indigenous cultures described by Cruikshank, the Folklorama pavilions described by Thoroski and Bramadat, the Giglio Feast described by Primeggia and Varacalli, the Cultural Festival of India described by Shukla and the various festivals described by Halter are all means by which group members can convey or construct a picture of themselves for a public which not only seeks an authentic or sanctioned depiction of identity, but might also harbour certain stereotypes about these groups. These festivals are thus sites of contestation in which individuals and groups shape or, more to the point, reshape the ways others perceive them by effectively, if temporarily, seizing control of the arena of cultural representation. In short, if identity emerges dialogically, cultural spectacles may be one way to provide minority groups with opportunities to engage the assumptions held by their discursive partners and, in so doing, to influence their own and their partners' identities.

b) Reducing Religious Illiteracy

Many Canadians assume that religion and ethnicity are neatly separated modalities of identification. A related and equally popular notion is that those for whom this is not the case must be older, first generation Canadians. However, in my own research on Folklorama, and religion and ethnicity in general, I have found that in many, if not all, ethnic groups, it is unwise to assume either that a clear separation exists between ethnicity and religion or that a lack of a simple distinction between these two dimensions is characteristic only of recent or older immigrants.

The intimate relationship that often exists between ethnic identity and religious identity is evidenced in cultural spectacles such as Folklorama, Caravan and the Giglio Feast in New York, as well as in national and international news. However, because of the general ignorance about world religions in contemporary North America, many people may be uncomfortable asking direct questions about another person's religious (or perhaps one should say religio-ethnic) identity. However, cultural spectacles such as Folklorama provide individuals with a safe context within which to learn about the religious elements of a group's ethnic background. Through such spectacles and in the conversations that arise after the "show" is over, ethnic groups are able to represent their multi-dimensional identities more fully to other Canadians and to answer questions outsiders might have about their deepest individual and shared convictions.

ROLE FOUR: SPECTACLES AS ETHNIC SHOW BUSINESS

Ours is a society permeated by highly commercialized and highly Americanized cultural spectacles such as the Academy Awards, the Superbowl, motion picture releases, political scandals and reality television shows. In a society so marked by large-scale corporate entertainment events, ethnocultural spectacles such as Folklorama, Mosaic and Caravan might be understood as local renditions of global (though, in truth, mainly American) patterns or, to put it another way, as "ethnic show business."

Many writers (e.g., Baumann 1999; Bissoondath 1994; Thoroski 1997) see in this pervasive American style the harbinger of cultural homogenization. However, the commercialized style of ethnocultural spectacles simply reflects the common and dominant consumerist ethos in which the majority of people in the developed or developing world lives. In fact, this style allows for more reinterpretation of and resistance to commercial hegemony. An expression of ethnic identity couched in the aesthetic and cultural language of the American ethos of spectac-ular consumption could demonstrate to a particular group that it is possible to be Indian (or Croatian, Italian, or West Indian) in a distinctly Canadian way. So, even though one cannot extricate oneself from the discourses of consumerism or American popular culture, we should recall that virtually everything in the arena of individual and communal identity is, if not controllable, at least negotiable.

OUTSTANDING ISSUES AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Ethnocultural spectacles are severely under-studied by scholars and policy makers. This neglect – its history, its discursive strategies and its proponents –

should be examined, especially since it seems likely that it reveals a form of high culture elitism. Regrettably, many academics dismiss these spectacles as yet another form of shallow entertainment that simply reproduces problematic stereotypes (of the lusty Greek, of the meditative Indian, etc.). This disdain and its neglect of the fact that, even within these events, these stereotypes are often critiqued, represents the greatest challenge we face in trying to shed some light on the role of these spectacles in Canadian society.

There was a great deal of discussion in the Halifax workshop about how little we know about the kinds of debates that occur within ethnic communities over ethnic self-representation. This is, of course, partly the result of the neglect I described above. Since these events take place across the country and throughout the year, we are missing an opportunity to understand a large and popular arena within which both ethnic identity and, more broadly, Canadian identity are, as Mary-Lee Mulholland commented in her summary of the session, "reproduced, reinterpreted, and transgressed." One interesting phenomenon to explore would be the place of people of mixed racial or mixed ethnic background in these spectacles; in a complex, multi-ethnic and perhaps "post-modern" society, how do individuals who belong to two or more groups understand their involvement in these events? Studies of these events – especially studies that underline the negotiated and dynamic nature of identity formation – are important if we hope to chart the major ways Canadians are making and resisting certain kinds of identities.

In addition to examining the kinds of discussions that undergird these acts of ethnic representation, we also need to explore the way these definitions are received or employed by outsiders. Research on the responses of audience members to the images with which they are presented would help us to evaluate the effect of these events on public perceptions of ethnic minorities. The results of the research into the audience reception of these spectacles could significantly inform future policy decisions.

A longitudinal study of one or more of these events could provide a vivid account of the actual effects of the multicultural policy in Canadian society since 1971. We might ask what kinds of changes have occurred in these spectacles over time and to what extent, if at all, are these changes related to the ascendancy of a particular political party or ideology. We could also compare and contrast partially-funded multicultural festivals, such as Caravan and Folklorama, with entirely state-funded events, such as Canada Day, ethno-specific festivals such as St. Jean Baptiste Day / La Fete National and carnivals and parades such as the Gay Pride festivals across the country. This kind of research should also outline the extent to which these events influence and reflect more general cultural shifts toward or away from progressive or inclusive forms of multiculturalism.

As well, research into the relationship between these events and various levels of government (especially in the form of government symbols, state funding and policies such as multiculturalism) would help to clarify the effectiveness of state involvement in cultural production. It would be especially interesting to explore the reasons that the organization, attendance and government involvement at these events range so significantly in different regions. Moreover, situating these Canadian events within the broader international scene should also help us to understand, not only the cultural spectacles of other countries, but also the power of Canadian spectacles to reflect our relatively progressive form of multiculturalism. It seems likely that studies will evidence that, in most cases, government financial support for cultural spectacles does help stimulate Canadian cultural creativity and a unique sense of multicultural solidarity. However, it would be useful to be able to substantiate this claim with empirical evidence.

CONCLUSION

According to Baeker (2000), the definition and practice of contemporary Canadian multiculturalism is (or should be) less focused on welcoming new ethnic "others" to Canada (specifically, white, eurocentric, bilingual Canada) and more focused on a celebration of the emergence of a broad, cosmopolitan, relatively post-European and decreasingly white civic culture. Ethnic cultural spectacles, while certainly historically rooted in the former approach to multiculturalism, can also promote the presently emerging form. While some critics worry that these spectacles sometimes risk ossifying ethnic identity, I for one do not share this concern. Rather, I agree with an observation articulated by Dhooleka Raj during our workshop at the Halifax Identity Seminar: Even when these spectacles appear to bring visitors an unmediated vision of the (other, or putatively authentic) homeland, in the end these events reveal a great deal more about the dynamic values and self-understandings of people within distinctly Canadian ethnic communities.

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[1] This description is found on the festival's website. See www.folklorama.ca.

FOOD, IDENTITY and the Immigrant Experience

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THIS PAPER EXAMINES THE DYNAMIC RELATIONSHIPS AMONG FOOD, SOCIAL IDENTITY AND THE IMMIGRANT EXPERIENCE. AS A CULTURALLY AND SPATIALLY TRANSITIONAL STAGE, THE IMMIGRATION PROCESS INTRODUCES POSSIBILITIES FOR CHANGE, AS WELL AS RESISTANCE TO NEW HABITS, NEW BEHAVIOURS AND NEW CULTURAL EXPERIENCES. THESE CHANGES IN TURN AFFECT OUR PHYSICAL AND MENTAL HEALTH, OUR PERCEPTIONS OF SELF AND OUR RELATIONS WITH OTHERS. DRAWING FROM THE LITERATURE ON FOOD AND IDENTITY IT IS POSSIBLE TO OFFER SOME INSIGHTS INTO THIS CULTURAL TRANSITION AND ITS IMPACT ON IDENTITY. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH IN THIS FIELD EMERGING FROM THE IDENTITY SEMINAR HELD IN HALIFAX IN NOVEMBER 2001 WILL BE CONSIDERED.

FOOD SECURITY AND BELONGING IN A MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY

Food is more than a basic source of nutrients; it is also a key component of our culture, central to our sense of identity. Identities, however, are not fixed social constructs, but are constructed and reconstructed within given social formations, reflecting the existing and imagined structural constraints and lived experiences of subjects.

Various individual, cultural, historical, social and economic influences shape our food choices. Our food choices, like various other cultural expressions and practices, offer insights on how we present ourselves, shape our identities, define our membership and express our distance from others. Changes in food preferences may also reflect changes in broader cultural perceptions and practices.

As a culturally and spatially transitional stage, the immigration process introduces possibilities of change and resistance to new habits, new behaviours and new cultural experiences. Especially in the case of new immigrants who deal with tensions of adaptation or resistance to changes in lifestyle, consumption patterns and forms of cultural expression have consequences on their physical and mental health, their perceptions of self and relations with others, as well as their potential for successful settlement and integration.

Food security for new immigrants implies, firstly, access to sufficient, nutritious and quality food at all times. Food security is part of "feeling at home." It is a comfort that is not only limited to or defined by access to food, but also access to the basic essentials of life offered to citizens in a modern state. Examples include an equitable and accessible work environment, housing, health care, public education and social services. The feeling of belonging, or identification with the host society, requires a subjective interpretation of inclusion and entitlement. Food security, as part of other aspects of a modern society, ensures that comfort.

In its broadest definition, food security includes, not only the availability of food at all times, but also accessibility to all. Equality of access, notions of entitlements and the basic rights of citizenship create public obligations for food security. This makes both the politics of equality and the politics of recognition relevant to food security concerns of new immigrants.

"Feeling at home" is not simply limited to having access to a nutritionally sufficient diet, but also to culturally appropriate foods. Belonging also requires "feeling welcome" in policy, in practice and in everyday symbolism. Both food security policy and citizenship policy need to be informed by the concerns and politics of "equality," as well as concerns and politics of "recognition." Others sharing "our" taste offers that symbolic welcome. Some dismiss the new cosmopolitan cuisine that is emerging in the global cities such as Toronto as a form of rhetorical folkloric multiculturalism with no positive structural impact on our everyday realities. While there is an element of truth in this dismissal, we believe that such an approach underestimates the significance of cosmopolitan diets in introducing a symbolic awareness of diversity, in challenging ethnocentrism and, for many, in creating a feeling of home away from home. If we learn and define who we are through what we eat, the multicultural cuisine may offer a glimpse of widening notions of identity, self and belonging in Canada. It is through sharing seemingly mundane everyday acts, such as eating, dressing and listening to music, that the cultural boundaries of membership become permeable.

IMMIGRANT IDENTITY AND FOODWAYS

As an essential component of our culture, food is also central to our sense of identity (Fischler, 1988). In their daily activities, people assume various identities, defining who they are and how they can live their lives. Cultural identity is expressed in various everyday practices, such as religious observations, rights of passage, language, leisure activities, clothing, art, literature and music (Bramadat 2001; Bhugra et al, 1999, Sobal, 1998). By observing cultural practices and preferences, such as food choice, we may gain valuable insights into the levels of individual or collective tendencies for:

adaptation: whether or to what extent individuals or social groups adapt to new patterns of cultural conduct, and willingly include different forms of behaviour into their everyday practices.

diversity: whether or to what extent society at large adopts new patterns of cultural conduct and willingly includes different forms of behaviour into everyday practices.

identification: how individuals and ethnic groups self-identify, or are identified by others as members of an ethnic group through certain cultural practices, such as clothing, music, food and religious observations.

distancing: the extent to which individuals are willing to interact and establish relationships with members of social groups other than their own.

integration: the ability of an individual or a social group to utilize and contribute to every dimension of economic, social, cultural and political activities in the society.

Moving between the boundaries of cultural and geographical space, the immigrant experience offers a rare glimpse into the fluidity of identity and the cultural boundaries of resistance and change. As a transitional status, the immigrant cultural experience also offers us insights into the complexity of patterns of relationships between dominant and minority groups, change and resistance, and patterns of "ethnic" experience, racism and identities. The literature on enculturation, identity retention and identity incorporation offers us the complex arrangements of ethnicity often resulting from the immigrant experience (Modood and Werbner, 1997). The fluid nature of the immigrant identity has even led some to argue the hybrid, or creolised identities reflecting the complexity of multicultural experience (Pieterse, 1995; Hannerz, 1987).

Immigrant diets and foodways need to be contextualized within a global framework where food choices are no longer limited to the social and cultural contexts of the country of immigration nor their country of origin (Bouchet, 1995; Cook and Crank, 1996). Modernity and globalization have been functioning as homogenizing influences, transforming not only the conditions of production and consumption, but also many cultural signifiers which have been used to demarcate ethnic identities and authenticities (Franke, 1987). However, adaptation and incorporation of these homogenizing influences have also presented a selective and fragmented form (Harbottle, 1996 and 1997). Resulting creolized identities include a bit of everything: local and global, traditional and modern, old and new (Hall, 1992:31-14).

In the global system, cultural meanings attached to food are often based on conflicting notions of physical health, aesthetics, tastes and social prestige, reflecting the contradictions between the private and public sphere, and often contradictory messages in the marketplace. Like food, identities are also creolised globally, and the immigrant experience reflects this complexity. One can never be certain to what extent changes in consumer behaviour reflect cultural incorporation or global diffusion.

Yet, identity formation is not just a subjective evaluation of membership at any given time isolated from the everyday lived experiences and realities of subjects. How one defines self and membership depends, not only on the

accumulation of unique cultural experiences and consumption patterns, but also on how others view the membership, entitlements and rights of personhood / citizenship of a particular individual or group. Membership, in the modern nation state, involves experiences of inclusion, empowerment, entitlement, rights and comforts or quality of life. In this sense, integration (the ability of an individual or a social group, free of systemic barriers, to utilize and contribute to every dimension of economic, social, cultural and political activity in the society) becomes an equally important component of identity formation.

For immigrants who go through a dramatic cultural and spatial transition, not only the familiarity of cultural experiences and consumption patterns, but also rights, entitlements and quality of life make important points of comparison between past and present, as these will have immediate effects on the health and well-being of immigrants and their families (Williamson, 1998). When we talk about food and foodways, we need to examine, not only familiarity, but also accessibility as an issue of identity formation. The feeling of belonging or identification with the host society cannot be achieved without full membership or integration. For this reason, food security, like other basic rights, needs to be conceived as an important analytical tool in evaluating how immigrants perceive their membership, and reconstruct their identity and integrate successfully (Welsh et al, 1998).

AN AGENDA FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Participants who attended a session on food at the Identity Seminar held in Halifax in 2001 generated several recommendations for furthering research in this area. The group discussed the ways in which the policy and praxis of multiculturalism over the years has shifted the prevalent paradigm from cultural retention to race relations, and most recently to civic participation. Discussants emphasized the need for research on variations among youth, the elderly, family units and mixed-marriage families towards food and identity. Children's food patterns present a unique set of challenges in terms of lunches that are not eaten but traded, the relative "prestige" of food (ethnic vs. mainstream), and the different kind of food children eat with their friends vs. food consumed at home usually prepared by their mothers.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH INCLUDE:

1. Exploration of food as an integrative or differentiative force in culture, especially with regard to youth; Research issues of social cohesion and identity formation.

2. Questions should be asked such as: Who has the choice? Who gets to eat and integrate? Who has the ability to access ingredients? What are some of the issues regarding power mediated through food?

3. A study about food that "travels." What are the things which we take with us across oceans and between boundaries? Develop research on the centrality of food as a medium of cultural symbolism, a token of "homeland" and "home culture."

4. Further exploration of the connection between food production and consumption, such as ethnic food categories – "old" foods and "new" foods.

5. Exploration of food as a site for community development. For example, Kosovars were placed in non-urban communities in Canada as part of a large-scale relocation program. What role does food play in chain migration, as an aid in providing comfort levels within a new community. Does food provide a site for forming community? Can it help to encourage the residence of ethnic communities in non-urban areas? What are the conditions for encouraging this dispersion?

6. More exploration of immigrant food networks. For example, a network analysis of food businesses would be useful. How do these networks operate? It was pointed out that Metropolis has a project that deals precisely with this issue, looking at Chinese food entrepreneurs in Canada, Australia and the Netherlands.

7. The need for a web niche on food (possibly through Metropolis) serving as a clearinghouse for information on food and identity research.

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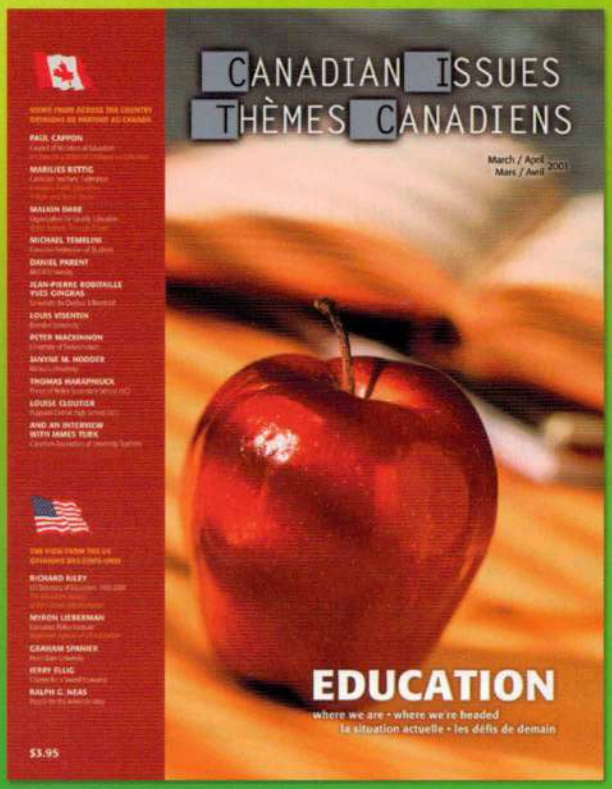
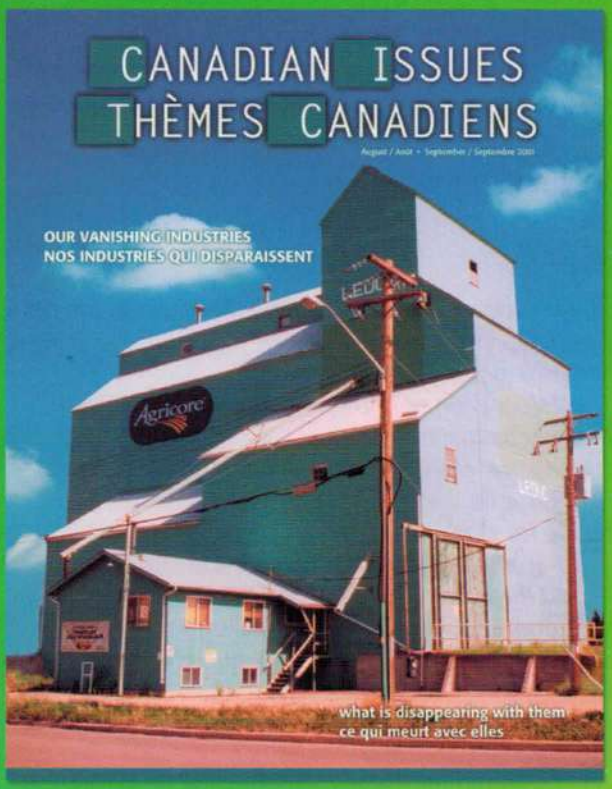
Do You Know Your Canadian Issues?





Êtes-vous au fait de vos Thèmes Canadiens ?

Sixth National Metropolis Conference

Call for Proposals

Stakeholders of the Metropolis Project (policy-makers and policy analysts, NGOs and community groups, graduate students, Domain Leaders and other university-based researchers) are invited to submit a proposal for presenting a research paper or for workshops, panels, plenary sessions and/or group or committee meetings. Your proposals may address any of the below noted subthemes, or new subthemes. Research papers will be grouped according to theme in a 1.5 hour time slot. Workshop proposals should include a workshop title; name(s), institutional affiliation(s) and contact information of organizer(s); workshop description (150 words); proposed duration of workshop (1.5 or 3 hours); and names of participants (ideally representing a mix of stakeholders).

Proposals are due on or before Friday, September 27, 2002 and decisions will be made shortly thereafter. Please address your proposals to the Conference Secretariat, attention

Ms. Terri Frebrowski,
by fax at (780) 492-2594 or by e-mail at pcerii@ualberta.ca.

The program for the Sixth National Metropolis Conference will be developed on the basis of responses to the Call for Proposals as well as consultation with stakeholders. The program will be structured in such a way so as to ensure active participation of graduate students, NGOs, policy-makers and researchers. It is expected that gender based analysis will cut across the conference subthemes.

Judging from partnersí reactions thus far the following subthemes, listed in no particular order, appear to be of interest.

- The New Immigration and Refugee Protection Act
  - *The Regulations*
  - *The Selection System*
- Immigration and the National Economy
  - *Labour Market Integration of Immigrants*
- Immigration and Official Language Minority Communities
- Immigration and Demographic Transitions of Canada
- Regional Immigration Policy
  - *Settlement Patterns of Immigrants and Refugees*
  - *Strategies for Enhancing Settlement in Smaller and Medium-Sized Cities*
  - *Immigration and Rural Economic Development*
  - *Strategies for Countering Regional Population Decline*
- Optimization of Health and Other Services to Immigrants
- Citizenship in a Diverse Society
- Immigration and Public Education
  - *The Integration of Immigrant Children and Youth*
  - *Metropolis Institute*
  - *Educational Media Partnership on Immigration and Refugee*
  - *Issues for Computer Assisted Learning (EMPIRICAL), co-sponsored by CIC, CERIS, the Metropolis Project, and the Centre for Refugee Studies*
- Language Education and the Challenge of Diversity
- The Role of Ethnic Communities and NGOís in Settlement Services
- Countering Negative Attitudes and Discrimination Against Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities
- Just Treatment and Safe Communities

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