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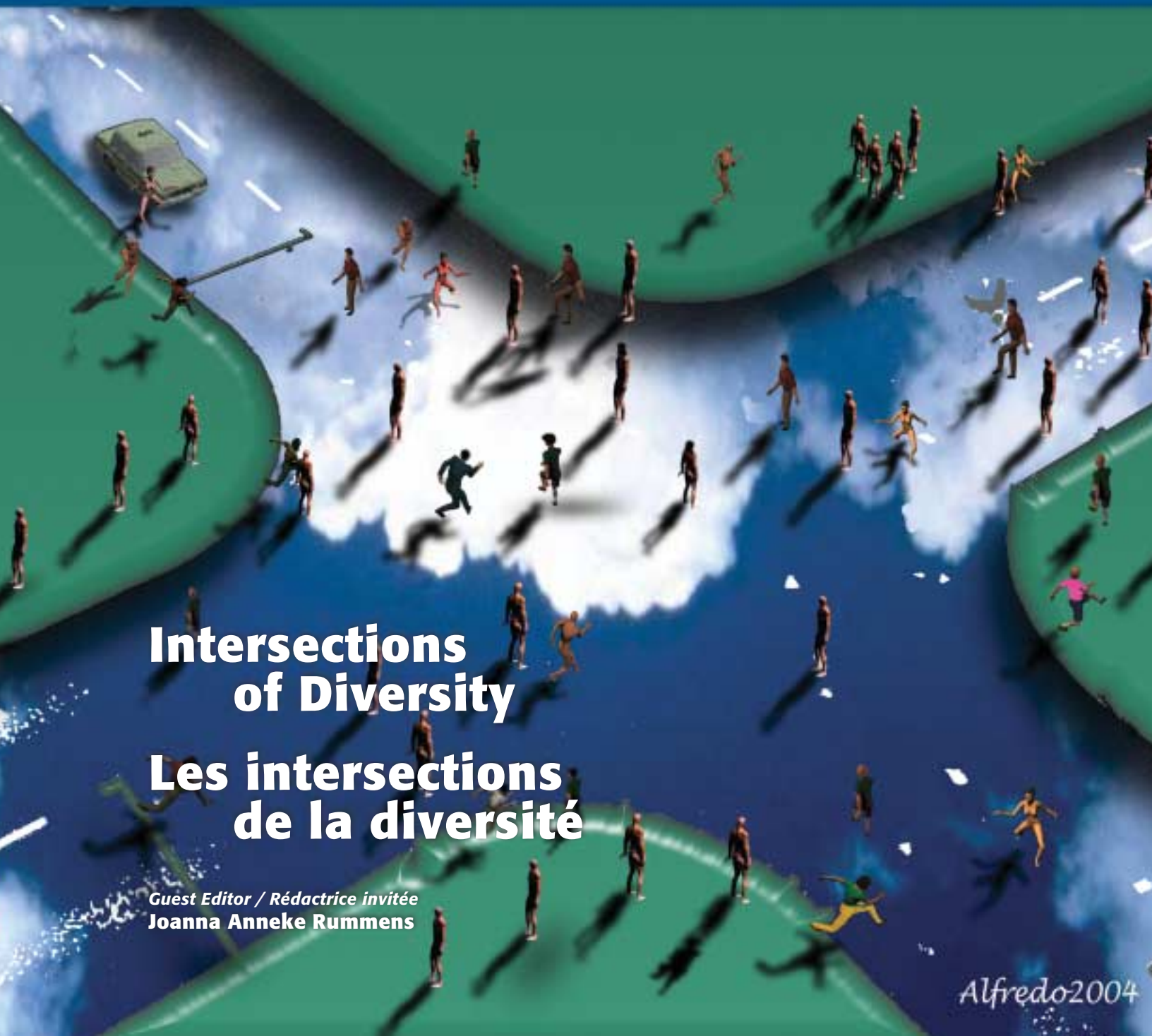

Intersections of Diversity

Les intersections de la diversité

Guest Editor / Rédactrice invitée
Joanna Anneke Rummens

7e Conférence nationale METROPOLIS / 7th National METROPOLIS Conference

L'immigration et l'intégration au cœur des débats : recherches, politiques et pratiques

Immigration and Integration at the Heart of the Debate: Research, Policy and Practice

Centre Sheraton Hotel Montréal
25 au 28 mars 2004 / March 25 to 28 2004

Jeudi 25 mars, 17h15 à 18h45
Thursday, March 25, 5:15 pm to 6:45 pm

Plénière 1 - Le marché du travail pour les immigrants et les membres des minorités visibles, où commence la discrimination?
Plenary 1 - Immigrants, visible minorities and the labour market: where does discrimination begin ?

Président d'assemblée / Meeting Chair: Yvan Turcotte, MRCI, Montréal
Arthur Sweetman, Queen's University, Kingston
Émile Vallée, FTQ, Montréal
Babakar-Pierre Touré, Service d'orientation et d'intégration des immigrants en milieu de travail, Québec
France Pelletier, Banque nationale du Canada / National Bank of Canada

Vendredi 26 mars, 9h00 à 10h30
Friday, March 26, 9:00 am to 10:30 am

Plénière 2 - Citoyenneté inclusive, identité et diversité
Plenary 2 - Inclusive citizenship, identity and diversity

Président d'assemblée / Meeting Chair: Richard Clippingdale, RTC Services, Ottawa
Marie McAndrew, Université de Montréal, Montréal
Varun Uberoi, Oxford University, Oxford
Tamar Jacoby, Manhattan Institute, New York
Commentatrice / Commentator: Rosaline Frith, CIC, Ottawa

Samedi 27 mars, 9h à 10h30
Saturday, March 27, 9:00 am to 10:30 am

Plénière 3 - La gestion coopérative internationale de la migration
Plenary 3 - International cooperative management of migration

Président d'assemblée / Meeting Chair: Howard Duncan, Metropolis, Ottawa
Joseph Chamie, ONU / UN, New York
Gervais Appave, IOM-OIM, Genève
Colleen Thouez, IMP, Genève / Global Commission on International Migration, Geneva
Howard Adelman, York University, Toronto / Princeton University, Princeton
Diane Vincent, CIC, Ottawa

Dimanche 28 mars, 9h à 10h30
Sunday, March 28, 9:00 am to 10:30 am

Plénière 4 - Immigration et plurilinguisme : Repenser les questions d'intégration et de cohésion sociale en contexte de mondialisation
Plenary 4 - Immigration and multilinguism: rethinking the issues of integration and social cohesion in the context of globalisation

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CANADIAN DIVERSITY CANADIENNE

Intersectionality

Social analysts have long been interested in social unity and division, for it is on the basis of perceived similarities and differences that individuals align themselves with others to form social groups. Thus they have addressed themselves to the isolation of criteria that specify how, why, when and where group boundaries are drawn, as well as the conditions under which these boundaries change.

Canada's increasing diversity challenges our existing understanding of these identification processes. It necessarily directs our attention beyond mere consideration of a single type of identity to the rich plurality of identities used to socially sort each and every one of us. In so doing it readily dispels reductionist notions of identity that suggest that any given individual can be defined by a single identity marker at any particular point in time. It also undermines essentializing perspectives that view individuals' self-identities as the simple sum of group affiliations mechanically ascribed and internalized in accordance with culturally prescribed norms.

Instead, our experience with diversity teaches us that identification processes are inherently contextually driven. It points to the inherently intrinsically fluid and flexible nature of membership categories, and encourages us to examine the cultural, social, economic and political factors that inform them. These realizations prod us to explore the selection, salience and centrality of various types of identity in different social interactions, as well as the numerous ways in which identity processes may be used to actively maintain or contest the existing status quo. This in turn suggests that different types of identity and identification patterns cannot be viewed in simple isolation from each other. It also challenges us to consider the possibility of *interactive effects* between the various types of identity, and to explore the unique ramifications of ensuing identity constellations on individuals' life opportunities, challenges, experiences and outcomes.

This collection of articles focuses specifically on such *identity intersections* and addresses the respective impact of overlapping and intersecting identities on individuals' lived realities. It also examines the effect of *intersections of diversity,* namely the intersection of various types of identity with minority/majority status. Consideration of multiple overlapping identities is central to the recognition of the plural nature of identity. Examination of intersecting identities points to possible interaction effects that demarcate unique experiences and/or newly emergent identities. Attention to diversity addresses determinations of socially salient differences, as well as to the underlying power dynamics inherent in concomitant identification processes. The *key questions* addressed include the following. How might we best conceptualize, describe, and understand existing variations among individuals as well as among population categories and social groups? How might we best conceptualize, describe and understand identity, diversity, and identification processes in such a way as to examine inclusions and exclusions? How do intersections of identity and diversity directly impact on the lives of individuals and communities? What are the implications for the way in which we approach research as well as policy and program development?

Why is intersectionality important to consider? Identity intersections are significant not only because their interaction effects often translate into unique experiences and identities, but also because they point to both *inclusionary* and *exclusionary* 'membership' possibilities. While specific identity intersections frequently underwrite a lack of full incorporation into or even exclusion from each of the categories demarcated by the respective identifications, they hold the inherent potential for a bridging link among them. Similarly, identity overlaps can be exclusionary if they ignore a common super-ordinate identity shared by all parties. They become inclusionary when they facilitate the skip from one type of identity to another in a search for a shared overarching identity. In short, inclusive strategies might entail looking for an intersecting identity and appealing to a common identity, and/or calling on an overlapping identity and laying claim to it instead. Exclusionary strategies would of course entail the reverse.

None of this is, however, truly meaningful without explicit recognition of existing *power differentials* that regulate both individual and collective access to important social resources. Intersections of diversity are particularly important to examine because they direct more focused attention to *modes* of inclusion and exclusion that result in multiple privileges or multiple disadvantages respectively. Both have real life implications, particularly for marginalized groups who consequently face inequitable life experiences, challenges and opportunities. These multiple jeopardies not only translate into diminished personal and social outcomes, but also represent lost linking potential particularly with respect to social capital. More inclusive strategies might address existing differential valuations of specific identities and entail a revaluing of these identifications. More importantly, they might seek to make the power dynamics that underlie many exclusionary identification practices more explicit and thus transparent.

In brief, in and of themselves intersections can be understood as multiple exclusions that serve to marginalize individuals or collectivities, or as multiple inclusions that seek to more fully embrace them. The question is whether they are used to effectively exclude individuals from relevant reference groups in any given situation, or whether they are instead utilized to establish bridges among them.

Intersections are important for researchers, policy makers and programme developers alike. They challenge *researchers* to recognize and incorporate in their work the

wide variety of identities used by social actors in their daily interactions, as well as to examine their salient identity overlaps and intersections. The key task is to uncover patterns of inclusion versus exclusion. In the search for commonality and difference, which identity markers are used to include? Which are used to exclude? When, why and how? Are the various interstices used to marginalize or incorporate? What is the ensuing impact on personal and social outcomes? This increased knowledge base has direct practical applications for policy makers and programme developers with equality/equity mandates, particularly in the area of identity, social justice and/or civic participation. By providing a lens through which power relations are made more readily visible, a multi-dimensional intersectional approach to policy initiatives and programmatic practices helps to ensure that existing efforts do not inadvertently disadvantage or harm any particular individual or community, or alternatively complicit in the empowerment of another. This promises to assist *policy makers* and *programme developers* alike in more effective and efficient delivery of programs and services that best meet the needs of those individuals and groups most disadvantaged by social inequities.

The *first conceptual piece* in this volume provides a brief overview of the concepts of identity and diversity, distinguishes between overlapping and intersecting identities, presents a multidimensional intersectional perspective, and identifies three distinct identification processes that are key to understanding identity structures and dynamics.

The articles that follow examine how different identity intersections concretely affect the lives of individuals and their communities in different social domains. *Brotman and Ryan* explore the intersections of sex, sexual orientation and gender in the area of health. Their research examines the impact of multiple marginalization of 'two-spirited' gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender populations on health outcomes and points to a direct link between experiences of exclusion and personal well being. *Schissel* addresses the intersections of 'race' and class within the legal system and notes that the majority of people incarcerated in Canadian prisons are disproportionately drawn from marginalized, and thus relatively powerless, populations within our society. He thus calls for greater consideration of diversity within our systems of policing, justice and punishment. *Kuntz* examines the various intersections of gender, 'race,' ethnicity, socio-economic status and immigration status in labour markets. The data provided document existing inequities in labour market integration and readily establish that these identity markers have both individual and multiple effects on access to labour markets, training, employment and earnings. Suggested policy program responses include advising and equipping immigrants, changing employer attitudes, learning from existing interventions and social marketing. *Paré* explores in turn the impact of intersections of gender, immigrant status and ethnicity on access to capital markets. Her research demonstrates that the intersection of place of birth and gender has differential impact on both the desire to create businesses and on the sources of support and expertise upon on which entrepreneurs from minority ethnic groups can draw in order to make a new start-up successful. *Wood* similarly examines the impact of intersections of gender, 'race' and socio-economic status in securing capital within the oil sector, and provides a compelling, contrasting examination of the effective funnelling of venture capital to more privileged individuals from majority groups to the exclusion of other members of the population. *Mahtani* examines similar intersections of race, class and gender both in the media and in civil society. Drawing upon her experiences with a not-for-profit organization, she provides three examples of concrete project initiatives that clearly highlight the importance of considering these and other intersecting identity markers – including age, sexual orientation, culture, religion and ethnicity – in ensuring more equitable and effective outcomes.

The second set of articles explores how the concept of intersectionality might be fruitfully used in the areas of policy, program and research. *Curfoot-Mollington* begins with a reflection on the implications of identity intersections and issues of diversity for policy and programming initiatives. He suggests that since not all identity markers necessarily intersect with each other in every situation, a practical approach would be to first consider the full range of key identity markers, select those that relate directly to the issue, determine how they intersect, and only then proceed to develop policy and programming initiatives to address the specific needs identified. *Burstein* draws attention to both the exclusionary and inclusionary nature of identification processes and provides a detailed overview of concrete steps needed to build an overarching governmental policy framework that is both "inclusive of, and responsive to, the intersecting nature of diversity." *Donaldson* focuses directly on specific programmatic concerns and suggests that in the case of Multiculturalism the goal is perhaps not so much the search for unity per se but rather the bringing together of people from various backgrounds into a shared dialogue aimed at developing a common frame of reference that supports equity within diversity. The final article by *Frideres* concludes the discussion by addressing existing research concerns. It raises a number of methodological issues regarding identity intersections and points to the need to develop a conceptual framework or theory of intersections that would enable us to better understand the ways in which the various social attributes of individuals singly and jointly affect their lives.

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Overlapping and Intersecting Identities[1]

Joanna Anneke Rummens

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ABSTRACT

Conceptualizing intersections of diversity has proven to be one of the primary challenges faced by researchers and policy makers. Dr. Rummens proposes a "mutli-dimensional" identity model whereby one's identity overlaps and intersections are recognized and acknowledged. Together with drawing on identification processes, such a model facilitates the discernment and understanding of "multiple jeopardies"; the distinction of identity markers that predominate in groups found to have less than equitable access to power and resources in a given society.

Recognition of socially-salient similarities and differences forms the cornerstone of social interaction (Rummens 1993). All social exchange is founded upon an initial determination of whether the Self is similar to Other or whether it is different from Other in some important way. In this assessment a wide variety of *identity criteria* may be called upon in order to establish whether I am I and You are You, or whether I plus You make We as furthermore distinct from They (Rummens 2003b). These criteria may be rooted in biological realities (e.g. age, sex), social statuses (e.g. generation; class; ethnicity), normative roles (e.g. gender; occupation), lived practices (e.g. culture, language) and/or espoused ideologies (e.g. religion; political philosophy). Their purpose is to sort individuals into culturally and socially relevant categories. The resulting personal and social identifications help to situate and position individuals and groups relative to each other within the larger societal framework. They are also central to each individual's self-concept and overall sense of well being.

To date, most research into these identity processes has tended to focus primarily on *single* types of identities that are then considered rather independently of each other (Rummens 2000); greater specificity is subsequently sought by examining the particular articulations of class, gender, 'racial,' linguistic, ethnic or religious identity in turn within different social institutions (see Rummens 2003a). While this line of foundational research has been and continues to be extremely useful, the underlying propensity to consider different identity markers in isolation from each other does have several inherent limitations. To begin, such an approach ignores the *plurality of identities* that individuals navigate and negotiate as they go about their daily lives. It is therefore not able to adequately capture the full complexity of individuals' experienced social realities. Nor is it able to determine and compare which identities become operative within a given cultural and/or societal *context* at any particular point in time, or examine the reasons therefore. Issues of *identity salience, centrality* and *choice* at both the micro- and macro-level can also not be readily explored. Yet it has become abundantly clear in the existing research that more than one type of identity can influence any given individual's life circumstances and/or inform their personal and social identifications. There is also increasing research evidence that individuals can in fact have *multiple identifications* even on a single identity criterion. These findings directly challenge existing practices of *a priori* identity ascription by social actors and analysts alike. In short, a narrow focus on a single identity ignores the unique ramifications of various identity constellations and concomitant identification patterns on individuals' life opportunities and lived experiences. Most importantly, it does not – because it cannot - consider the possibility of interactive effects between different types of identity. As a result relatively little is currently known about the impact of *identity intersections* per se on a wide variety of personal and social outcomes.

The challenge is primarily a conceptual one. Much of the work in this area has been stymied by the difficulty of visualizing identity in more than one dimension. This is critical since the very way we conceptualize a given social phenomenon directly informs the identification of relevant issues, the subsequent formulation of research questions, as well as the analysis of ensuing research data. It is also essential to the recognition of and responsiveness to existing social needs, the determination of priority policy and programme areas, as well as the effectiveness of initiatives subsequently pursued. The question therefore becomes this: how might we best address the plurality of identities and explore the possible interactions between them?

Conceptualizing Identity

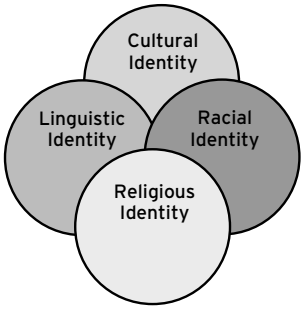
Identity may be defined as the distinctive character belonging to any given individual, or shared by all members of a particular social category or group. The word comes from the French word *identité* and has its linguistic roots in the Latin noun *identitas, -tatis,* itself a derivation of the Latin adjective *idem* meaning "the same." This linguistic origin reflects the essentially comparative nature of the term. In practice it is used to refer to a degree of sameness or oneness with others with respect to a particular characteristic (Rummens 1993: 157-9).

It is helpful to distinguish between identity and *identification* per se; the former is a label whereas the latter term refers to the classifying act itself. Identification entails the determination and selection of shared and/or distinguishing characteristics. Which criteria are actually used in any given situation may be seen to be dependent on several factors. These include the purpose of the interaction as understood by each participant, the nature of the relationship between the individual social actors involved, as well as the particular historical, cultural, societal and situational context in which the particular social exchange takes place. Identity is thus best conceived of as being both relational and contextual in nature, and the act of identification itself best viewed as inherently processual *(Ibid).*

There are numerous *types of identity* each of which reflects a unique criterion that may be used to either differentiate between individuals or groups, or alternatively to establish or reinforce commonality among or within them. These criteria include - but are not limited to - considerations of sex, gender, age, generation, sexual orientation, (dis)ability, class, occupation, culture, ethnicity, 'race,' religion, nationality, language, ideology, and region or territory. The types of identities that these various identity criteria define are all based on those socially and/or culturally relevant similarities and distinctions that are operative in any given societal context. This means that both their nature and relative saliency is likely to vary from situation to situation, culture to culture, and society to society. They may also vary from interaction to interaction, and even from individual to individual.

It is important to distinguish between *types of identity* and *specific identities.* Each type of identity has a range of classificatory designations associated with it that serve to 'label' particular individuals, social categories and/or social groups. Thus a specific gender identity may be 'woman'; a specific sexual orientation may be 'bi-sexual'; a specific 'racial' identity may be 'Black;' and a specific linguistic identification may be 'francophone.' These specific identities serve to effectively distinguish between particular individuals or groups of individuals on the basis of a given identity marker.

Figure 1

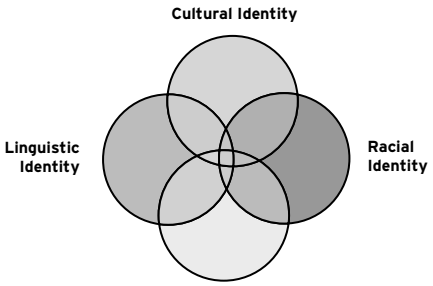


Identity Overlaps and Intersections

As concepts types of identities are clearly distinct. However, *in actual practice* various types of identities readily *overlap* both for groups and individuals (see **Figure One**).

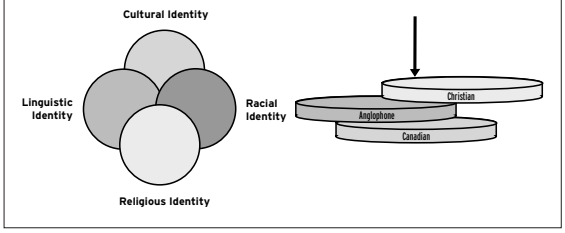
They can also intersect (see **Figure Two**).

Figure 2



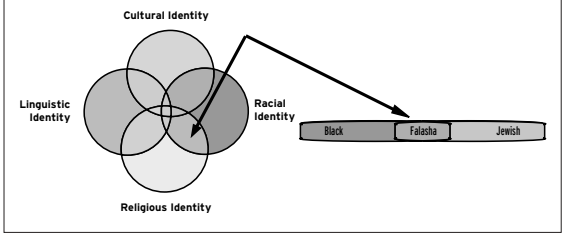
Whether individual types of identity overlap or intersect in any particular situation or point in time depends entirely on the nature of the relationship between them within a given societal context. When the interactional effect between two or more types of identities or specific identities is minimal or non-existent, these identities may be said to *overlap* (see **Figure Three**).

Figure 3 – Overlapping **Identities**



In contrast, when particular identities consistently inform or influence each other in important ways they effectively *intersect.* The identification patterns revealed by frequently intersecting identities point to constellations of uniquely salient identity constellations. They may also point to the existence or formation of new identities and/or identifications (see **Figure Four**).

Figure 4 – Intersecting **Identities**

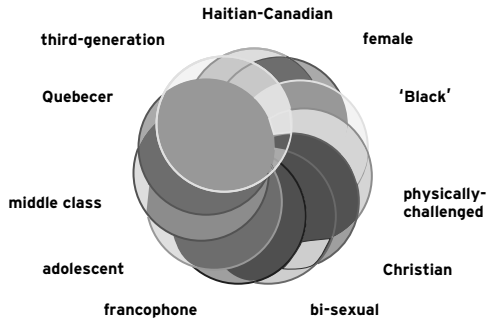


Identity Models

What does this all mean in terms of how we might best conceptualize an individual's *unique identity?* There are various ways of visualising the plurality of identities that are reflected or embedded within a single individual (see Rummens 2003b). Most existing models readily acknowledge that a variety of identities may be operative in different social interactions. However, the respective salience of these identities is not necessarily explored, nor is their centrality to the social actors themselves always considered. Moreover, the exact nature of the linkages between various types of identity and the particular individual is often left unspecified. Since the relationships among different types of identity are not always articulated, the very possibility of interacting effects is usually left unexamined. They consequently remain largely invisible.

In contrast, the explicitly *"multi-dimensional model"* presented below facilitates the simultaneous representation of three or more identity dimensions, and readily allows the consideration of *multiple* identity overlaps and intersections. The individual's unique identity may be visualized in three dimensions as a series of intersecting spheres; a fourth dimension would consist of change through time. When also viewed in two dimensions, the various overlaps and intersections become readily evident. The challenge to the researcher becomes the search for culturally-salient intersection patterns across individuals, both within and across social and societal contexts (see **Figure Five**).

Figure 5 – "Multi-Dimensional Approach"



The key challenges for identity researchers are to determine where, how and why various types of - or specific - identities overlap or intersect within a particular context. Which identities overlap? Which intersect? What 'new' identities - or configuration of identities - are reflected in the interstices? What patterns emerge both within a given society and across different social or cultural contexts? How can these be best explained?

Conceptualizing Diversity

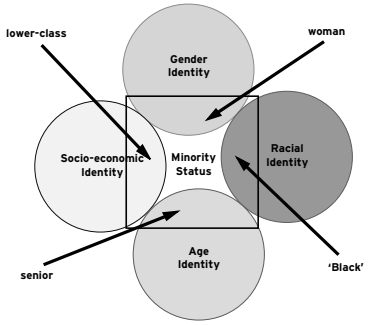
The term *diversity* can mean different things to different people. For some the word is simply used to acknowledge existing *variations* among individuals and across social groups in socially meaningful ways. For others the term is used specifically to refer to *differences that make a difference.*

Diversity constitutes an important subset of identity research, one that places an explicit focus on *differences* among individuals or social groups according to socially-salient identity criteria. Particular emphasis is then often placed either directly or indirectly on those social identifications that underwrite *unequal access* to social, political or economic power, privilege and/or prestige relative to the dominant majority group(s). The 'distinctions' made through such identifications actively serve to maintain or acknowledge these *inequities* in access to scarce social resources. The concept of diversity thus involves consideration of those identities and identifications which intersect with *minority status.* The 'diversity issues' thereby revealed are directly linked to human rights concerns and issues of social justice.

Diversity Intersections

Many types of identities readily intersect with both minority and majority statuses. Gender, age, class and 'race' are all widely used identity markers in many industrialized Western societies (see **Figure Six**). The corresponding

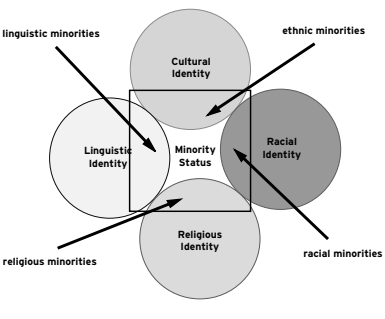
Figure 6 – Intersections of identit(ies) with Minority Status



specific minority identifications might include woman, senior citizen, lower class and 'Black,' while the respective majority identifications for each of these four types of identities are typically man, young adult, upper class and white.

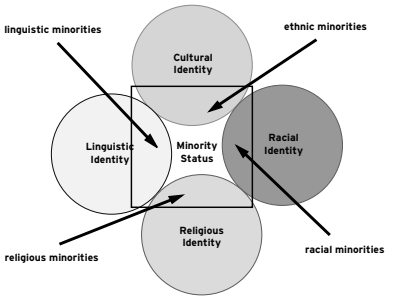
Additional types of identities that are especially salient within the Canadian context include cultural, linguistic, 'racial' and religious identities. Their intersections with minority status point to the various ethno-linguistic, ethno-'racial' and ethno-religious population categories and groups reflected in our diverse society (see **Figure Seven**).

Figure 7



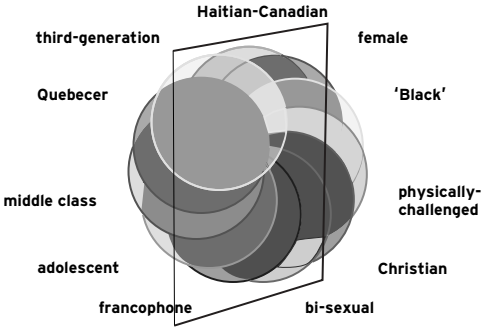
The picture becomes even more complex when the intersections among various types of identity are also considered (see **Figure Eight**).

Figure 8



Intersections of socially-salient identities with minority status are particularly important in revealing "*multiple jeopardies.*" Here multiple minority identifications intersect to affect an even less equitable social position for the individual or population category in question than might otherwise be expected using any single identification on its own (see **Figure Nine**).

Figure 9



The key challenge for researchers and policy makers interested in issues of diversity is to determine where, how and why various types of identities and/or specific identities intersect with minority status. Which in turn point to majority statuses? What kinds of patterns emerge? How can these be explained? What is the cumulative effect of the resulting multiple jeopardies both for individuals and social groups? What are the combined ramifications for individuals' social opportunities and life experiences? Do these identification patterns and concomitant outcomes vary across societal settings? Why or why not?

Identification Processes

Identity overlaps and intersections cannot be examined in a vacuum. Attention should also be given to the role played by various social actors in maintaining, or challenging, the existing status quo. Identities can be ascribed, achieved or simply assumed both by individuals and collectivities; however, they are also constructed, challenged, modified and discarded. In order to better understand these dynamics it is important to consider three distinct, yet intertwined and mutually reinforcing, identification processes.

Identity development/formation refers to the cognitive developmental processes that each individual undergoes throughout the maturation process as s/he explores his or her place in the world and develops a *unique sense of self* (Rummens 2000; 2004). The individual selects from among the various identifications available to her – and learns to navigate those denied - in developing a coherent *self-identity.* Since the latter concerns itself with the state of being a unique person distinct from all others as reflexively understood by that individual through time, this line of research has fallen primarily within the domain of psychology.

Identity construction refers to the active creation, formulation and expression of personal and/or social identities for the self, either by individuals or groups *(Ibid).* Identities do not simply exist *a priori* but are instead socially constructed. As such they are historically, culturally and socially situated. Identities are also both fluid and flexible, and change through time. Research in this area focuses on the culturally-determined nature of identity and has consequently been largely, though not exclusively, the domain of anthropology.

Identity negotiation refers to the inherently political nature of personal and social identification of self and/or other, between or among, and by or within groups, via the interactions of individuals *(Ibid).* A *personal identity* is the result of an identification of self by self with respect to other, or in other words a self-identification by the individual himself. A *social identity* is the outcome of an identification of self by other; it is an identification accorded or assigned an individual by another social actor (Rummens 1993). Personal and social identities may correspond, or they may not, with varying outcomes. Personal and social identifications not only entail social comparisons, they also constitute the active 'positioning' of individuals and groups within society. Such negotiation of identity is therefore best understood as relational, contextual and situationally-driven. Research in this area has been more the domain of sociology.

Careful conceptual distinction between *self-identity* on the one hand, and *personal* and *social identity* on the other helps to shed greater light on *identity development, construction* and *negotiation.* All three *kinds of identifications* are important to consider when examining the classification of individuals into socio-culturally-salient categories and groups. Since self-identification processes are very much influenced by available personal and social identifications, they are equally important to the study of individual self-definition. Joint consideration of self-, personal and social identifications thus helps to more effectively explore the various links between psychological, cultural and social realms. All three types of identification processes and all three kinds of identities are critically important to the exploration and understanding of identity and diversity intersections (Rummens 2003b).

Conclusion

Identity intersections entail a simultaneous integration of more than one identity and/or identification in such a

way that the outcome is uniquely different from the simple sum of its parts. In this way it differs from the mere overlapping of conjoined but otherwise separate identifications. Most existing research does not adequately explore identity overlaps and intersections or consider their relative impacts; nor is much attention given to the identification of factors that directly inform such alignments. Where it does do so, exclusive emphasis is often given to a select number of culturally-informed, socially-salient, contextually-situated types of identity. These efforts need to be expanded to consideration of other potentially salient identities, as well to more in-depth exploration of their relative, cumulative or combined impact on both personal and social outcomes.

Diversity intersections entail additional consideration of social inequities though an explicit focus on power differentials. They are important to address because where socio-culturally salient identifications intersect with minority or majority status, differential impacts on life circumstances, social opportunities and personal outcomes can often be found. Attention to these different social positions not only provides more precise information but also yields greater insight into social systems of marginalization and oppression.

In short, identity theory needs to better incorporate notions of *multiplicity* and *intersectionality* within existing paradigms. Identity research needs in turn to be more reflective of the realities that various *intersections of diversity* impose on individuals and social groups. A multi-dimensional, intersectional perspective is central to a more holistic vision of both personal and social identity structures as well as to a more dynamic understanding of diversity issues per se.

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Notes

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Intersections: W^5

(What, Where, When, Why, Who)?

James Frideres

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ABSTRACT

James Frideres reviews best practices in modern research methods and discusses the importance of developing a theory of intersections that will not only acknowledge their existence, but quantify their linkages and impact. He compares the positivist approach with that of the postmodernists, which he criticizes for its poor design and lack of proper methodology.

The concept of intersection is a standard term in the language of the academy and government and well understood by its users, e.g., practioners and policy makers. For example, medicine has long noted that Position Emission Tomography (PET) scan results can be affected by a person's age, medical history, medications, as well as other physical factors. Thus, in order to properly interpret the results, these conditions must be known, the values of each calculated, and then figured into the calculus as the image is interpreted. The concept of intersections has been part of the language used by social scientists for many years and was commonly used in research carried out in the sixties and seventies. However, it fell out of favour during the past quarter century as many researchers began to engage in post-modernist 'research' and did not know how to ferret out the effects. Yet one school of social scientists has continued to use the concept in its research in an attempt to better understand social behaviour. This short essay will identify the meaning of the concept, how one group of social scientists has used the concept, and suggest how researchers, practioners and policy makers might more profitably ensure that intersection analysis is carried out.

Understanding Intersections

The concept of intersections refers to the joint effects of various social factors affecting human behaviour. Not surprisingly, the concept of intersections in its modern-day use is most salient in feminist literature. While feminist interpretation has its historical legacy in the disciplines of demography and economics, it reflects the understanding that individuals' lives are complex, multifaceted, and situated in social contexts that require mediated compromises. Many researchers (Brewer et al, 2002; Deaux 2001) have come to recognize the importance of the interlinkages of different attributes of individuals—such as race, class, sexuality—as having an impact upon the quality of life and life chances of individuals. They have clearly understood the connectedness of different social attributes of people and how this impacts on their behaviour. Other disciplines also have come to recognize the significance of intersections; but they have not yet developed a strategy to address these concerns or develop techniques to interpret the results. In a similar fashion, policy makers have come to recognize the issue of intersection, but have not been able to develop policies to address those intersections because researchers have not clarified the salience, importance, and nature of the linkages.

The Positivist Wing

There has been one school of the social sciences that has not only recognized the importance of the issue of intersections for some time, but has also developed a strategy to deal with it. These positivists engage in quantitative social science research. They have understood the concept from a theoretical, methodological, and statistical perspective. Moreover, they have recognized the necessity of quantifying these linkages and their impacts.

Experimentation: Classic Comparison and Control

From a methodological perspective, researchers must understand the concept of research design and its importance to interpreting the results of their research efforts. Central to the issue of research is the concept of comparison and control. Any time research results are presented, the researcher, the policy maker, the practioner, all ask: "Compared to what?" In short, the amount may be equal to, higher than or lower than some other group to which you compare the data. But the fact is, comparison must be performed in order to make sense out of the data. In summary, all research must have a comparison group and the lack thereof can result in major social and legal consequences (See P. Good's, *Applying Statistics in the Courtroom*). Thus all good research will have at least one comparison group and preferably more than one. For example, discrimination does not exist in a vacuum; it can be found only in the unequal treatment of people in similar

circumstances. The goal is to identify a similarly situated class so as to isolate the factor allegedly subject to impermissible discrimination. You cannot develop one policy for immigrants if you are simply comparing the income of different ethnic groups. You must be able to compare groups that are equal, for example, if some are recent immigrants while others have resided in Canada for long periods of time, this would not be a proper comparison. In short, the similarly situated group must be a control group (Good, 2001). And that takes us to the second methodological issue: control.

When research is carried out, the researcher wants to attribute the results to the 'treatment' or the independent variable under consideration. As a core issue, the researcher wants to control or 'hold constant' all influences except that which is under study. This means that the research design needs to be fashioned in such a way that the variable under consideration can be assured as the one producing the effect that the researcher is claiming. In this respect, other factors or variables, as explanatory variables, must be eliminated or at least accounted for. Every study has to involve at least two groups of subjects—those who were exposed to the 'event,' the 'condition,' the 'drug,' and those who were not. For example, in the evaluation of a medical treatment, you would need a group who were administered the drug Motrin versus aspirin. However, it would give you more confidence in assessing the effects of Motrin if another group were established; those who were given the drug Motrin and those who were not (either absent or through a placebo procedure). There are other types of research designs that can be employed to deal with the control-comparison issues raised above. Panel, longitudinal, and quasi-experimental designs can be constructed to address these issues in a satisfactory and appropriate manner. However the goal is not to present a lecture on methodology, but rather to inform the reader that this condition is central to carrying out research. Unfortunately, many postmodernists have ignored the importance and significance of proper research design, whose meaningful results could be used in the design of policies and/or programs.

Some researchers may argue that this kind of research is expensive, time consuming, and difficult to carry out. While I cannot disagree with this concern, I would offer the following responses. First, research is expensive and it makes more sense to have fewer 'good science' projects underway than lots of poor science research efforts under way. No one suggests that chemistry should use cheap science to develop new materials. Second, other disciplines such as medicine and science, have come to the realization that research design is the foundation for establishing valid and reliable results. The behavioural scientists cannot accept anything less. Finally, social scientists would find that the results from these types of 'good' research efforts would instill confidence in policy makers and practioners to take the results and craft their real life responses on the basis of these research results.

Statistics: An Alternative Solution

Even medical and science researchers are subject to limitations in developing research designs that allow them to assess the impacts of various factors that intersect and 'cause' the effect. One alternative way of dealing with the problem of intersections of variables is to use a statistical technique called multivariate regression—a technique that statistically 'controls' for the impact and intersection of other variables. There are many different variations of this technique and there are few databases where some form of this technique could not be utilized. It also allows the researcher to assess the interaction effects of two or more variables. That is, when two variables that normally would have an independent impact on the 'effect' variable are combined, they produce a different effect. It also allows the researcher to find out whether the two factors actually overlap and have no or little independent effects, e. g., race and ethnicity. The use of these multivariate techniques enables a researcher to untangle relationships that have been obscured by the complexities of real human systems. This technique is a whole that is made up of parts, and the whole is greater than the sum of its parts.

One alternative way of dealing with the problem of intersections of variables is to use a statistical technique called multivariate regression–a technique that statistically 'controls' for the impact and intersection of other variables.

To bring this back to the issue at hand and less a technical discussion, if a researcher is interested in the impact of sex, race, ethnicity, immigrant vs. Native-born, and income (the independent variables) on life quality (the dependent variable), you could easily assess the independent and combined impact of each or all of the variables at the same time through the use of a multivariate statistical methodology. Using this technique you can show the impact of sex on the dependent variable (when all the other factors are held constant). Then, at the end, you can see the weight (some might say importance) of how each factor affects the dependent variable. Even if you had two or more dependent variables, this statistical technique is useful. Finally, if you want to know the interaction of the independent variables (e.g., sex, race, ethnicity) this technique can also provide you with an answer.

Critics will claim that the quantification process distorts reality and doesn't allow the researcher to capture reality. First of all, the division of the world into qualitative and quantitative no longer makes sense when doing research. Once you are able to develop categories of behaviours, the distinction becomes meaningless. Multivariate regression techniques can deal with qualitative data just as well as with quantitative data. On the other hand, if the focus of the argument is 'capturing the process,' I would quite agree that good ethnographic data is needed to inform the quantitative analysis. But this is an issue we now turn to.

Theory

While the above discussion has focused on methodological issues regarding intersections, perhaps an equally important issue facing social scientists is developing a theory on intersections. In the implementation of research design or through the use of statistical methodology, one of the biggest issues is relevance and importance of factors (variables). We must begin to develop a strong theory of intersections to show how some or all of the factors are linked to outcomes of social behaviour. Statistical methods can provide some basis for this theory and certainly there is a continuous feedback loop between theory and research, but more extensive theoretical expositions are need to develop a better understanding as to which of the factors need to be considered in an intersections paradigm and how they link with each other. Here is where qualitative researchers can enter the picture.

To begin, we need to have more ethnographic research in the area of intersections in order to unpack the process of how sex, ethnicity, and language, for example, intersect on some aspect of quality of life, e.g., labour force participation, and how they impact the lives of individuals, e.g., type of housing, level of education. Qualitative research is a procedure by which process can be better understood and thus form the foundation of theory building. However, this technique is unable to disentangle the joint effects of variables and that is where the use of quantitative procedures is invaluable. For example, as Siemiatycki et al (2003) have noted, immigrant communities are hardly monolithic; rather differences of gender, class, and language have revealed fragmentation and tension within them. They go on to argue that it is erroneous to consider them as homogenous, each with its fixed internal ties and defined boundaries. This is where qualitative researchers excel and could make a major contribution to the development of a theory of intersections. Unfortunately, many qualitative researchers have not focused their efforts on such endeavors. However, it is clear that if any theory is not well developed, the use of statistical procedures that omit certain important variables are of limited use and yet unless they are identified, we will not be able to develop a useful theory that will help guide policy development and programs.

This is where qualitative researchers excel and could make a major contribution to the development of a theory of intersections. Unfortunately, many qualitative researchers have not focused their efforts on such endeavors.

Conclusion

The need for a conceptual framework is crucial in developing an understanding of how various social attributes of individuals come to impact upon their lives. Moreover, structural variables need to be added to building a theoretical model of intersections. For example, in the area of health, the effects of neighborhood on health are both profound and startling. While the impacts are differential, i.e., they impact ethnic groups differently, the inclusion of this variable into the model is important for assessing health levels of various members of a community. The work of Anisef and Kilbride (2003) suggests this neighborhood effect is also present when working with ethnic groups. This reinforces the need for including both individual as well as structural factors into any theory of intersections.

Given that we all have many individual traits that we hold simultaneously, what is/are the most important? Qualitative researchers need to focus their efforts on defining the 'master traits' that are most influential. The concepts of 'situation' and 'instrumentality' are important yet neglected factors in developing a theory of intersections. For example, since we know that situational contexts influence people's behavior, what are the peripheral factors that are contextually important? How then can we incorporate this factor into a model of intersections? This is where good exploratory, ethnographic research can come to the aid of theory building. Unfortunately, the new postmodernist perspective has forgotten the importance of methodology in carrying out research and their approach is inappropriate for either exploring or developing theories. However, good ethnographies, using their ability to provide an in-depth understanding of the issue and developing explanations of the process, can proceed to build theories and construct hypothesis for testing. Here is where the quantitative methodologists can take over and fill in the gap to provide answers to the question of intersections. Finally, we must insist on good methodology in carrying out research. Current designs that ignore control-comparison issues, that lack random samples, and do not address either external or internal validity should not be funded nor used as basis for policy or program formation.

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Identity, Intersections of Diversity and the Multiculturalism Program

Ian Donaldson

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ABSTRACT

Against the backdrop of the Multiculturalism Program, Ian Donaldson describes the need to get to know Canadian diversity in a more profound way. He advocates for a better definition of identity, one that would allow the federal government to create superior policy and programming. This means conducting not only accurate statistical study, but open-ended, partnership-based discussions at the institutional level that will lend a more progressive meaning to the term 'multiculturalism.'

The Multiculturalism Program, at the Department of Canadian Heritage, is interested in enhancing the influence of its policy objectives across government and society. This is a challenge that the program continues to face for a number of reasons. The most obvious reason is that the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* (1988) is not prescriptive enough. In other words, the Multiculturalism Program is not invested with a mandate to impose any framework of accountability across government on specific policy issues, the way other programs and departments do, as is the case, for example, with official languages or employment equity policy. Instead, the Multiculturalism Policy must be implemented through less formalized processes. Working within such a context for policy implementation requires that Multiculturalism Program representatives find new ways to make connections between individuals, groups, and organizations across government and civil society. This type of work is best understood as building partnerships and networks.

Within this somewhat open-ended approach, the Multiculturalism Program is designed to develop its projects in a number of ways. The four main avenues of program delivery include research, community initiatives, influencing institutional development where possible, and public education. Since 1997, the Multiculturalism Program's policy framework has included the following key goals:

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 respects the dignity of people of all origins.
Identity	Fostering a society that recognizes, respects, and reflects a diversity of cultures such that people of all backgrounds feel a sense of belonging and attachment to Canada.

In recent years, the Multiculturalism Program has partnered with the Association for Canadian Studies (ACS) and the Metropolis Project - Citizenship and Immigration (Metropolis), to hold policy-research seminars that are set-up to examine the link between multiculturalism issues and the concept of identity, as this concept may be explored within a progressive framework for diversity and social change.

In 2001, the partnership between the Multiculturalism Program, the ACS, and Metropolis led to an Identity Seminar and, more recently, in April 2003 it organized an Intersections of Diversity Seminar. A number of interesting papers have come out of this seminar series process, some of which appear in this magazine. But the significance of exploring the concept of identity, for the Multiculturalism Program specifically, is that the 'identity goal' is the most elusive of our policy goals at the same time that it may be one of the most important, especially in terms of connecting more Canadians to the ever-evolving ethos of multiculturalism in our country. In this article, I will discuss, briefly, the challenge that the Multiculturalism Program faces regarding the identity goal and in doing so I will provide some thoughts on the significance of intersections of *identity,* or intersections of *diversity,* as these approaches may be articulated somewhat interchangeably. One key message that I will try to communicate is that expanding our understanding and use of the identity goal should be seen as a tool for continuing the type of work that the Program is called upon to do; namely, helping to build partnerships and networks of Canadians around issues of social justice and participation in the context of multiculturalism.

A Shift in the Identity Goal

The question of identity, so often discussed in Canada, has a unique influence within the Multiculturalism Program and with respect to public perceptions of the Multiculturalism Policy. I should start by emphasizing that an important shift

has taken place in our approach to the idea of multiculturalism as it relates to diverse Canadian identities. In the 1970s and early 1980s, the identity goal was understood in terms of assisting groups to retain and foster their traditional cultural identities. Although this approach to identity remains part of our way of thinking about multiculturalism, it no longer dominates the meaning of multiculturalism. An early concern for the traditional folkloric and artistic elements of cultural diversity has given way to an approach that takes into consideration race relations, issues of discrimination, access to services and opportunities, civic and political participation, public awareness of diversity issues, institutional inclusion, media representation of ethno-cultural minorities, and so much more.

This shift is often characterized as a shift toward integration. The idea of multiculturalism is now associated with encouraging participation in the mainstream social, economic, and political life of the country at the same time that differences in race, ethnicity, and religion are increasingly valued and celebrated in this same, so-called, mainstream. However, what this shift represents, in terms of the long-term implications for citizenship, is frequently under-appreciated and in the 1990s the Multiculturalism Policy was received in a polarized way. Certain critics characterized official multiculturalism as a patronizing and divisive policy (early 1990s) while others interpreted it as a policy promoting unity at the expense of cultural difference (late 1990s).[1] Although constructive criticism is always welcome, circumscribing multiculturalism within narrow categories of policy intent should not be encouraged. We must move forward if we are going to enhance the scope and effectiveness of the Multiculturalism Policy. It is important, now and in the future, that we embrace an open-ended approach to multiculturalism, for the sake of infusing multicultural citizenship with a more robust and progressive meaning.

Indeed, the Program's identity goal should be seen as encouraging 'unity' on particular grounds only, grounds that encourage open dialogue as well as critical thought. The identity goal encourages unity, or attachment to Canada, only insofar as Canadians are able to build "a society that **recognizes, respects and reflects a diversity of cultures so that citizens of all backgrounds** feel a sense of belonging and attachment to Canada." According to this goal, the cause of multicultural integration is not unity *per se* but rather something much more interesting and plausible. The cause is one of linking different identities to a common dialogue on what recognition and respect for diversity requires in the Canadian context, so that people of all backgrounds feel that they are included and in a position to help bring about change. An articulation of this goal may be found in the words of two young Muslim Canadian women, interviewed for a *Toronto Star* feature marking the second anniversary of 9/11:

> One good outcome of Sept.11 was that Muslims started to relate more to their Canadian identity and started to speak openly about some of the violence committed in the name of Islam.
>
> What is multiculturalism? Is it simply about going to restaurants and holding cultural festivals once in a while? Tolerance is a big part of multiculturalism but it is not the end. What you need is direct contact between cultures.[2]

In the words of these Canadians, the identity goal that stems from multiculturalism ought to be about bringing people of different backgrounds together to advance a common framework, a shared terms of reference perhaps, for issues of respect, equality and diversity. The vision at work here is directed at expanding the meaning of multiculturalism, to transform the idea of multiculturalism into an open-ended process, a discourse that all Canadians can and should participate in. It is based on a new approach to identity that is self-critical yet evolving. It is based on a new approach to community that encourages 'direct contact.'

Social Capital, Policy-Relevant Research and the Purpose of "Intersections"

The term social capital, popularized in recent decades by Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman and Robert Putnam, has been defined in different ways. Hence, there is no single, commonly accepted, approach to the theory and measurement of the concept let alone one clear set of guidelines for generating greater degrees of what might be considered social capital, amongst members of a society. Nevertheless, the concept has garnered much attention within academic and government circles worldwide. At the federal government level here in Canada, the Policy Research Initiative (PRI) recently released a draft discussion paper on approaches to social capital as a public policy tool. In this paper, the following tentative definitions were provided, as a point of departure for government policy-research that might be thought to touch on social capital issues:

> *Social capital* refers to the networks of social relations that provide access to needed resources and supports.
>
> A *social capital framework* to support research and policy analysis uses the core network concept but is multi-dimensional. Depending on the particular research and policy application, social capital studies should encompass, for example, the investments that individuals and collectivities make in the establishment and maintenance of social networks, the various characteristics of the networks and of transactions, the norms and institutional frameworks in which such networks operate, the resources that can be potentially accessed through participation in the networks, and the returns to those investments in the form of economic, social and health outcomes for individuals, communities and societies.[3]

According to these definitions, the open-ended, partnership-based mandate that I introduced above appears to be a good fit for what social capital initiatives require, at least in a generalized context. Given this overlap, it is important that the Multiculturalism Program maximize the opportunities that this current interest provides, in terms of contributing to a collaborative policy-research agenda across government.

Recently, the Multiculturalism Program/Canadian Heritage partnered with Statistics Canada on the *Ethnic Diversity Survey.* The survey data was released in September 2003. The data from the *Ethnic Diversity Survey* will provide researchers with a great resource in terms of the questions that are tied to social capital. The survey provides researchers with a variety of questions on trust, the number of friends individuals have from other ethnic groups, as well as a series of questions that measure their sense of belonging to their family, ethnic group, city, and to Canada itself. For the first time, researchers will be able to compare the responses of different ethnic groups to these questions, given the large sample size. Moreover, the survey will allow researchers to study the relationship between social capital and other phenomena such as religion, discrimination, and life satisfaction.

However, it is important to understand that survey research does not always provide us with neatly packaged policy directions. In fact, the analysis of survey results can often lead to ambiguous or inconclusive findings, leaving policy-makers to implement initiatives that are not necessarily supported by crystal clear data. Consequently, policy must be informed by theory, analytic concepts, qualitative research, institutional experience, and input from community groups as much as it is informed by statistical data.

Researchers at Canadian Heritage recently completed a report entitled "Ethnicity and Social Capital in Canada", with analysis based on data drawn from the *2000 Equality Security Community* survey. The authors (Aizlewood and Pendakur) examine visible ethnic differences as well as the specific attitudes and behaviours of twenty-two distinct ethnocultural groups. In doing so they consider social capital issues such as the impact of community-level diversity on civic attitudes and behaviours, the impact of individual ethnic attributes on civic attitudes and behaviours, and which, if any, holds greater explanatory power in the Canadian context.[4] What they find in their analysis is that increased diversity levels are inconsistent with negative indicators of social capital. Instead, they suggest that city size and individual characteristics such as age, education, and income may be more influential factors in determining degrees of social capital, assuming that uniform methods of measuring the concept remain constant.

What this suggests, for the Multiculturalism Program, is that it may be counter-productive to work from the assumption that so-called 'bridging' (inclusive) forms of social capital are more important than 'bonding' (exclusive) forms of social capital, as far as influencing levels of trust, opportunity or membership across society are concerned.[5] Bonding within ethnocultural groups is likely to be just as important as bridging across ethnocultural identities, in terms of increasing social networks and access to needed resources. For Multiculturalism Program community initiatives, this means that project funding and program delivery should be planned around bonding and bridging activities alike. Project funding that targets bonding issues within newer immigrant communities such as the Somali, Pakistani, or Vietnamese communities is just as important as developing projects that target bridging identities such as women, parents, gays and lesbians, youth, and others that are shared across ethnic, racial, and religious lines. The point, in general, is that choosing to target either bonding or bridging identities, or both, should depend on the context of the particular participation or social justice issue that needs to be addressed.

Beyond this, what is obvious is that we need to learn more about other factors of identity like age, class, education, gender, sexual orientation, language, region/city, or disability and how these factors intersect and overlap with ethnicity, race and religion, the traditional concerns of multiculturalism, to influence discrimination, barriers to participation, or access to services in different policy contexts like justice, health, or information technology, to name a few. Keeping in mind that empirical research can only do so much, and that there are methodological limitations to conducting research based on multiple and/or overlapping statistical variables, what is required is a greater consideration of the concepts that we work with in the realm of policy formulation and program delivery. Moreover, there will be jurisdictional limitations to making use of a collaborative, 'intersections' approach to policy-research, whether it is pursued across governments or across government departments. The opportunities and limitations, however, need to be explored and defined more clearly through inter-departmental and inter-governmental discussion. For the Multiculturalism Program, this is all part of making better sense of the identity goal, as I have described it above, and part of fulfilling the Program's mandate to increase partnerships and social networks that bring Canadians together to discuss issues of social justice and participation in the ever-evolving context of multiculturalism.

The Multiculturalism Program Research Unit is supporting a special "Intersections of Diversity" policy-research monograph series to be published as a forthcoming edition of Canadian Ethnic Studies. *The special edition will feature new explorations of the intersections of diversity from conceptual and theoretical perspectives as well as within the specific policy areas of labour markets, capital markets, information and knowledge, culture, health, justice, and political processes.*

Notes

1 In 1994 author Neil Bissoondath released his *Selling Illusions: the Cult of Multiculturalism in Canada.* The book advanced the thesis that official multiculturalism is a divisive, or "ghettoizing", policy. Another critique of the Multiculturalism Program's policy framework came in the form of an academic article written by a spokesperson for the *Canadian Ethnocultural Council* who targeted the 1997 changes to the multiculturalism policy objectives as representing an extreme shift toward the goals of unity and assimilation over and against the goal of preserving cultural differences. See Bohdan S. Kordan, "Multiculturalism, Citizenship and the Canadian Nation: A Critique of the Proposed Design for Program Renewal," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 29, No. 2 (1997): 136-143.

2 These quotes are from interviews with Nabila Munawar and Hanadi Loubani respectively. See *Toronto Star,* Thursday, September 11, 2003: B3.

3 See "Social Capital: Building on a Network-Based Approach", Policy Research Initiative Draft Discussion Paper, October 2003: 2 (available on PRI website).

4 I have paraphrased the goals of the report from the introduction section of the report. See Amanda Aizlewood and Ravi Pendakur, "Ethnicity and Social Capital in Canada", Strategic Research and Analysis – Department of Canadian Heritage, June 27, 2003 (For PDF copies contact sradoc_docras@pch.gc.ca; Reference – SRA-657).

5 For an introductory explanation of bonding and bridging forms of social capital see Robert Putnam, *Bowling alone: the collapse and revival of American community.* Touchstone, New York, 2000: 18-23.

Intersecting Identities and Dissecting Social Capital in Canada

Jack Jedwab

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ABSTRACT

There is a gradual shift taking place in theoretical discourse, away from the concept of social cohesion towards that of social capital. In the following article, Jack Jedwab contends that there are important similarities between cohesionist and social capitalist paradigms. He examines the growing interest in multiple and intersecting identities that make it difficult to measure societal trust. He also suggests that when it comes to ethnic identification considerable caution needs to be exercised in making a distinction between 'bonding' and 'bridging' forms of social capital.

Canada's ongoing identity debate has been characterized by relatively frequent shifts in the dominant paradigms and discourse. Over the 1990's strengthening citizenship, improving social cohesion, and more recently, generating social capital have been amongst the objectives most frequently referred to in Canadian social policy circles. Many countries use the same terminology thus reflecting the globalization of an important segment of the academic and policy-making communities in the effort to define common conceptual frameworks. Doing this presumably facilitates cross-national comparison and enhances dialogue on relevant social policy questions.

Emphasis on the need for greater social cohesion in Canadian society has recently given way to the need to augment the country's degree of social capital. By consequence, think-tanks have gradually gotten off the social cohesion bandwagon and demonstrated a growing interest in social capital. One of Canada's most widely respected political philosopher's, Will Kymlicka (2003), recently endorsed the shift to social capital from social cohesion. In its maximal form he describes social cohesion as the achievement of a harmonious society in which people understand each other's identities and differences and there are no conflicts or misunderstandings related to ethnic diversity. He argues that this sort of harmony is not only unrealistic but inappropriate as a goal of public policy.

Calling social cohesion a catchall term for a wide range of unconnected phenomena, Kymlicka expresses greater optimism that social capital will prove a more fruitful addition to our conceptual toolkit than did social cohesion. Yet upon closer observation some of the very same problems that Kymlicka identifies with respect to social cohesion may equally apply to the notion of social capital. Indeed leading advocates of the social capital paradigm fear that it "…now appears poised to repeat the experience suffered by other promising social science concepts in the past: from intellectual insight appropriated by policy pundits, to journalistic cliché, to eventual oblivion" (Portes and Landolt,1996).

The significant areas of converge between the two concepts has facilitated the transition amongst some researchers from 'cohesionism' to 'social capitalism'. But studies on social cohesion and social capital have often made assumptions about identity and its manifestation that pay insufficient attention to the evolution in our understanding of diversity. Identities are neither fixed nor static and can change over time. Certain public policies that address Canadian identity needs are in the process of being rethought in order to accommodate multiple identities and the interaction between them that is referred to as intersections.

Several theoretical traditions within psychology and sociology have encouraged analysts to think in terms of singular and multiple expressions of identity. Those who favour the idea that there are a set of separate and distinct identities whose importance varies according to situation and context must consider how and when these identities relate to one another and where there are points of overlap among identities? 'Intersectionality' is a term introduced by legal theorists to refer to the specific conditions that exist when one holds two or more social statuses and the results that arise from that combination.

Analysts across North America concede that there is no universally accepted definition of ethnicity (Statistics Canada and United States Bureau of the Census, 1992). Nonetheless, there is consensus on the idea that ethnicity is a multidimensional concept that can encompass racial, ancestral, religious attachments and language knowledge and use. It is further contended that ethnic identification evolves through the life cycle, as identities tend to shift with age. Yancey et al. (1976) maintain that: "…rather than a constant ascribed trait that is inherited from the past, ethnicity is the result of a

process which continues to unfold. It is basically a manifestation of the way populations are organized in terms of interaction patterns, institutions, personal values, attitudes, life styles and presumed consciousness of kind." Yet researchers that refer to ethnic identification as detrimental to social capital rarely feel compelled to define ethnicity.

Following upon the work of Pierre Bourdieu and James Coleman the most widely quoted proponent of social capital is Robert Putnam (2000). He notes that: "…of all the dimensions along which forms of social capital vary perhaps the most important is the distinction between bridging (or inclusive) and bonding (or exclusive)." Putnam goes on to describe some forms of social capital as being either by choice or necessity inward looking, and thus tending to reinforce exclusive identities and homogeneous groups. Examples of such bonding forms of social capital are ethnic fraternal organizations, church-based women's reading groups and fashionable country clubs. On the other hand, bridging includes youth service groups and ecumenical religious organizations.

Putnam refers to bonding social capital as a kind of superglue whereas as bridging provides a sociological WD-40. By creating in-group loyalty, bonding may create strong out-group antagonism. It all sounds strikingly similar to the arguments advanced by those concerned with social cohesion. To be fair Putnam adds that bridging and bonding is not always an 'either-or' category into which social networks can be neatly divided. Rather they are 'more or less' networks along which different forms of social capital can be compared. This leads to one of the principal arguments made by Putnam concerning the importance of trust within society that is generated by organizations in the business of bridge-building. Indeed the issue of societal trust has emerged as a central tenet of the social capital paradigm. Fukuyama explains that if increasing attention is being given to the notion of social capital by such international bodies as the OECD and the IMF it is due to the importance of trust relationships, values and networks to sustainable economic development, social cohesion and individual well-being (April, 2000).

Unlike ethnic identification, Putnam contends that as a central fount of American community life religiously-based organizations serve civic purposes by providing social supports and services to the wider community and indirectly nurturing civic skills inculcating moral values and encouraging altruism. He fears however that the community-building efforts of new denominations have been directed inward rather than outward and this has presumably diminished America's stock of social capital. Putnam maintains that Americans are going to church less often than they did thirty or forty years ago and the churches that they attend are less involved with the wider community.

Any validation of these ideas in empirical terms depends on demonstrating the causal relationship between markers of identity (i.e. ethnicity) and how they are manifested in society, or in this case how the expression of such identities influences an often loosely defined notion of societal trust. In the case of ethnocultural attachments and social capital, ideally those segments of the population for whom such identification is especially relevant would be examined with a view to determining how their institutional behaviour affects trust between members of society.

The growing interest in intersectionality is in part connected to changes in the way that the expression of identity is understood. The shift is due in large measure to the growing diversity in the composition of the population and the increased mixing of persons of various and varied origins.

The growing interest in intersectionality is in part connected to changes in the way that the expression of identity is understood. The shift is due in large measure to the growing diversity in the composition of the population and the increased mixing of persons of various and varied origins. The rise in the multiple attachments of the population represents an important challenge to researchers both in Canada and abroad. It is a phenomenon that is a good deal more complex to measure than are singular attachments. Individuals may be more inclined to break-off from the group and re-identify themselves. In the case of immigrants such shifts are frequently associated with the process of adaptation. This phenomenon is very relevant to the bridging and bonding paradigm referred to by social capital theorists. It is the culmination of an individual's attachments to such things as gender, language, ethnicity and region that can have a bearing on attitude and behaviour and in whom and how they trust others. Trust of those with which an individual may identify does not imply distrust of others.

In her essay 'Equality, Trust and Multiculturalism' Avigail Eisenberg (2002) suggests that some skepticism may be in order around claims that public institutions are ethnically neutral and accommodate all individuals equally regardless of their ethnic or religious identities. The notion that public organizations and civic institutions are not ethnically neutral and accommodate those who belong to mainstream groups more easily is a central problem which advocates of multiculturalism in Canada continually address. Eisenberg quite rightly argues that critics of multiculturalism insufficiently consider this in conducting social capital research, particularly as it concerns the important distinction between bridging and bonding.

In research based on the World Values Survey, Johnson and Soroka (2002) suggest that while ethnic differences in social capital do exist, paradoxically those provinces with high ethnic diversity do not demonstrate lower scores on civic measures but rather exhibit high scores on social

capital measures. They concur that existing differences may be mitigated by controlling for the age and education level of respondents. While the findings may require more specific data on ethnicity at the community level they nonetheless raise questions about the relationship between ethnic identification and social capital. Yet another study by Aizelwood and Pendakur (2003) suggests that "…individual ethnocultural characteristics do not appreciably affect scores on social capital measures but that broad designations of ethnicity such as visible minority and immigrant do so however weekly." The authors suggest that large community size may be a more consistent predictor of lower interpersonal trust.

All things considered ethnicity may be no less an impediment to bridging than other expressions of identity and therefore the key variable in any such observation may depend more on the salience of one's group identification and the type of behaviour it generates.

According to 'social capitalists' the phenomenon of bridging is essential to the promotion of trust that is in turn deemed fundamental to sustaining a strong democracy. Hence if ethnic ties are associated with bonding, then significant attachment to an ethnic group will presumably undercut trust. But testing this relationship does not seem to validate the notion that ethnic attachments imply mistrust of others. Nor, as proclaimed by detractors of multiculturalism, does a strong sense of belonging to one's ethnic group result in diminished attachment to national identity. Findings from Statistics Canada's Ethnic Diversity Survey (2003) provide little support for social capital theorists in this regard as they make quite clear that strong ethnic attachments neither undercut strong Canadian identification nor reduce trust of others.

As revealed below, those persons of ethnic origins other than Canadian, British or French have rates of belonging to Canada that are as strong as those who are more rooted in the country. All groups demonstrate a higher sense of attachment to Canada than to their particular ethnic groups Moreover there does not appear to be a contradiction between ethnic and national attachments judging by the importance attributed to one's ethnic group amongst more recently arrived communities.

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Strong Sense of Belonging to Canada, Strong Sense of Belonging to Ethnic or Cultural Group and proportion that Believe "most people can be trusted"

	Strong Sense of Belonging to Canada	Strong Sense of Belonging to Ethnic or Cultural Group	Proportion that Believe "most people can be trusted"
Filipino	85	78	—
Portuguese	85	65	55
East Indian	81	65	47
Chinese	72	58	54
Italian	78	56	41
French	70	53	45
English	87	44	60
Irish	85	41	57
Polish	84	39	55
Scottish	88	38	60
Dutch	86	36	58
Russian	82	35	60
Ukrainian	84	33	56
German	83	33	58
French-Canadian	73	60	42
Quebecois(e)	51	59	30
Canadian	80	58	45

Source: Ethnic Diversity Survey was developed by Statistics Canada, in partnership with the Department of Canadian Heritage, April to August 2002

(The Ethnic Diversity Survey was developed by Statistics Canada, in partnership with the Department of Canadian Heritage, to provide information on the ethnic and cultural backgrounds of people in Canada and how these backgrounds relate to their lives today. The survey covered topics such as ethnic or cultural ancestry and identity, family background, religion, language use, social networks, interaction with others and civic participation. The survey was conducted from April to August 2002. About 42,500 people aged 15 and over were interviewed by telephone in the 10 provinces).

In Memoriam | En mémoire de

Claude Ryan

1925 - 2004

www.canadianheritage.ca ID #21070, National Archives of Canada PA - 141501

From Multiculturalism to the Intersections of Diversity:

What can we learn from health care?

Elizabeth Stanger

Elizabeth Stanger has been involved in diversity research, policy and knowledge translation since 1989, and is the Corporate Practice Leader for Diversity at the BC Provincial Health Services Authority. She is a founding member of the National Network for Cultural Competency in Health Care, which successfully advocated for the inclusion of diversity standards for health services accreditation in Canada. She is currently a Co-investigator with the national Migration and Reproductive Health Research program funded in part by CIHR.

ABSTRACT

Elizabeth Stranger provides a concise review of ten years of health care service policy at the Children's and Women's Health Centre of British Columbia. The C & W's transition from one policy phase to the next, through various definitions of diversity, ends with the recognition of intersections as currently being the most useful approach. These evolving definitions reflect changes in attitude that serve to better meet the needs of Canadians using the health care system.

This article discusses the experiences of Children's and Women's Health Centre of British Columbia (C&W) in developing programs and services to ensure health service equity to the diverse populations it serves throughout BC. We have gone through three phases: a multiculturalism phase, a diversity and equity phase, and presently, an intersection of diversity phase.

C&W is an agency of the Provincial Health Services Authority. It is made up of British Columbia's Children's Hospital, British Columbia's Women's Hospital and Health Centre, and Sunny Hill Health Centre for Children. As a teaching hospital and major provincial resource, C&W has three main roles: patient care, education, and research. C&W's services include:

- caring for B.C.'s most acutely ill or injured children
- providing developmental and rehabilitation services to children throughout B.C.
- offering the full range of health services required by child- bearing women and their babies
- conducting research to advance health and care, supported by the B.C. Research Institute for Children's & Women's Health, which is operated in partnership with the University of British Columbia

Three Dimensions of Health Service Equity

Since 1994, C&W has aimed to achieve three dimensions of health care service equity for the patients and clients we serve.

- **Equity in Access** – that all people the agency is mandated to service have equal opportunity to access available services.
- **Equity in Service Quality** – that services are provided in such a way that all people the agency is mandated to serve receive the same quality of care.
- **Equity in Service Relevancy** – that the services available in a given locale meet the relevant health and health care needs of all people the agency is mandated to serve.

It is much easier, however, to formulate health service goals than it is to achieve them. Of particular interest is the way our original conception of diversity as multiculturalism has shifted over the years to the "intersections of diversity," and how, in so doing, how we have changed our approach.

Multiculturalism

Our original approach was established when we came into existence in 1996. Our first program name was Cross-Cultural Care. The interest in cultural diversity at C&W arose out of two interrelated, and now well-documented facts. First, while immigrants' health status is on average higher than the Canadian born when they arrive in Canada, it declines with length of residence. Secondly, immigrant and ethnocultural minority Canadians have a more restricted access to health service and are likely to receive lower quality health care than their Canadian born counterparts. Moreover, they are less likely to have services available to meet their specific health needs.

Our policy framework in this first phase was 'multiculturalism'. We identified our target groups as immigrants and ethnocultural minority groups. Our model of service delivery was support to individual patients and their families, and we

developed special support services for them. Our products were language and culture-specific volunteer visitors, cultural brokers, the development of cultural profiles, the provision of interpretation services and the translation of health education material into languages such as Chinese, Punjabi, Spanish and Vietnamese. In addition, several ethnospecific services such as the Asian Women's Health Clinic and the Somali Women's Health Project were initiated.

Diversity and Equity

In 1999, we made a formal shift away from multiculturalism to 'diversity and equity'. Our approach was based on the principles that had evolved in Canadian human rights jurisprudence since the coming into effect of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982. We moved away from developing and delivering special services, and our motto became "integrate diversity into all aspects of the organization." Our target groups became all the protected categories of the BC Human Rights Code (1996).

We developed and passed an organizational diversity policy based on the Four R's of Diversity – to recognize, respect, reflect and respond to diversity at all levels of the organization. We developed and passed a human rights and harassment policy. We developed the only employment equity program in public healthcare in BC, with five, rather than the traditional four, designated groups (adding lesbian/gay/bisexual/transgendered). We participated in the development of a regional planning framework for diversity, and the creation of a health services diversity lens.

Intersections of Diversity

The election of a new provincial government in May of 2001 with a mandate for health care reform led us to operationalize an 'intersections of diversity approach', and this remains the approach we work with to this day. At the heart of the intersections of diversity approach is the recognition that diverse communities share common concerns. It is these concerns that we must address. Here is a brief look at three examples.

Example one: Immigrants who are new learners of English, ASL-speakers, and people with low literacy, or developmental or learning disabilities represent diverse communities in many other respects. They all share a common concern, however, with regards to ensuring they have effective communication with their care providers. In the past, we might have developed special services, programs or training for each group. Today, it is more efficient and effective to create a strategy for effective communication that develops multiple resources within an integrated program: ASL and linguistic interpretation are contacted through one central number, training is provided on working with interpreters, and both linguistic and ASL interpreters are present. Staff receive in-services on 'working with support persons' as part of the health care team, and the support persons can provide a range of possible supports.

Example two: We discovered that very few staff found cultural profiles useful. After some discussion, we learned that staff need information that is more specifically related to their clinical needs. A key issue for many clinicians is assisting patients with food choices. We are developing a workshop on foods for women in the perinatal period, including a question-guide to assist providers to elicit information from patients about the foods they would prefer to eat.

Example three: Admitting information usually asks for the mother's and father's information. Not all families, however, have a mother and a father. In aboriginal families, a tradition of 'adoption' whereby children live with another female relative (aunt, grandmother) is common. In gay and lesbian families, both parents are of the same sex. Changing forms so that they use neutral language such as parent and/or guardian allows for a more inclusive approach to admitting children to the hospital or emergency ward.

These three examples show how useful an intersections approach can be. As we strive to recognize diversity and achieve service equity, we are continually challenged to be creative. It is part of the larger, on-going challenge to ensure that health systems meet people's needs and not the other way around.

The Promise and the Paradox:

Diversity and Legalism in Canada's Justice System

Bernard Schissel

Bernard Schissel is Professor of Sociology at the University of Saskatchewan. He has researched and published extensively on such topics as Youth Crime and Justice, Sociology of Children, Sociology of Law, Social Control and Crime, and Justice and Rural Sustainability. His most recent book is entitled The Legacy Of School For Aboriginal People: Education, Oppression, And Emancipation.

ABSTRACT

Canada's legal system is premised on a standard of justice based on universal equality. However, it has little scope for incorporating the diversity of cultural and social experience that characterizes offenders. In many ways, Canada's judicial system, with its rather unbending juridical orientation, stands in opposition to the diversity of Canadian society.

The rule of law encompasses two broad claims: that everyone is subject to the law and that the law treats everyone the same. The standard of justice in Canada is premised on the principle of legality, that the law is an impartial and objective system for resolving social conflict amongst people or groups who are, by definition, equal in the eyes of the law. The traditional dispute mechanism for resolving conflict is the adversarial system in which two parties represent their versions of an event to the courts and judges must determine the "facts" of the case in order to pronounce the "truth." The legal mechanism for judging truth is the principle of *stare decisis;* judges are bound to follow precedent, making judgments on the basis of previous cases. One of the contradictions of the system of precedent, however, is that societies like Canada are in a constant state of demographic and social flux and the system of precedent cannot account for social change.

Legal scholars have criticized the premise of legality as an inherently conservative doctrine developed in another time.[1] The fundamental problem is that in a diverse socio-economic world, the law is, in practice, unable to treat everyone equally. As Anatole France stated at an earlier time: "The law in all its majestic impartiality forbids both rich and poor alike to sleep under bridges, to beg in the streets and steal bread."[2] Although this aphorism sounds "tongue in cheek," the message is profound and important. The legal system is expensive to access, the arbitrators of law are drawn from the ranks of the powerful (mostly male, mostly white, and exclusively well-educated), and the discourse of law assumes an intimate knowledge of the language. Further, the legal process (especially in criminal cases) starts at the policing level, and the impartiality of the law assumes that the police will be objective upon detection and arrest. In the end, the two fundamental questions remain: a) in a liberal democratic society, do the rights of the individual encoded in law and in the charter supersede, without question, the rights of collectivities based on community, ethnicity, culture, geographic area, among others? and, (b) in a society that prides itself on diversity, is a juridical, individualized rights-based justice system anathema to such diversity?

To answer these questions we need to interrogate the nature of Canadian society with a view to understanding if and when occasions occur when the rights of the collective are as important as (and whether they coincide with) the rights of the individual. And, although it is difficult to identify concrete collectivities, the conventional wisdom is that communities that face legal disadvantage are marked by intersections of race/ethnicity, geographic area, gender, sexuality, and age. Importantly, we need to understand that the markers of diversity often intersect to produce disadvantage both when law is formed and when it is applied.[3] The race and class skew that is so evident in Canada's prison testifies to how diversity intersects to produce disadvantage. In the province of Saskatchewan, for example, the majority of prisoners in jails are of Aboriginal ancestry. They mostly come from the ranks of the poor and their engagement with the justice system starts at a very young age. One could make a human rights argument that the racial and class-based nature of prisons in Canada is a fundamental violation of the collective rights of identifiable socio-economic and cultural communities.

The legal places in which diverse populations come into contact with rigid justice occur at several levels: policing; access to alternative measures; access to adequate and dedicated counsel; decisions in courts; and, imprisonment. The problems that individuals encounter in the justice system are exacerbated when elements of diversity intersect; biases or insensitivities at all levels of justice are directed primarily against disadvantaged people who are characterized by combinations of race, class, gender and age, and geography.

The Police

A rather substantial body of work questions both the fairness and objectivity of police decisions to arrest. The thrust of this work is that the police, either deliberately or inadvertently, engage in racial, age, gender and community profiling as they make on-the-scene decisions firstly to stop a suspect and then to arrest. Both empirical and anecdotal evidence to date suggests that profiling does occur, especially with respect to race/ethnicity, age, and place.[4] The police respond by arguing that they are engaged in policing on the basis of best evidence, both empirical and intuitive: if they stop and detain proportionately more young men from minority communities, they do so because such young men are proportionately more engaged in criminal activity. The validity of this claim notwithstanding, the police are faced with a dilemma. In a society in which certain communities are more prone to street crime and in which the citizenry demand protection, the police do confront some social categories of offenders more so than others. The problem, however, rests in part with culturally insensitive policing and in part with a rigid, often inappropriate mandate for policing. The police are, for the most part, crime control officers and their quasi-military training dictates that their primary duties are the maintenance of law, order and public safety. The notion that police officers should be, in part, front line social workers (peace officers) is highly disregarded by rank and file officers. And, here is the dilemma in policing a diverse society: it is relatively easy for the police to make forensic decisions without accounting for the context in which behaviour occurs. To keep the peace, on the other hand, officers would need to have the mandate to manage conflict in an informal way without first recourse to arrest. Managing conflict involves being a member of the community, being visible on a daily basis, and being ready and able to manage conflict that arises from intersections of race, class, gender, sexuality, place and age.

Managing conflict involves being a member of the community, being visible on a daily basis, and being ready and able to manage conflict that arises from intersections of race, class, gender, sexuality, place and age.

One of the solutions offered for diversity-sensitive policing is to make certain that the police force represents the gender, race and class diversity of the community. Although there certainly is a defensible argument regarding equity in police recruitment, the solution to discriminatory policing must go well beyond equity policies and into the realm of community policing. Community policing, by definition, involves changing the nature of policing so that the role of the police officer who walks into inner-city schools everyday to become a part of the community is as important as arresting the drug user who stands on the corner. As police officers manage the peace of a community, they learn as much as they teach, and in fact, diversity between the police and the community is not such a bad thing. That the police officer and the community are not phenotypically similar may result in mutual learning and accommodation. And, of course, this ideal context is based on good will at the community and the policing level. Both players must decide that the good of the community, with respect to long term peace and order, is as important as the legislated mandate to control crime. If that agreement involves using healing instead of imprisonment for an incorrigible offender, then that is as it should be.

The Courts and Access to "Justice"

If we assume that the system of legality that we use and defend is the best system possible, then we must make certain that in the day-to-day workings of the courts, those who live on the socio-economic, cultural, or linguistic margins of the society are not at a disadvantage. In fact, in a responsible society, arguably the disadvantaged should have the greatest advantage in court. There is, however, a corpus of very fine work that shows the courts' inability to deal with diversity. Rupert Ross's work on the operations of the courts illustrates that when cultures collide in court, justice is not served well at all.[5] He shows that when Aboriginal offenders, especially from isolated communities, come into court, they have different cultural and linguistic mannerisms that are often misinterpreted by the courts as indifference or disdain. Further, the law court is based on a hierarchical system of deference, and when the accused violates the norms of authority and deference, s/he is at a substantial legal disadvantage. As well, the language of the courtroom is a closed linguistic system that is rarely challenged. Therefore, most offenders must rely on lawyers as language intermediaries. The presumption is that lawyers are predisposed to help translate the language of the law into a vernacular that can be understood by the recent immigrant to Canada, by a Cree-speaking First Nations person from Northern Canada, or by a young offender who has minimal education and who has not yet developed adult verbal skills. The tragedy in all of this is that courts are overbooked, that legal aide and other court-appointed counsel are overworked, and that most courts are ill-equipped to conduct the legal process in a multi-lingual context. Given the bureaucratic demands on the courts, diversity-sensitive justice is almost impossible.

Ironically, one of the reasons that alternative forms of justice arise is not because they are any more objective or judicious than the courtroom, but because, paradoxically, they remove the court from its rigid legalistic moorings. As alternative methods (including alternative dispute resolutions, healing circles, etc) find their way into legal work, they bring community members in as part of the legal process. Also, the procedures are less formal than typical court procedures and they allow more room for dialogue (in community-based language), collective input, evidence in a cultural/diversity context, and accommodation. It is not even so much that alternative measures are more

lenient—in many cases the judgments are more harsh than those in regular court—but justice occurs in a context in which the courts are demythologized and in which the diversity of the community and the socio-economic and cultural background of the offender are crucial considerations.

Prison, Rehabilitation and Healing

With the advent of alternative measures, Canada's justice system is undergoing a gradual but fundamental change in its working philosophy. The change from a system that sees incarceration as the answer to the problem of crime, to a system that views prison as a last resort has occurred as a result of a general awareness amongst policy officials that to incarcerate more and more offenders is not only morally questionable, but also antagonistic to rehabilitation. What has resulted is a new justice philosophy broadly based on principles of healing. The healing concept is drawn from traditional Aboriginal cultures in North America that see people who break the rules of society in need of care rather than punishment, in need of inclusion into the community rather than exclusion.

When we observe the tremendous social skew in prison populations—with respect primarily to race, class and age—it is clear that prison as an agent of healing or justice at any level is inappropriate. Without question, the majority of people in prison are those who live on the margins of society. Given that prisons do a poor job of helping offenders but, in fact, become places of apprenticeship for crime, it is clear that the system of incarceration encourages social disadvantage.[6] For example, those who are incarcerated in youth justice facilities at a young age are highly disposed to go on to become adult offenders. What this means for social justice in a diverse society is that if a recent immigrant to Canada or an Aboriginal person from an isolated rural community faces the prospect of spending time in jail, their prospects for the future in Canada as happy and productive citizens are limited. This is precisely why the Youth Criminal Justice Act contains provisions for alternatives to incarceration for young offenders, and also why sentencing circles and healing lodges dot the current landscape of justice. The principle of a sentencing circle is that the community takes an active part in determining what happens to an offender and that the sentence reflects the long-term welfare of both the offender and the community.

The healing lodge, exemplified by the Pe'Sakastew Centre in Hobbema, Alberta, is based on the belief that, for a convicted offender, physical and emotional safety and security are fundamental to healing, and encompassed in the gestalt of healing is the attachment to culture and spirituality. In the Pe'Sakastew Centre, offenders come from maximum-security prisons and enter the lodge as members of an ethno-spiritual community. Their success and their healing is a result not only of the provision of a livable world but also a world in which they are connected to their race and culture. Connie Braun[7] has shown us the wonderful results that accrue from post-conviction programs that account for the cultural, linguistic and spiritual backgrounds of the offenders. In her research, Braun shows how quickly inmates, even the most hardened offenders, heal when their time in prison is circumscribed by their culture, how recidivism decreases and, more importantly, how their emotional and physical lives improve.

To extrapolate the principles of healing used in Aboriginal healing lodges to a diverse society is simple and important. It is reasonable to assume that if an immigrant Canadian runs afoul of the law, the moral and instrumental response by the state should be to incorporate the offender's ethno-cultural community into decisions about sentencing as healing. Although such extra-legal considerations contradict the principles of legality that are embedded in our justice system, they do, in the end, provide the context in which real justice can occur in a diverse, complex world.

Justice Policy and Diversity

The implications for incorporating diversity into the judicial world are profound. If linguistic or cultural barriers impede access to the legal system for new Canadians who are struggling in competitive economic world or for First Nations Canadians who are distinct by their culture, religion, and language and who live on the economic margins of the society, then the law must be amenable to alternatives to the judicial model for people from diverse and intersecting backgrounds. Quite clearly, it is not sufficient to address policies that look at social-economic and cultural identities in isolation.

Canada prides itself on a history of multiculturalism and has encouraged and developed diversity. But, the systems of policing, justice and punishment have been anything but multicultural, ignoring the need to incorporate diversity into justice. The substantive inequality that exists in the justice system is anathema to diversity, and exacerbates rather, social and cultural inequality. When intersecting identities are ignored in judicial decisions, the individual suffers along with the society In a healthy, diverse society, a monolithic, unyielding legal system should not be the only basis upon which a unique individual is judged.

Notes

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Markers of Identity in Capital Markets:

Ethnic Businesses and Female Entrepreneurs

Sylvie Paré

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ABSTRACT

More women are becoming entrepreneurs in Canada than ever before, but do all small and medium-sized business owners face the same obstacles? Sylvie Paré shares a revealing bit of research concerning the treatment of new entrepreneurs, particularly where gender and immigrant status intersect. She describes the nature of businesses owned by non native-born Canadians, and offers some suggestions on how best to help women of all origins achieve their goals.

This article on the intersections of diversity focuses on the Canadian labour market, notably with respect to the creation and development of new business enterprises. In this paper, we shall look at the challenges faced by entrepreneurs, giving special attention to the intersection of gender and immigrant status. We focus particularly on the strategies and means used by immigrant entrepreneurs to finance their Canadian businesses, and more specifically, the difficulties encountered by women entrepreneurs.

In the first part of the paper we shall discuss the general problem of financing the creation and growth of new ethnic businesses, particularly for women. Later, we will present data from two studies, the first a study of Montreal businesses carried out by Juteau and Paré (1996), the second an Entrepreneurship Research Alliance study of Chinese, Italian and Sikh entrepreneurs in Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver[1] (Filion, Menzies, Ramangalahy et Brenner, 2002). In both cases, the studies focus on people belonging to specific ethnic groups; data were not compiled for people belonging to majority groups which we may broadly classify as English- or French-Canadian.

Theoretically, we propose that people having attributes which may be stigmatized in the larger society should have more difficulty in obtaining financing for their business ventures. Such negative attributes include gender, i.e., being a woman (Agnew, 2003), starting a business in a neighborhood which is not particularly well viewed, being an immigrant[2] or belonging to a stigmatized ethnic group (Juteau and Paré, 1996, 1997). Similarly, those who have multiple negative attributes, e.g. women not born in Canada, should have greater difficulty in obtaining recognition of their actual financial capacity, affecting both the creation and the survival of their businesses.

Differing Propensities to Create New Businesses

Recent research has demonstrated that two groups of people are more likely than others to create new businesses: recently arrived immigrants (Juteau, Daviau and Moallem, 1993; Helly and Ledoyen, 1994; Filion et al., op. cit.) and women. Since small and medium sized businesses account for significant employment growth, factors which inhibit either of these groups in general or the intersection group of immigrant women in particular, from creating such enterprises has a distinctively negative effect on job creation and prosperity in Canada.

At the present time, 30% of business entrepreneurs in Canada are women, whether they are members of ethnic minority groups or of the larger English or French Canadian majorities. However, the number of businesses headed by women has been growing faster than those created by men. For example, between 1991 and 1994, the number of enterprises created and directed by women in Quebec grew by 23.7% while businesses created by their male counterparts only grew by approximately three percent, notably in the category of self-employed persons. A similar trend was noted throughout the decade of the 1990's for Canada as a whole by the *Groupe de travail sur l'entrepreneuriat féminin* (1997), most notably in the area of services, sales and administration. Women having the highest educational levels were particularly likely to create businesses in areas of the new economy.

Table 1 – Percentage of Entrepreneurs Reporting Selected Start-Up Problems, Men and Women in the Chinese, Italian and Sikh Ethnic Groups in Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver.

Problem Area	Male entrepreneurs		Female entrepreneurs	
	%	(n)	%	(n)
Finance	54.4	(172)	50.0	(52)
Marketing	45.3	(143)	47.1	(49)
Human Resources	26.6	(84)	26.0	(26)
Production	20.9	(66)	20.2	(21)
Strategy and Planning	18.0	(57)	17.1	(24)
Administration	15.8	(50)	23.1	(24)
Networking	9.8	(31)	9.6	(10)
Institutional Environment	19.0	(60)	24.0	(25)
Social Environment	14.6	(46)	16.3	(17)
Economic Environment	7.6	(24)	8.7	(9)
Ensemble (n)		316		104

Source: Ethnic Entrepreneurs in Canada, Maclean Hunter Chair, Hautes études commerciales, Montréal.

While the growth of businesses headed by women would suggest relative equality in terms of access to capital, the data show that women confronted greater difficulties during the start-up period of their businesses (Ministère de l'Industrie et du Commerce, 2000), a critical period in the development cycle of small and medium sized businesses. The problem has been viewed as sufficiently important that in 1999 the Quebec government created the *Groupe-conseil sur l'entrepreneuriat féminin* in order to promote entrepreneurship among women, notably by improving opportunities for start-up financing and by improving the integration of women into networks having influence on business opportunities and business development.

The *Groupe de travail sur l'entrepreneuriat féminin* observed that women had particular difficulties when they turned to banks and other financial institutions for financing. Their refusal rates was 23% as opposed to only 14% for men In fact, approximately 30% of female entrepreneurs stated that they were dissatisfied with the services they received because they obtained less money than required (15%), stricter conditions were imposed than they thought necessary (25%) or they were required to obtain a co-signature from their husbands (14%) (Lafortune and St-Cyr, 2000).

Sampling Bias: Results from the ERA Study

One of the greatest dangers in studying ethnic entrepreneurs is the introduction of systematic bias into the sample selected for observation. Ethnic entrepreneurs are, after all, those who have succeeded in starting their business, not those who have failed to do so. And if women have greater difficulty in starting businesses, many potential entrepreneurs will not be found among the sample of successful entrepreneurs. Consequently, when studying successful entrepreneurs, results from the ERA study show few differences between male and female entrepreneurs. Table 1 presents data indicating any and all of the functional areas in which entrepreneurs encountered problems during start-up.

As revealed in Table 1, both men and women indicated having approximately the same type of problems at start-up. None of the differences between the two groups attain statistical significance at the level of 95% ($p < .05$). As we shall see later, this does not mean that all the difficulties were of similar intensity, but it does signify that once the business was successfully launched, the problems encountered by entrepreneurs of both sexes were similar in nature.

Intersection of gender and immigrant status

Obviously, people born in Canada have access to a wide variety of information with respect to business opportunities, including financing, which immigrants may not. Similarly, women may have greater access or greater expertise in certain areas than men. Consequently, the intersection of gender and immigrant status permits us to assess the joint importance of these variables for the creation of ethnic businesses (Table 2).

The findings show that women entrepreneurs in the Juteau-Paré study created businesses in different sectors of

Table 2 – Type of Business by Place of Birth, Women Entrepreneurs in Minority Ethnic Groups, Montreal, 1993-1994

	Women		Men	
Type of Business	Native-Born	Immigrants	Native-Born	Immigrants
	%	%	%	%
Manufacturing	9	10	16	14
Construction, Transportation and Communication	—	5	14	11
Wholesale	—	7	14	9
Retail	—	26	16	29
Services	91	52	40	37
Ensemble	100	100	100	100
(n)	(11)	(42)	(73)	(195)

Source: L'enquête Juteau-Paré sur l'entrepreneurship ethnique à Montréal, 1993-94. * $p \leq 0.05$

Table 3 – Characteristics of Businesses Owned by Members of the Chinese, Italian and Sikh Ethnic Groups, by Sex, Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver

		Gender of Entrepreneurs	
Variables	**Average**	**Men**	**Women**
INITIAL INVESTMENT			
Total (000's)	157.47	1182.77	82.20 *
Personal Investment (%)	77.29	74.30	86.57 *
NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES			*
Full Time	6.50	7.79	2.64
Part Time	2.67	2.98	1.76
WITHIN-GROUP SALES (%)	51.44	47.85	62.60 *
PURCHASING (%)			
Within-Group	14.81	13.30	19.84 *
Country of Origin	1.63	1.38	2.48

Source: Ethnic Entrepreneurs in Canada, Maclean Hunter Chair, Hautes études commerciales, Montréal. * $p \leq 0.05$

the economy than did their male counterparts[3]. Nearly all of the native-born women created service-based businesses as opposed to only 52% of the immigrant women. Nonetheless, these figures are substantially higher than those of men in general. Immigrant male entrepreneurs were much more likely than their native-born counterparts to work in retail trade while the latter was much more present in wholesaling. It would appear from this table that the concentration of women in the services sector would suggest that their businesses generally did not require the injection of large amounts of capital.

Data from the ERA research program corroborates this finding. Table 3 reveals that the initial capital investment made by male entrepreneurs was twice as high as that of women; proportionately speaking, women contributed a higher proportion of the initial outlay; they had fewer total employees (4.4 *vs.* 10.8 for men) and fewer full-time employees (2.6 *vs.* 7.8); women were also more likely to buy and sell products and services from within their ethnic group than were men. All of these differences are statistically significant at the .05 level of probability, signifying that women entrepreneurs of Chinese, Italian and Sikh origin create smaller businesses with less capitalization than their male counterparts and rely more heavily on their internal ethnic markets.

Business Knowledge & Expertise

A number of researchers have sought out the motives which lead people to create business adventures and have shown that both personal and cultural factors are involved, in particular certain qualities necessary for the creation of enterprises (Julien and Marchesnay, 1996; Toulouse and Brenner, 1992; Filion,1997). Julien and Marchesnay identify the traits of "actors of entrepreneurship" as: personal autonomy, a high degree of self-confidence, a strong sense of perseverance, the capacity to recognize an opportunity, a high degree of ingeniousness, the capacity to be *avant-gardiste,* having organizational talents, a willingness to assume risks and a capacity to deal well with uncertainness. Many of these factors can be subsumed under the notion of "personal determination"; (Paré, 2002), i.e., the desire to be in business rather than to work for someone else.

Table 4 shows that few entrepreneurs, either men or women, attributed the creation of their ethnic businesses simply to the desire to be independent. Rather, the majority of both groups with the single exception of immigrant women attributed the creation of their business to the expertise they obtained working in a similar business. More than a quarter of all ethnic business leaders said they were encouraged by parents and/or friends and a similar number had taken courses either to prepare themselves for the effort or to help resolve problems arising from the business activity. Immigrant women entrepreneurs were the most likely to say that they had no prior knowledge or experience of the area in which they created their businesses. For the most part, such persons began their business activity under rather particular circumstances, for example in response to funding offered to young entrepreneurs.

Table 4 – Type of Business by Place of Birth, Women Entrepreneurs in Minority Ethnic Groups, Montreal, 1993-1994

	Born in Canada		Immigrants	
Source of Knowledge/Motivation	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**	**Men**
	%	**%**	**%**	**%**
Always Wanted Own Business	—	14	10	14
Experience in this Type of Business	64	53	24	61
Took Business Courses	46	32	26	28
Administrative Experience	9	8	12	20
Advice from Parents & Friends	27	25	29	27
No Prior Knowledge	9	21	26	20
Ensemble (n)	(11)	(42)	(73)	(195)

Source: L'enquête Juteau-Paré sur l'entrepreneurship ethnique, Montréal, 1993-94.

While the sample sizes are too small to permit the differences observed to attain statistical significance, the data do suggest that among entrepreneurs in minority ethnic groups, the intersection of place of birth and gender does have some potentially interesting impact on the desire to create businesses and on the sources of support and expertise on which they draw to make the start-up successful.

Conclusion

As we have observed in the first section of this paper, prevailing research concludes that entrepreneurial women are significantly disadvantaged in the start-up phase of their businesses. It is likely that this phenomenon is still more true for certain immigrant and/or ethnic groups that may suffer from discrimination based upon skin colour, religious beliefs, etc., e.g. among the Sikh and Chinese entrepreneurs included in our study. If women in these groups are doubly handicapped by both their gender and ethnic origin, it could be very hard indeed to secure start-up capital. This is an area where the intersection of immigrant/ethnic status and gender can profitably guide future research, particularly since both immigrants and women are creating proportionately more businesses than do men and native-born persons.

Nonetheless, within the framework of our study, women in the minority groups we studied were no more likely than men to say that they had difficulties financing the start-up phase of their businesses. We should remember, however, that we are discussing the reports of only those people who had successfully started a business, excluding all those men and, notably, women who were unable to bring their project to fruition given a lack of adequate financing.

This being said, women entrepreneurs had significantly more modest business enterprises than did their male counterparts. They required less start-up money, used more of their own capital, had fewer employees and depended more on their own ethnic community for the success of their business. This is particularly important because the failure rate for businesses having less than five employees during their first five years of operation is 68%; it is 48% for those having between 5 and 99 employees (Monk, 2000; Watson, 2003) . As we have seen, the type of businesses created by women has less than five employees on the average; those of men, more than five. Female entrepreneurs are, therefore, more likely to fail than their male counterparts, in part as a result of their inability to obtain equal access to capital markets.

Recommended Areas of Future Research

What types of intervention should one recommend to help women of all origins to create and develop their entrepreneurial goals? First of all, it would appear important that banking officials, in particular business loan officers, receive some training in the challenges and opportunities presented by increasing ethnic diversity in Canada. Secondly, it would appear desirable that services be available to help women prepare their requests for start-up financing from financial institutions. The service may be offered by the bank itself or through some government agency offering services to young entrepreneurs. Thirdly, it would appear desirable to create a program or tax credits to encourage banks to accept somewhat greater risks in the area of the creation of small businesses. Given the high rates of business failure, it is understandable that banks wish to hedge their bets. On the other hand, small and medium size businesses provide significant levels of employment in Canada and remain the source of most innovation.

Given the prevalence of discrimination based on ethnic origin and/or skin colour in our major Canadian cities, it is highly unlikely that entrepreneurs from visible minority groups are being funded in the same manner as those from majority groups.

What types of research should we now pursue in order to better understand the intersections of identity markers for women entrepreneurs? Most obviously, continued research needs to address the problem of equal access to start-up financing, particularly for women who are members of minority ethnic groups. If we cannot determine that such equal access is being applied, new experimental, field research may be needed whereby applicants from different groups but with identical dossiers attempt to obtain financing[4]. Given the prevalence of discrimination based on ethnic origin and/or skin colour in our major Canadian cities, it is highly unlikely that entrepreneurs from visible minority groups are being funded in the same manner as those from majority groups.

In addition, two markers of identity likely require further investigation, the first being that of belonging to particular ethnic groups, whether they be the object of prejudice or not. For example, are there major differences between the entrepreneurial experience of Chinese, Italians, Sikhs and members of other ethnic groups? Similarly, religious affiliation as an identity marker may also have some impact on the creation and development of ethnic businesses. For example, it is quite likely that certain types of religious groups within each of the world's great religions may discourage the creation of business enterprises by women. This is an area of research where the intersection of religious affiliation and gender markers may yield important research results.

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Notes

[1] The Entrepreneurship Research Alliance is a consortium of university researchers studying entrepreneurship in Canada with support from the Social Science Research Council.

[2] The concept of "immigrant" may include other variables which are stigmatized: not speaking English well, speaking English well but with a heavy accent, belonging to a stigmatized ethnic group, etc.

[3] We also found this to be true for both English and French Canadian women.

[4] The methodology might be based on research recently conducted in Vermont to test the extent of discrimination based on race, handicapped status and family status.

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Labour Market Integration of Immigrants and Racial Minorities: Identities that Count

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ABSTRACT

What guarantees our access to the labour market? Is it education and skills alone, or do individual attributes such as race, gender and immigration status influence our chances? Jean Lock Kunz addresses these issues and suggests that identity markers and their intersections can negatively affect not only the likelihood of finding a job, but of remuneration, job quality, and the opportunity for further training. The author recommends that intersections in identity be examined in the broader social and economic context in order to establish policy program responses that will make a difference.

The economic engine of the 21st century feeds on the skills and knowledge of its workers. Those with the right skills and education are generally rewarded with a high level of economic security and well-being. Individuals who do not have the right skills and education risk being left behind in the knowledge-based economy. Education and skills alone, however, cannot always guarantee full labour market access. In addition to what you know, finding a job or getting a promotion depends on who you are, whom you know, and who knows you. As social beings, the characteristics or attributes with which we associate often define us. Some of these attributes change over time, such as age, health, and socioeconomic status. Others are more permanent, such as gender, race, and ethnicity.

Whether transitory or permanent, individual characteristics often have social and economic consequences. Hence, who you are matters. A good deal of literature has already demonstrated that being female, an immigrant, or a racial minority can lead to less favourable labour market outcomes. More importantly, studies have pointed to the link between employment and earnings inequality and the intersections of individual attributes such as immigration status, race, and gender. This paper highlights some of these intersections on labour market outcomes and access to training.

Identities that Matter

Gender and Immigration. Even with comparable levels of education, female immigrants are more likely than male immigrants to enter as spouses or dependents. Studies have demonstrated the double-negative experienced by immigrant women (Man and Preston, 1999; Miedema and Tastsoglou, 2001; Shamsuddin, 1998). For example, among those between the ages of 25 and 44 with a university-level education, immigrant women earn less than immigrant men, as well as Canadian-born men and women (Kunz and Thompson, 2002). Married immigrant women who migrate with their spouses are more likely to be under-employed than are others, partly because they live in places where suitable job opportunities are available to their spouses but not to them.

Immigration and Race. The economic value of a degree depends on the country of its granting institution as well as the social characteristics of its holder (e.g., Li, 2001). A degree earned outside Canada is found to yield less return on earnings than one granted by a Canadian institution (Li, 2000; Reitz, 2001). Even though the selection criteria in the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA) place a high premium on education, foreign-earned credentials are heavily discounted by the Canadian labour market. Consequently, immigrants are penalized by the human capital that was partially responsible for their entrance into Canada in the first place.

Visible minority immigrants pay a penalty in earnings for being foreign and non-white (Kunz, Milan, and Schetagne, 2001). Even among the Canadian-born, the vertical mosaic still exists where those with European origins have higher earnings than those with non-European origins (Pendakur and Pendakur, 1996; Lian and Mathews, 1998). In fact, according to Pendakur and Pendakur (2001), the earnings gap between Canadian-born visible minority and white male has widened from 5% to 15% between 1971 and 1996.

Socio-economic Status and Immigration. Access to job-related training is often associated with individual attributes such as education, occupation and immigration status. Professional jobs often require higher education and later career upgrading. Evidence suggests that training remains a privilege for the well-educated and well-paid (Xu, 2000), as well as for those in professional/managerial positions. Moreover, adult immigrants are less likely to receive training than

Canadian-born adults, or those who immigrated as children (Hum and Simpson, 2001).

Gender and Socio-economic Status. A key aspect of socio-economic status is job quality, which refers to whether a person works full-time or part-time, or is self-employed. Full-time employees are more likely to receive employer-sponsored training than those who are part-time or self-employed. Even though gender differences are not significant in adult education, women may be precluded from getting training from their employers because they are more likely to have part-time or non-standard employment (Critoph, 1999). Given the escalating costs of training, many may not even be able to afford training on their own.

Networks that Matter

Finding jobs and career mobility depend, to some extent, on one's networks and connections, i.e., social capital. Human capital-based research often overlooks the role of social capital in labour market outcomes. Newcomers often find their first jobs through kinship and ethnic networks. That being said, a strong ethnic network may also impede immigrants' integration into mainstream society. Research needs to identify social capital that fosters or deters immigrant inclusion.

Human capital-based research often overlooks the role of social capital in labour market outcomes. Newcomers often find their first jobs through kinship and ethnic networks. That being said, a strong ethnic network may also impede immigrants' integration into mainstream society.

Also absent from the existing research are factors such as employer attitudes and workplace culture. Employer attitudes towards their employees or job applicants influence the individuals' odds of getting a promotion or getting a job in the first place. A study in the United States shows that, with credentials being equal, a job applicant with a white-sounding first name is more likely to receive a response from the employer than an applicant with a black-sounding name (*The Globe and Mail,* January 15, 2003). This suggests that degrees are often assessed formally as well as socially. Even with the right credentials, it is the employer that determines the worth of one degree relative to another. The social characteristics of the degree holder thus become part of the value of the credential.

According to the recent Ethnic Diversity Survey, one in four visible minorities in Canada felt uncomfortable because of their ethno-cultural characteristics at least some of the time. One in five visible minorities felt they were treated unfairly especially at work or when applying for a job (Statistics Canada, 2003). To understand the intersections of race and immigration status on employment, we need to go beyond multivariate analyses in order to come up with innovative ways to measure the various forms of discrimination and its association with inequality.

Compared to the Canadian-born, immigrants are more likely to participate in religious activities and, arguably, religious communities serve as a source of network. Yet, public display of one's religious belief may hinder one's access to jobs. According to a recent study among Muslim women in manufacturing, sales and service sectors, women who wear hijab experience discrimination when applying for jobs (Persad and Lukas, 2002). Often these individuals are visible minorities and/or immigrants, so the intersection between religion, immigration, and race/ethnicity is key.

Policy Program Responses that Matter

Equipping Immigrants. An increase in the recognition of foreign credentials would reduce barriers to labour market integration for foreign-trained professionals. Yet the discounting of foreign qualifications usually involves non-credential-related factors as well. Policies and programs should be aimed at equipping immigrants and visible minorities with the tools needed to succeed in the Canadian labour market on the one hand, and educating employers about the values of a diverse workforce, on the other. Citizenship education and legislative measures are necessary to reduce discriminatory behaviour.

Changing Employer Attitudes. Studies in Canada and other countries show that diversity is not always on the corporate agenda. Some employers may continue to see their workforce as homogeneous in spite of the multicultural make-up of their staff. Public education is therefore necessary to improve public and employer acceptance of diversity.

Learning from Existing Interventions. A number of programs are already in place to improve labour market access for certain disadvantaged groups. It would be useful to take stock of effective practices and learn from these, rather than inventing new ones. For instance, are there equity programs designed for one group, such as women, that could be applied to others, such as visible minorities and immigrants?

Social Marketing. Moreover, policies often have good intentions but unintended outcomes. It is therefore time to critically evaluate the effectiveness of current equity and access programs. For example, Employment Equity is often misunderstood or misinterpreted as a 'quota system'. What type of social marketing would be useful in dispelling the misunderstanding of these policies?

Conclusion

Identity markers – particularly, gender, immigration status, race, ethnicity and religion –have individual and multiple effects on access to labour market and training. These intersections should be examined in the broader social and economic context and in combination with other identity markers, such as ability, language and region, particularly in light of concerns over skills shortages, new

selection criteria for skilled immigrants, and discussions on regional dispersion of immigrants. To do so will require innovation from both researchers and policy-makers.

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Préparation à la gestion de la diversité ethnoculturelle des élèves dans les écoles canadiennes :

Une analyse sommaire des propos d'étudiants maîtres

Donatille Mujawamariya

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ABSTRACT

Donatille Mujawamariya partage ici les résultats d'une étude qui vise à démontrer les caractéristiques de l'intersection entre l'éducation et certains marqueurs de diversité. L'étude est fondée sur l'évaluation par les étudiants maîtres de leur formation, surtout au niveau de la préparation à la gestion de l'éducation multiculturelle. Les données semblent indiquer que, dépendamment des marqueurs d'identité individuels, les participants sont plus ou moins satisfaits de la formation qu'ils reçoivent.

Les données des deux derniers recensements de la population canadienne indiquent que la diversité ethnoculturelle de la population scolaire est en continuelle croissance. Face à cette réalité, les différents niveaux de décision (les ministères provinciaux de l'éducation, les conseils des écoles publiques, etc.) n'ont pas tardé à adopter des politiques destinées à assurer l'équité ethnoculturelle en éducation. Mais en quelle mesure les programmes de formation initiale des enseignants ont-ils adapté leurs curricula et leurs pratiques enseignantes à ces réalités? C'est la question à laquelle nous voulons répondre par le biais d'une analyse des perceptions d'étudiants maîtres[1] (ÉM) au sujet de leur préparation à la gestion de la diversité en salle de classe. Ce texte tente de documenter et d'analyser l'intersection de l'éducation, et plus concrètement le niveau de satisfaction des ÉM à l'égard de leur préparation à la gestion de la diversité des élèves, avec les marqueurs de diversité que sont le sexe, le groupe ethnique et le lieu de naissance.

De la formation des enseignants à la gestion de la diversité en salle de classe

Au Canada, les réponses à la diversité culturelle dans le système éducatif ont pris trois formes principales : l'éducation multiculturelle et l'éducation antiraciste dans le Canada anglais et, l'éducation interculturelle au Québec. Cependant, ces distinctions conceptuelles sont loin de faire l'unanimité dans la communauté scientifique. Toutefois, le débat controversé entourant ces concepts dépasse le cadre de cette publication. Néanmoins, comme l'a fait remarquer le Conseil canadien pour l'éducation multiculturelle et interculturelle (1999), nous sommes d'avis qu'il importe avant tout de reconnaître que, sans égard à la terminologie employée, l'objet de réflexion sous-jacente à ces concepts est une révision ou plutôt une transformation de l'enseignement aux niveaux du système, de l'école et de la classe, de même que des connaissances, des habiletés et des dispositions associées à l'enseignement dans un tel système. C'est dans ce cadre qu'une vision globale de ce qu'est la formation multiculturelle, interculturelle, antiraciste, et de la place qu'elle doit occuper en formation des enseignants prend toute son importance. Dans ce texte, nous utilisons le terme éducation multiculturelle pour désigner également éducation interculturelle, éducation antiraciste et même éducation transculturelle.

Nous nous inspirons de Giroux (2000) qui définit le multiculturalisme comme un terrain où s'affrontent des constructs idéologiques variés : la mémoire historique et l'identité nationale, les représentations sociales et de soi-même, les politiques de la différence. Selon le même auteur, un curriculum multiculturel doit développer des contextes qui aident à reconstruire les relations entre l'école, les enseignants, les élèves et la communauté. Face à ce curriculum, Pagé (1993) identifie trois objectifs que l'éducation multiculturelle devrait rencontrer : reconnaître et accepter le pluralisme comme une réalité de la société contemporaine ; contribuer à l'instauration d'une société d'égalité de droit et d'équité ; et, contribuer à l'édification de la cohésion sociale, en établissant des relations interethniques harmonieuses. En vue d'analyser le curriculum auquel les étudiants maîtres sont exposés, nous nous appuierons sur quatre différents paradigmes d'éducation multiculturelle (Banks, 1989 : 192) : 1) les approches « contributionnistes », qui se limitent à introduire des contenus ethniques superficiels, tels que les fêtes, la nourriture, les héros, et en général des éléments culturels discrets ; 2) les approches « additives », qui ajoutent des contenus, des concepts, des thèmes et des perspectives ethniques,

mais sans modifier en profondeur la structure du curriculum ; 3) les approches « transformationnelles », qui visent à changer la structure du curriculum en intégrant des perspectives multiculturelles ; et, 4) les approches « d'action sociale », qui impliquent les membres des groupes culturels dans la société.

Malgré le discours sur le besoin de l'éducation multiculturelle dans le système éducatif à tous les niveaux, et avec la reconnaissance du rôle des enseignants dans la conquête de l'équité et des résultats équitables pour les élèves des minorités raciales, des autochtones et des immigrants, au Canada, il existe très peu d'écrits sur le thème. C'est le cas surtout quant à la formation de futurs enseignants (Lund, 1998 ; Young, 1995). À cet égard, les propos de Young, (1995 : 56) sont très éloquents :

> "*While the call for multicultural education has been sustained within the school system, its entrance into faculties of education and into a debate around the training of teachers has been conspicuous only in its absence*".

Lund (1998 : 271) abonde dans le même sens lorsqu'il soutient :

> "*There are few academic accounts of teacher education programs on issues of racialized and ethnic diversity and equity. A recent survey of the literature reveals a small number of journal articles documenting modest modifications to Canadian university and college programs… in addition little research is ever done on these programs*".

Ces préoccupations rejoignent celles soulevées par Kligman (2003) en matière de recherche et de formation à la gestion de la diversité en salle de classe. À ce sujet, bien que quelques études aient été réalisées auprès d'ÉM, très peu traitent de leur satisfaction, face à la préparation qu'ils reçoivent, en fonction de leurs identités. La présente publication se situe ainsi dans le prolongement des réflexions de Kligman sur l'intersection de la diversité. C'est pourquoi nous avons cherché à documenter et analyser l'intersection de l'éducation, et plus précisément, le niveau de satisfaction des ÉM à l'égard de leur préparation à la gestion de la diversité des élèves, avec les marqueurs de diversité que sont le sexe, le groupe ethnique, et le lieu de naissance. Toutefois, l'intersectionalité dont il est question ici ne se rapporte pas aux termes de pouvoir et de domination (Stasiulis, 1999), mais concerne plutôt le niveau de satisfaction qu'affichent les ÉM sur leur préparation à l'éducation multiculturelle selon les différentes identités qu'ils portent.

Aspects méthodologiques

Nous avons recueilli des données quantitatives et qualitatives auprès d'ÉM inscrits dans des programmes de formation initiale à l'enseignement dans trois grandes universités[2] canadiennes des villes de Toronto, Vancouver et d'Ottawa. Nous nous sommes servis d'un questionnaire comprenant des questions fermées[3] sur le curriculum, le programme, les pratiques pédagogiques des professeurs, mais aussi des questions ouvertes qui invitaient les répondants à élaborer sur leurs perceptions de la formation à l'éducation multiculturelle reçue.

Nous nous sommes servis d'un questionnaire comprenant des questions fermées[3] sur le curriculum, le programme, les pratiques pédagogiques des professeurs, mais aussi des questions ouvertes qui invitaient les répondants à élaborer sur leurs perceptions de la formation à l'éducation multiculturelle reçue.

Pour l'aspect quantitatif, la taille de l'échantillon s'élève à 971 sujets. De ces 971 ÉM, en moyenne, 75,2% sont des femmes et 24,8% sont des hommes, 47,1% ont 25 ans ou moins et 52,9% ont 26 ans et plus. 65,9% sont d'appartenance linguistique anglophone, 24,7% sont francophone et 9,4% autre. 82,2% s'identifient comme des personnes de race blanche, 17,0% sont des minorités visibles, et 0,8% sont des autochtones. 83,3% sont nés au Canada et 16,7% à l'extérieur. Alors que 91,3% ont fait leurs études secondaires au Canada, 8,7% les ont faites ailleurs.

Les données recueillies par le biais du questionnaire ont été soumises soit au test « t » et à une analyse de variance ou au « chi carré » selon qu'elles constituaient des variables continues ou discrètes. Les résultats significatifs des analyses statistiques basées sur les différentes identités nous ont permis de procéder à la sélection des sujets, pour le volet qualitatif, en vue de mieux interpréter les intersections par leur commentaire écrit. Cette approche fait émerger des différences intéressantes quant au niveau de satisfaction et aux attentes des ÉM au sujet de leur formation à l'éducation multiculturelle.

Bref aperçu des résultats et pistes d'interprétation

De façon générale, les résultats indiquent que les ÉM sont loin d'être satisfaits de la formation à l'éducation multiculturelle qu'ils reçoivent. Quelques nuances existent cependant selon l'Université à laquelle appartient le programme de formation suivi. Par contre, pour cette publication, nous nous limiterons aux perceptions de ces ÉM en fonction de trois marqueurs d'identité : le sexe, le groupe ethnique et le lieu de naissance. Ainsi, une analyse selon le sexe montre que les femmes sont, de façon significative, moins satisfaites que les hommes, et ce, dans 20 points sur 23 qui regroupent des aspects du programme (10), du curriculum (7), la prestation des cours (3) et la composante pratique lors des stages (3). Les trois aspects dans lesquels les perceptions des femmes ne sont pas significativement différentes de celles des hommes sont : 1) *le programme prépare les ÉM à travailler avec les élèves dont la langue première n'est ni l'anglais ni le français* (femmes = 2,82, hommes = 2,78), 2) *le curriculum utilisé tient compte du bagage culturel des élèves* (femmes = 2,87, hommes = 3,01) et

3) *la composante pratique nous a préparé de façon efficace à mettre en pratique ce que nous avons appris sur les questions d'éducation multiculturelle* (femmes = 3,01, hommes = 3,18).

Lorsque l'on compare les résultats selon les groupes ethniques, les minorités visibles sont moins satisfaites que les Canadiens d'origines française et anglaise, eux-mêmes moins satisfaits que les immigrants européens arrivés récemment, à l'exception des aspects reliés au stage où les Canadiens d'origines française et anglaise sont moins satisfaits que les minorités visibles. Pour illustrer ces propos, nous avons retenu le point selon lequel *le programme prépare les ÉM à aborder les questions liées au racisme.* Pour les minorités visibles, ce point recueille 2,89, 3,01 auprès des Canadiens d'origines française et anglaise alors que les immigrants européens arrivés récemment lui accordent 3,17 ($p = 0{,}01$).

D'autre part, nous avons noté que le pays d'origine semble affecter le niveau de satisfaction auprès de deux aspects en particulier *(le programme prépare les ÉM à aborder les questions liées au racisme, le curriculum utilisé apprend aux ÉM à adapter le plan de cours aux élèves de diverses origines ethno raciales ayant des difficultés d'apprentissage)* où les étudiants nés hors du Canada manifestent une grande insatisfaction par rapport à ceux qui sont nés au Canada. Par contre, ces différences sont encore plus marquées lorsque l'étudiant a fait ses études secondaires hors du Canada. L'insatisfaction de ces derniers touche à plusieurs aspects dont, entre autres, *la prise de conscience du langage inapproprié (utilisation de clichés et de stéréotypes) qui peut offenser les élèves ayant des origines ethnoraciales différentes, la prise en compte des divers groupes minoritaires présents dans le système scolaire canadien ainsi que celle de leur bagage culturel.* Mais comment expliquer ces différences?

De façon caricaturale, par comparaison aux hommes, les femmes sont plus portées à dénoncer : 1) l'exclusion de certains groupes ethniques dans le contenu du curriculum, 2) le fait que la formation à l'éducation multiculturelle ne soit pas obligatoire et 3) que les ÉM ne soient pas représentatifs de la diversité culturelle qu'on retrouve dans les écoles canadiennes. De ce fait, les femmes semblent faire preuve d'un esprit de justice sociale en rappelant les phénomènes d'exclusion, de la sous représentativité des groupes minoritaires au Canada et le caractère optionnel de la formation offerte. Leur sensibilité à l'injustice sociale ne tiendrait-elle pas à leur lutte répétée contre la discrimination systémique reliée au genre dans la plupart des sphères de l'activité humaine au Canada? La majorité de ces étudiantes témoignent d'un ardent désir de changement lequel semble quasi absent chez la plupart des candidats masculins chez qui nous avons plutôt noté une certaine indifférence, parfois même de la résistance.

Lorsque l'on compare les résultats selon les groupes ethniques, les minorités visibles sont moins satisfaites que les Canadiens d'origines française et anglaise, eux-mêmes moins satisfaits que les immigrants européens arrivés récemment, à l'exception des aspects reliés au stage où les Canadiens d'origines française et anglaise sont moins satisfaits que les minorités visibles.

Malgré que nos analyses soient encore préliminaires, les écarts repérés par rapport aux différents groupes ethniques, aux pays de naissance de ces ÉM pourraient s'expliquer par leurs visions subjectives du monde qu'ils habitent. C'est ainsi que la plupart des candidats des minorités visibles et autochtones, des étudiants nés hors du Canada semblent aussi emphatiques que les femmes quant à l'importance d'offrir aux élèves un contenu pertinent et signifiant basé sur leurs expériences d'exclusion ou de racisme. Les propos de ces étudiants ne sont pas sans rappeler le combat de ces groupes face à leurs revendications quotidiennes pour être reconnus comme des citoyens canadiens à part entière. Qu'ils soient nés ailleurs, qu'ils aient une langue maternelle autre que les deux langues officielles du Canada, qu'ils aient un accent « étiqueté différent », qu'ils aient une couleur différente, des valeurs culturelles différentes, qu'ils pratiquent une religion autre que le christianisme, les écoles dans lesquelles ils se préparent à enseigner sont aussi leurs écoles (Mujawamariya, 2002). D'où leur déception, pensons-nous, face à un curriculum qui fait fi de leurs expériences et de leurs contributions.

Conclusion

Si l'on s'en tient aux propos de la plupart des participants à notre étude, il est clair que les trois objectifs que Pagé assigne à l'éducation multiculturelle sont loin d'être atteints. Il ressort que certains groupes ethniques sont exclus du contenu du curriculum d'enseignement et/ou à peine représentés dans le programme de formation et dans la profession enseignante. Pour l'instant, les paradigmes que Banks prône semblent donc de vœux pieux. Car les ÉM réclament : 1) des activités qui leur permettraient de s'imprégner des coutumes, des religions, des autres cultures (paradigme contributionniste), 2) d'autres cours qui traitent de l'éducation multiculturelle (paradigme additif), 3) l'intégration des perspectives d'autres groupes ethniques (paradigme transformatif) et, 4) une meilleure représentation des autres groupes ethniques au sein du corps professoral et des candidats à la formation (action sociale). Par conséquent, en termes d'habiletés susceptibles de les aider à œuvrer dans un milieu multiethnique, le discours de la plupart de ces ÉM nous amène à croire que leurs connaissances théoriques sur les autres groupes ethniques sont limitées, qu'ils peuvent difficilement

répondre aux besoins d'apprentissage d'une classe ethnoculturellement diversifiée, que leurs images des autres sont quasi stéréotypées et rarement ils seront portés à se remettre en question lors de l'accomplissement de leur tâche enseignante. Quoi de mieux que la révélation de cette étudiante pour résumer cette triste réalité :

> *Je pense qu'on doit, au niveau de la faculté d'éducation, appliquer déjà ce qu'on veut que nous pratiquions dans les écoles plus tard. Je me suis rendue compte que les collègues étudiants ne sont pas éduqués à l'antiracisme et au multiculturalisme. Comment pouvons-nous espérer que ceux-ci éduquent d'autres? Il y a un gros travail à faire dans ce sens pour sensibiliser déjà certains profs de la faculté qui malheureusement laissent transparaître leur insuffisance dans ce domaine. (nº 120, femme, 30 ans, minorité visible).*

Malgré son caractère exploratoire, cette étude présente des implications non négligeables en matière de politiques éducatives. Comme l'ont constamment répété les ÉM participants, sur le plan théorique, la formation à l'éducation multiculturelle doit être obligatoire et incorporée dans tous les cours. Pour ce faire, les formateurs universitaires devraient eux-mêmes bénéficier d'une formation les préparant à dispenser une éducation multiculturelle susceptible d'outiller les futurs enseignants à répondre adéquatement aux besoins d'apprentissage d'élèves diversifiés. Cette dimension a été mentionnée à maintes reprises par nombreux participants à notre étude de même que celle de diversifier le corps professoral et les candidats à la formation à l'enseignement afin qu'ils soient représentatifs de la population canadienne. Sur le plan pratique, les ÉM ont clairement indiqué qu'on devrait permettre à chacun et à chacune d'eux de faire un stage dans des écoles où la diversité ethnoculturelle est assez prononcée afin de leur donner l'occasion de mettre en pratique ce qu'ils ont appris dans les cours et du même coup acquérir un savoir-faire face à cette réalité caractéristique des sociétés contemporaines.

Parmi tant d'autres de ses apports, cette étude tend à démontrer que le besoin de former les ÉM à l'éducation multiculturelle est plus actuel que jamais. Malgré que les propos tenus ici découlent des données recueillies auprès des ÉM grâce à un questionnaire, ils nous fournissent quelques indices sur l'état de santé de cette éducation. Lorsqu'on croise les données selon les marqueurs d'identité des ÉM participants, les femmes semblent insatisfaites de la formation qu'elles reçoivent. Cette insatifaction est également partagée par les ÉM des minorités visibles et autochtones qui reprochent au contenu du programme de formation de ne pas tenir compte des expériences et contributions des groupes ethniques autres que ceux d'origines anglaise et française. Il semble, par ailleurs, y avoir des variations marquées selon que ces ÉM sont nés au Canada ou non, qu'ils proviennent des régions rurales, urbaines ou des banlieues, qu'ils envisagent enseigner au primaire ou au secondaire, ou encore selon le programme de formation qu'ils ont suivi et la langue d'études du programme en question. Toutefois, des études plus approfondies s'imposent afin d'étayer ces diverses intersections, mais aussi pour tenir en compte des perspectives des formateurs universitaires, des structures et des politiques des diverses institutions concernées par la question de la formation des enseignants.

Notes

[1] Dans la suite du texte nous utiliserons le sigle ÉM pour désigner étudiants maîtres.

[2] L'étude est en cours dans une quatrième université de la ville de Montréal.

[3] Pour ces questions fermées, les ÉM se servaient d'une échelle (Likert) de 1 à 5 : très faible, faible, acceptable, bon, excellent.

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Intersections of Diversity:

Race, Culture and Disability

Roger B. Jones

Roger B. Jones, "The Ability Guy," became a quadriplegic as a result of a car accident on June 8, 1985. Since that time he has experienced first hand the consequences of having unique needs and abilities. Roger has noted that stereotypes around disability still exist which leads to market limitations. He is changing perceptions by drawing attention to the untapped potential of "The Ability Market." Mr. Jones is a professional speaker, entrepreneur, author, and volunteer. He has recently been the subject of an award-winning documentary titled "Access Challenge".

ABSTRACT

Writing from his own personal experiences, Roger B. Jones provides a snapshot look at how disability intersects with a variety of other identity markers. He expresses the desire to make a better life for those still forced to "linger in a world of poverty, exploitation, and isolation."

Aboriginals and Disability

A few years ago, at a conference in the Yukon, I was approached by a lady in a wheelchair. Apparently she had heard about my involvement in disability issues and wanted to discuss her personal situation with me. After engaging in small talk she got to the point: her greatest wish was to have a bath twice a week. I must confess that at first I was a bit perplexed, because I didn't understand how her predicament involved me. But after some discussion I began to understand where she was coming from.

Because the lady in question was part of the aboriginal community and lived on a reserve, she explained that any needs specific to her disability were expected to be financed through the band council. According to her, the people in charge of the council monies did not consider disability to be a priority and were not prepared to acquiesce to her request for a bi-weekly bath. Although there were government services in Whitehorse perfectly capable of fulfilling her needs, she could not benefit from them because it was deemed that she already received adequate services through the band.

Mi'kmaq students in Nova Scotia

Among the Mi'kmaq, "1209 students are deemed to have additional education needs, or 53 per cent of all students for whom we have information on this variable. Although comparable data for the Nova Scotia (mainstream) student population as a whole is not available, this is a very high percentage by any standard. It indicates there is much work to be done to address the education problems faced by Mi'kmaq students." (Mi'kmaq Students with Special Education Needs in Nova Scotia, Isabel den Heyer and Fred Wien with the assistance of Jean Knockwood and Virick Francis for Mi'kmaw Kina'matnewey, February 2001)

African Canadians and Disability

In 1970 several Black students from Dalhousie University in Halifax, Nova Scotia participated in a project under the auspices of the Black Historical and Educational Research Organization (H.E.R.O.). Paying heed to the words of Mahatma Gandhi, who said "a man cannot see his future until he has first seen his past," the students set out to record the oral history of the largest "indigenous" Black population of Canada, which at that time was spread throughout approximately 40 communities. When the project was launched, the students felt that the few historical documents that mentioned African Canadians were all based upon information recorded by Whites. Because of the distinct differences in cultures, the students wanted to get their history firsthand and share it with the larger community. The students were quoted as saying that "The oral history is fast being lost as old people die off and the extended family system breaks down." The results of this project were recorded on what is now referred to as the H.E.R.O. Tapes.

The H.E.R.O. Tapes reveal a fascinating story of a resilient culture isolated from many aspects of what is normally considered Canadian society. Communities such as Africville, Cherrybrook, and North Preston thrived despite being denied access to basic services like sewer and water. This sometimes forced isolation also resulted in a lack of access to amenities of particular interest to people with disabilities.

Thirty years later, I made a visit to one of these communities, just outside the city of Halifax. My sister had been approached by some of the residents of the area who wanted to know how I managed to acquire a power wheelchair and to get around in a van. After several days of being bombarded by their questions, she had them contact me directly. It turns out that a woman in their community had been in bed for seven years because she was obese and had a physical disability. Her family did not have the resources to provide her with a lifting device or a wheelchair, and did not know where to turn for help. I made an appeal for her at the local church and the members of the congregation raised the funds

necessary to purchase these devices for her. Incredibly, I later found out that social services was well aware of the situation but did not intervene. Their social workers were not inclined to visit rural Black communities.

Indo-Canadians and Disability

The lower mainland of British Columbia is home to one of the largest Indo-Canadian communities in North America. Many prominent members of this population have contributed to the social fabric of the West Coast, including a former Premier. According to Statistics Canada there were 135,310 Sikhs – representing the major religion practiced by B.C. Indo-Canadians – in British Columbia.

My recent visit to a Sikh temple in Vancouver was precipitated by a desire to learn more about the religion and culture, and also to show some empathy for a group of people who have been unfairly targeted since 9/11. My former neighbours, a Sikh couple and their children, recounted several stories about the harassment they faced simply because of their turbans or because of a false assumption that they came from the Middle East and were potential terrorists.

When I entered the temple I realized that I was experiencing a culture that was foreign to me, even though the building was located in my neighborhood. The congregation did not look like me, talk like me, or worship like me. It was disturbing to come to terms with the fact that I had never before bothered to investigate the lifestyle of people with whom I interacted everyday, albeit on a superficial level.

Everyone in the temple was staring at me and I wasn't sure why. I did notice that it was necessary for my friend to clear the garbage from the wheelchair ramp before I entered the building. This led me to believe that my disability was the cause for such attention, but it could also have been that I was African Canadian, or simply because I was a stranger. Eventually one of the men in the temple approached me and in broken English asked me about my wheelchair. While he was talking the rest of the men surrounded me and he played the role of a translator. One of the men hobbled up to me on a decrepit looking pair of crutches and appeared to be mesmerized by my chair. Through a process of hand gesturing and a limited use of English, I determined that there were many individuals from the Indo-Canadian community who had some type of mobility difficulties, but did not have use of wheelchairs or scooters. The elders explained that they did not know how to acquire these types of devices and were hesitant to contact government sources because of language and cultural issues. They sat and listened, spellbound, as I explained the services available for persons with disabilities in British Columbia.

Japanese and Disability

Independence 92 was a gathering of persons with disabilities from around the globe, who converged on Vancouver for a conference and trade show. Close to 5,000 people had an opportunity to network and discuss issues with others who had similar needs.

I was impressed by a group of well-dressed Japanese businessmen who were wheeling around the convention centre, checking out all of the display booths. They appeared to be corporate types intent upon finding business opportunities. Being a bit of an entrepreneur myself, I approached them and struck up a conversation around what I referred to as "The Ability Market." I had often wondered why wheelchairs and other devices for persons with disabilities were not being mass-produced by Japanese companies. My thinking was that if Honda and Toyota were selling wheelchairs in Canada, I would be able to get something twice as good for half the price. These businessmen made it very clear that they would never think of entering this market. Their explanation was that many persons with disabilities in Japan stay at home because they are considered to be an embarrassment to their families. I was also told that any company which specialized in products for persons with disabilities would get a bad reputation and jeopardize its business with non-disabled customers.

Rate of Severe Disability

In the U.S., the rate of severe disability is highest for Blacks (12.2%), followed by Native Americans (9.8%), Whites (9.4%), and people of Hispanic origin (8.4%). Once again, Asians and Pacific Islanders have a rate (4.9%) roughly half that of the overall population (U.S. Bureau of the Census).

Youth with Disabilities

Many of the issues faced by children and youth with disabilities complicate the normal difficulties faced by all youth. In the United States, one in every twelve children has some type of disability. These children will need to deal with the issues listed below as well as the double jeopardy effect of disability.

Some Key Facts about American Children

1 in 3 will be poor at some point in their childhood.
2 in 5 never complete a single year of college.
1 in 6 is born to a mother who did not receive prenatal care in the first three months of pregnancy.
1 in 7 has no health insurance.
1 in 8 never graduates from high school.
1 in 13 was born with low birth weight.
1 in 15 lives at less than half the poverty level.
1 in 26 is born to a mother who received late or no prenatal care.
1 in 139 will die before their first birthday.
1 in 1,056 will be killed by guns before age 20.

Source: The State of America's Children Yearbook 2001

Conclusion

When we look at intersections pertaining to race and disability, we are faced with more questions than conclusions. It is obvious that both persons with disabilities and people of colour are marginalized in North American society, and we would assume globally as well.

How is it that we allow valuable human resources to linger in a world of poverty, exploitation, and isolation? What can be done to rectify the abysmal situation for people dealing with the double jeopardy effects of race and disability? The answer has yet to be determined.

'Invisible' Social Groups, Identity Intersections and Counting:

Challenges for Policy Making in Diverse Societies

Brian Ray

Brian Ray works on immigrant settlement, integration and public policy issues at the Migration Policy Institute in Washington (DC). His research projects include immigrant housing and employment conditions, the social networks of immigrant women, segregation, the construction of 'race' and racist practices, and civil risk and social justice. He holds a PhD in Urban Social Geography from Queen's University.

ABSTRACT

While Statistics Canada has come to provide a wealth of valuable and sophisticated information about many segments of the population, the author suggests that it still leaves certain areas of identity unexplored. Public policy development and research bear the consequences of these oversights. Meeting the social and economic expectations of highly diverse societies requires moving away from strictly quantifiable identity markers towards more qualitative data. The author suggests constructing public policy around social groups rather than population aggregates.

The cultural diversity of most North American, European and Australasian societies today is inescapable, especially in these continents' large and economically vibrant cities. It is in cities that the inter-locking conditions of global economic, political and social interdependence are most strongly experienced by individuals, and where the challenges of managing cultural exchange and dealing with the inequalities that arise from discrimination are most acutely felt. New local policies and relationships between governments and the organizations of civil society will be critical in crafting inclusive cities and societies out of plural, and sometimes inequitable, conditions. It is not clear, however, that we have a sufficiently strong appreciation for the many forms of diversity that exist among city people to craft policies that diminish the risks of social exclusion. To a certain degree, we are captives of the categories and ideas that have been used for many decades to enable examination of those qualities of individuals and households that at priori seem to be the most meaningful to the people who develop policies and programs.

Marginalization as experienced and practiced in society is one of the principal reasons why we should be concerned with identity intersections. Unlike societies in which a tyrannical leader might oppress one or more social groups, marginalization in most contemporary democratic societies is a function of structural conditions – a result of the unquestioned norms, habits, symbols and policies that constitute normal everyday life. To challenge marginalization and increase the degree of inclusion demand a serious examination of the structural conditions that lead to exclusion. Such a project, however, is predicated on a much more nuanced understanding of *social groups,* identity formation and the meanings of identity in everyday life.

To a remarkable degree, our understanding of social diversity has been framed by a focus on social 'aggregates' that have been translated into adequate and meaningful representations of social groups. Aggregates are normally defined by one or more attributes such as street address, education, income or eye colour. The census, for instance, furnishes a handsome amount of information about people who are routinely aggregated into groups by researchers and policy makers. Such groups, at least implicitly, are interpreted as being approximations of an identity and of the ways in which people live. But a social group is a function of affinity – similar experiences or ways of life – rather than by a set of phenotypic characteristics or social attributes. These affinity-based relationships and experiences encourage individuals to associate with each other and share a common identity. It is not correct to argue that some of our most standard measures of a population do not furnish information about social groups, but they fall far short of capturing the full range of diverse groups that constitutes contemporary societies. Social groups are defined by an identity, not simply by a set of shared attributes.

Identity is constituted relationally. At its heart lies self-perception as developed in relation to social categories and the involvement that individuals have with others and communities. In a context of global interdependence and movement that has allowed an unprecedented number of strangers to rub shoulders in city spaces that range from neighborhoods to shopping malls to workplaces, people have actively retained, renewed, invented and expressed a range of identities.

These encounters have strengthened already held identities such as ethnic, locale or occupational ones; importantly, they have also facilitated the formation of new ones as produced through the encounter itself. In general, ways of understanding societies and people have not kept pace with this churning process of identity renewal and invention. As a consequence, our ability to develop and implement policies and programs that are based on a strong understanding of complex and multifaceted identities, and that meaningfully address marginalization, suffers.

Statistics Canada has made great strides in providing information about many different segments of the population, and information on sex, age, foreign-born status, ethnicity and 'race' (or visible minority status), which has informed a great number of positive public policy initiatives undertaken by all levels of government. Compared to most decades of the 20th century, contemporary population data is far more sophisticated and never before have we been in such a strong position to speak in meaningful ways about diversity issues. The data gathering exercise, however, privileges those characteristics of the population that a priori have been determined to be highly salient, meaningful or 'measurable.' In the process, many dimensions of identity that influence how people behave and make decisions are left unobserved and are consequently not part of policy development.

In general, ways of understanding societies and people have not kept pace with this churning process of identity renewal and invention. As a consequence, our ability to develop and implement policies and programs that are based on a strong understanding of complex and multifaceted identities, and that meaningfully address marginalization, suffers.

Sexual orientation is one example of an identity marker about which relatively little information is collected, but nevertheless influences a range of behaviours and intersects with numerous facets of identity about which information is readily available. Understanding the importance of sexuality, alone and in interaction with other identity markers, would enhance our understanding of a range of public policy questions – from housing to employment to workplace discrimination to aging. Although 'sexuality' in some circles has become almost synonymous with sexual minorities, it is of course generic to the population and structures the decisions and experiences of straight, gay and bisexual individuals[1]. Given the primordial importance of sexuality to the human condition, it is surprising how little sex intrudes into research and public policy development.

Data collection issues are perhaps one of the most salient reasons why we know so little about sexuality and its intersections with other identity markers. After many decades of discrimination, for instance, many gays and lesbians regard questions about sexuality that might be posed by a government with some degree of reticence and suspicion. Others may well look upon such questions as too great an invasion by government into private lives. And perhaps sexuality will always remain a dimension of human behaviour that standard measures of population characteristics will not be able to capture. This does not mean that ease of measurement should be the critical factor which structures whether some forms of marginalization merit attention.

The importance of constructing public policy around social groups rather than population aggregates is very well illustrated by the standard approaches to understanding the residential geography of North American cities. For decades, geographers and sociologists have suggested through social area analyses that cities are organized in both concentric and sectoral patterns as a function of three identity markers – class, family status and 'race' or ethnicity. The patterns that their analyses reveal, however, are very much a function of the census variables that are entered into statistical models. For example, gender was not included in early modelling exercises, and it has never been possible to incorporate sexuality and physical ability because of an absence of data, and as a consequence the residential geographies of many social groups have been either rendered invisible or present only by inference. The standard way in which the social geography of cities has been represented, and has informed urban planning for many decades, furnishes relatively little insight into the ways of life and housing/neighbourhood consumption patterns of many social groups. Gays and lesbians, individuals suffering from various kinds of physical disabilities who may not have access to a full range of transportation options, and homeless individuals and families are but three examples of social groups whose urban lives sit apart from normative understandings of people and place.

When researchers 'discovered' the gentrification of the inner city in the 1970s they also discovered that gays and lesbians were frequently among the early renovators of older housing. *The discovery* of urban gays in turn highlighted how standard approaches to understanding the residential geography of the city shed no light on the behaviours of some social groups, some of whom were affluent and whose physical and social transformations of urban spaces were far from invisible. The housing and neighbourhood consumption patterns of gays and lesbians seemed both strangely exotic and new to researchers and eventually the general public. Given that there were no data about sexuality, it was easy to be surprised that an individual's sexual identity could inform where he or she chose to live. It was one of the first times that gays and lesbians as a social group seemed important to consider in analyses of housing markets and city life. The housing and neighbourhood

choices of gay men and lesbians were brought out of a research closet and encouraged researchers to consider a dimension of urban social life that until that point had been rendered practically invisible. Even today, decades after people first started to write about gentrification, knowledge about the relationships between urban space and sexual identities among gays and lesbians, especially in interaction with identity markers such as class, gender and ethnicity, remains woefully rudimentary.

The same sort of story can be told for other social groups whose characteristics and experiences only weakly intrude into public consciousness and policy. The complex and diverse homeless population (e.g., youth, men, women, immigrants, families and mentally ill) and physically challenged people are but two examples of groups that, like gays and lesbians, remain camouflaged in standard data sets used in urban analysis and planning. Moreover, even numerically-small social groups for which data are collected – e.g., lone-parent families led by either women or men – often remain on the margins of policy and program initiatives. In a social justice context in which numbers of people are often the significant factor in prioritizing which forms of oppression deserve attention, being on the numerical margins for all intents and purposes is itself a kind of invisibility.

In our socially, culturally and economically diverse cities there are real implications of not taking identity intersections seriously. If we take the example of sexual orientation, by not seriously incorporating this basic quality of the human condition into how we plan and live in cities essentially perpetuates the normative qualities of heterosexual universality, thereby rendering minority sexualities invisible. In addition, the fact that only the dominant group's cultural expressions receive widespread recognition means that there is little acknowledgment of the diversity that exists within the "heterosexual" label. The practices of heterosexuality do vary by gender, age, ethnicity, religion and class, although this is scarcely recognized. Finally, being able to ignore sexuality in all of its various expressions enables the perpetuation of a 'comfortable' image that some built environments, namely middle-class suburbs, are 'family places.' As such it is possible to imagine that sexuality really does not impinge upon the social meaning of the suburbs or the experience of living in these environments for adults and youth who wrestle with their own sexual identities – that the spaces of sexuality are really just *downtown things*.

It will not be simple to incorporate the intersections of identity into public policy development in the years ahead. As the urban planning examples discussed here illustrate, the ways in which people have understood, planned and built cities for many decades essentially revolves around three unitary identity markers: class, family status and ethnicity. Such an approach is both a function of the kinds of population data that are readily available and the degree to which the results mesh with the experiences of the majority and the powerful. If addressing the social risks associated with marginalization and producing conditions that lead to greater equity among *all* social groups without erasing differences are not policy priorities, then regarding the population as a set of aggregates is not a problem. Such an approach is, however, at odds with the celebration of urban social and cultural diversity and the recognition that diversity is a key labour force characteristic and element of economic growth in a post-industrial economy. Building social and economic policies that incorporate identity intersections and address marginalization will require inventing and adopting ways of understanding those invisible social groups whose members are so weakly 'present' in standard data sets. This may require that policy be developed around the experiential rather than strictly quantifiable dimensions of diverse Canadian identities.

Notes

1 In this paper, I use the terms gay and lesbian to connote homosexuals. Other researchers prefer the term 'queer' which usually denotes a more expansive definition of sexual identity than just simply gay or lesbian and usually refers generically to people and groups marked by dominant cultures as 'other' on the basis of sexuality. In categorizing marginalized sexualities and identities, 'queer' includes gay men and lesbians, as well as people who identify themselves as bisexual, transsexual, transgendered and/or sadomasochist.

le racisme, ça se passe entre les deux oreilles

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Intersections of Identity in Civil Society:

Case Studies in Policy and Planning

Minelle Mahtani

Minelle Mahtani is a full-time faculty member at the New School University, Eugene Lang College, Department of Cultural and Media Studies. She is also associate strategic counsel at IMPACS, the Institute for Media, Policy and Civil Society. Her PhD examined the politics of identity among "mixed race" women living in Toronto. Her research has appeared in Ethnicities, Social Identities, Canadian Ethnic Studies, Environment and Planning, Progress in Planning and other publications. She was a national television producer with the CBC for several years.

ABSTRACT

Minelle Mahtani encourages governmental as well as non-governmental organizations to pay particular attention not only to intersections of diversity, but to how they manage these intersections. With the help of case-studies, she demonstrates both the complexity of intersections of diversity and of the strategies to address intersectional discrimination. Significantly, Mahtani recognizes the effect of increasingly used international networks on the analysis of multiple and shifting identities.

The not-for-profit perspective

Attention to issues around diversity intersections is absolutely essential and relevant to the long-term success of any not-for-profit in Canada. It is crucial that we recognize not only the changing demographics of our organizations across the country, but that we also consider the complexities of a changing work environment that relies on international networks, knowledge-based service, and cross-cultural communication. How do changes in demographics affect our day-to-day workplaces, our programs and our policies? How might we negotiate and develop infrastructures that address these changes?

My work at the not-for-profit IMPACS, the Institute for Media, Policy and Civil Society, has emphasized the importance of such long-term strategies. IMPACS is a Canadian charitable organization committed to the protection and expansion of democracy and to the strengthening of civil society. We are based in Vancouver, with offices in Toronto. We are continually asking ourselves how we can best address issues of diversity intersections through our projects. Simply put, our mandate is to turn up the volume on civil society. We do so through our charities and democracy program, our communications centre, where we have worked on hundreds of marketing and strategic planning campaigns for other not-for-profits, and our international media program. As we go about developing our projects, we continually ask ourselves and our clients how we might more fully understand how intersections of identity – those of race, class and gender, but also age, sexual orientation, culture, religion, and ethnicity, among a myriad of other identity aspects – are explored, understood and negotiated.

Through our work with a variety of not-for-profits nationally and internationally, as well as networks and government policymakers, we have learned to value intersectional analyses that consider the lived experiences of people affected by shifting aspects of identity. As such, we attempt to ensure that our practices do not disadvantage members of any diverse group. In order to understand how intersections of identity are understood and negotiated, we recognize the complexity of how people experience marginalization through identity intersections.

Intersectional marginalization arises out of the combination of various oppressions. This is dramatically unique and different from any one form of discrimination alone. Such an approach acknowledges the complexity of the experience of marginalization and focuses on society's response to and perception of the individual. This does not necessitate the individual "fitting into" a static category of identity. It acknowledges the experience of multiple, fluid and flexible forms of identities that emerge out of the experience of diverse identity intersections. For example, the experience of a woman of Indian-Iranian identity is markedly different from that of not only a white woman, but also that of an Indian woman and an Iranian woman. It is a unique and different experience when these identities are combined. It is equally as important to remember that multiple axes of identity are always grounded and lived; we can only ever hope to understand the experience of multiple identities as a series of momentary snapshots played out on the social landscape. The ground upon which multiple identities are lived is always shifting and changing. We need to consider the very unstable nature of those spaces and how they affect the experience and the perception of those shifting identities.

In this brief paper, I will share three examples of case studies, where the IMPACS team has faced and continues to face the challenges of unraveling and understanding complex intersections of identity in policy, practice and implementation. The first is our project on media, gender and identity.

Case Study One: Media, Gender and Identity in Transnational Newsrooms

Challenge: How can we understand how multiple forms of discrimination operate in newsrooms around the world?

As a professor of Media and Cultural Studies, and as a member of the strategic counsel team, I initially set forth on a project to understand, broadly, how gender works in various newsrooms around the world. This project was inspired by my own experiences as a national television news producer. It is clear that the demographics of Canadian newsrooms are changing dramatically. As statistics from the CBC demonstrate, almost half of the people employed by Canada's largest broadcaster are women (CBC 2002) and this is not isolated to Canada; indeed, similar patterns are emerging in a variety of countries. Women are also increasingly moving into positions of power in the field of journalism - women who were editorial assistants ten years ago are now becoming executive producers of key programs.

As the cultural demographics of the country change, broadcasters have an obligation to cover the news in ways that are relevant to their increasingly multicultural audiences. Such attempts to provide balanced and accurate reports serve to puncture stereotypes, and also attract new viewers, creating community dialogue, and increasing credibility. But how might we take into consideration how race and gender work together to create complex and complicit forms of subordination and domination in the newsroom? And how might these processes affect programming choices?

In my research, it became increasingly clear that it would be impossible to analyze gender without also considering race. Although we are indeed witnessing a surge in the number of women entering into positions of power in the media, women of colour remain marginalized and excluded from management positions. This was a recurring problem that emerged in interviews in Canada, but also in interviews in Australia, New Zealand, and India as well. One interview with a woman I will call Serafina, a twenty-five year old black Canadian television news researcher, aptly identified the challenges facing management in their attempts to create a more diverse workplace:

"All I can say is that the sexism in the newsroom was manageable. The racism was not. We still have to fight the image that we're nothing more than 'unqualified tokens' who were hired because of our skin colour. There's a lot of work that still has to be done."

As Agnew (1998) reminds us, feminists can easily become complicit in the subordination of others – especially other women. Stereotypes arising from particular combination of race and gender can be the source of discriminatory treatment. Indeed, such comments are not merely relegated to newsroom dynamics. Diversity initiatives implemented in a variety of workplaces reflect similar sentiments. While many companies and corporations realize that discrimination can occur at multiple levels, developing remedies remain challenging. Such results in interviews have led us to consider diverse strategies in policy and practice. How do we create programs that work to provide support to women of colour in newsrooms? We are investigating options that include mentoring programs and diversity training that serves to underscore how identity intersections play out in the newsroom.

However, it is crucial to take into consideration the multiple forms of identity intersections before, during, and after the project. An important issue has been unveiling and continually remarking upon our own Eurocentric practices in our train the trainer models. For example, how do we train our trainers before they go to Afghanistan? How do we evaluate who is an appropriate trainer? How do we judge the success of our programs?

Case study two: International Media

Challenge: How do we foster free, critical and effective media by helping local media outlets and journalism schools provide basic reporting skills in places where media have a history of using their power to promote violence?

IMPACS has been involved in a variety of projects internationally that work to provide technical capacity to women's groups to support the development of women's media. We also help civil society groups in Afghanistan implement their own free-media initiatives and decrease the power of regional warlords by empowering a civil society governed by democratic structures. Our goal is to enhance women's capacity and encourage their participation in the reconstitution of society. As such, we work in partnership with the Afghan's Women Network (AWN) and other groups. We also helped develop the Women's Media and Law Association (a one-year training program) to build the capacity of women in Afghanistan to broadcast programs that will address issues of concern for women around the country.

However, it is crucial to take into consideration the multiple forms of identity intersections before, during, and after the project. An important issue has been unveiling and continually remarking upon our own Eurocentric practices in our train the trainer models. For example, how do we train our trainers before they go to Afghanistan? How do we evaluate who is an appropriate trainer? How do we judge the success of our programs? To begin with, we insist on intensive language training and pay specific attention to issues around cultural sensitivity that not only consider, but also

interrogate, the unstable nature of identity categories. For example, it is not enough simply to send a woman to Afghanistan, assuming that they will be "sisters" and experience a shared sense of subjectivity and solidarity. Such a naive view only works to jeopardize our programs. Gender is obviously significant, while race, religion, and culture also have a significant role to play. It is important for us to consider the relationships between women of various identities who may seem to share commonalities on the surface. For example, simply ensuring that we send a Muslim woman trainer is fraught with complexities. Muslims may appear to be a single, monolithic group, but there are significant differences within this broad category of identity. For example, how might a Shi'a Muslim woman trainer from Canada be perceived by a Muslim Sunni Afghan woman? What tensions might arise in that relationship? Even within rubrics of race, gender, and class categories, there remain significant differences that must be considered and interrogated. We are continually asking ourselves how we can pay attention to all aspects of these diverse intersections without displacing others. We maintain the importance of ensuring that the process – from start to finish – is always transparent. This transparency is absolutely essential to the success of any project.

Case study three: Violence Against Women toolkits

Challenge: How do we develop a media toolkit that will provide communication advice to a wide range of women's centres?

We are currently involved in a project that attempts to develop a communications toolkit for a wide variety of women's centres in one province. The tookit will include tips on acquiring interviews with journalists, key messages, how to write a press release, lobbying tips, etc. The toolkit will provide methods to challenge stereotypical representations of violence against women in the media. Our challenge is to offer a toolkit that will work for a large majority of centres.

Our initial response was to first identify what the challenges are to centres outside of the urban areas. Rural differences, class differences, not to mention race, class, and cultural differences all represent salient factors in the development, production and consumption of the toolkit. We discovered that regional differences, and most significantly, a lack of resources in rural areas especially after debilitating government cutbacks, play an important role in the experience of marginalization for women, especially among differently-abled women and immigrant women. We also recognized the need to consider how Aboriginal sex workers experience marginalization very differently from white women. Their experience of a double marginalization has made us re-consider media approaches, especially in light of the Pickton case and the horrific media coverage that will continue to take center-stage during the trial. What might we do to ensure that Aboriginal women are not further marginalized during this trial, for example?

Mapping the geographies of identity intersections

There remains a paucity of information available about how intersections of identity are understood and negotiated in policy and practice. These brief studies raise more questions than they provide answers. We remain committed to our goal to ensure that our practices do not serve to disadvantage members of any one group while aiding in the empowerment of another. This requires an honest, open dialogue and a constant re-evaluation on all our parts. It can mean, at times, refusing to take on certain projects. It also means keeping the process transparent. At IMPACS, we emphasize a context-specific approach to understand how identity intersections are negotiated. It is imperative to consider how others perceive identity and the shifting ground upon which identity is constructed. I recommend that we continue to map out how identity intersections play out in the social landscape to provide us with a more nuanced picture of these complex processes of identity formation.

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Intersecting Oppressions in Urban Montreal:

A Hip Hop Perspective

Peter Flegel

Peter Flegel is the Executive Director of Montreal-based Black Youth in Action. Regularly quoted in local and national media, Flegel has opened a legal clinic for Black youth, helped to produce and co-hosted a television show on Montreal's Black community, and spoken at numerous national and international conferences.

ABSTRACT

Following the realization, in the 1990s, that Canada's legal solutions for discrimination share little with the day-to-day reality of racialized minorities, a Canadian brand of critical race theory has emerged. Nevertheless, Peter Flegel argues that much work remains to be done, particularly in terms of developing an experiential and contextual approach to diversity. Tools to achieve this goal are already available. An emerging Hip Hop culture, for instance, provides policy-makers and law-makers with invaluable information about an increased sense of hopelessness among Montreal's Black youth, as well as about potential remedies to the intersectional discrimination they face.

Since the 1990s, Canada has experienced a shift in the ways in which cultural, ethnic, and racial diversity has been addressed in research, policy, and jurisprudence. The "postmodernist turn" in academic circles has brought challenges to notions of universalism, cultural homogeneity, and totality in favor of notions of contextualization, particularity, and hybridity. Similarly, the idea of a unitary subject has been displaced by that of a highly fragmented and socially embedded self, caught between competing claims arising from multiple identities (Clement 1996; Laclau and Mouffe 1998; West 1999).

These changes have had a significant impact on the legal profession. Inspired by the emergence and growing popularity of American *critical race theory,* Canadian legal practitioners who specialize in human rights and anti-racism jurisprudence have begun developing new tools to better address the complexities of discrimination in a pluralistic society (Delgado 2000). The emergence of a *Canadian* brand of critical race theory in the 1990s, primarily in Ontario and British Colombia, highlighted the growing sense among Canadians, particularly people of colour, that legal approaches to race, ethnicity and other identity-markers were not dealing adequately with the ways in which discrimination was *experienced* by racialized minorities. Many pointed to the tendency within traditional anti-racism and human rights approaches to compartmentalize oppressions rather than to recognize the extent to which they are interconnected, as a major shortcoming in these approaches (Aylward 1999; OHRC 2001).

Key to this conceptual and methodological shift was the emergence of the *intersectional* approach to diversity. While intersectionality recognizes the existence of oppressions, it departs from traditional approaches by focusing on the ways in which different oppressions intersect and on the unique identities and social conditions that emerge from these intersections (Delgado 2000; Caldwell 2000). In its discussion paper "An Intersectional Approach to Discrimination: Addressing Multiple Grounds in Human Rights Claims," the Ontario Human Rights Commissions explains:

> Intersectional oppression arises out of the combination of various oppressions which, together, produce something unique and distinctive from any one form of discrimination standing alone. An intersectional approach takes into account the historical, social, and political context and recognizes the unique experience of the individual based on the intersection of many groups (2001).

In Canada, the intersectional approach to discrimination is beginning to influence human rights jurisprudence, public policy, and civil society. In 1999 in *Law v. Canada,* for example, the Supreme Court concluded that Canadians could use the equality provision in the Charter (s. 15(1)) to claim discrimination based on an intersection of enunciated and analogous grounds. The purpose of s. 15(1), the nature and situation of the claimant(s), and the social, legal and political history of the ways in which Canadian society has treated marginalized groups should all come into play when determining whether a claim based on intersecting grounds can be presented in court. The Supreme Court pointed out:

There is no reason in principle, therefore, why a discrimination claim positing an intersection of grounds cannot be understood as analogous to or as a synthesis of, the grounds listed in s. 15(1) (Cited in OHRC 2001).

The Canadian government's domestic and foreign policy has also been affected by these developments. During domestic preparations for the UN World Conference Against Racism and debates at the World Conference in South Africa, for

example, the Canadian government sought to address the ways in which different forms of oppressions intersect within the Durban Declaration and Programme of Action. Canada's controversial and ill-fated attempt to include "sexual orientation" in the list of "related forms of discrimination" testifies to the country's commitment to addressing multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination.

Canadian NGOs have also been quite active strategizing around race and other identity markers such as gender, sexual orientation and physical or mental handicap. Equality for Gays and Lesbians Everywhere (EGALE), for example, has organized several conferences and related activities that deal with issues of intersectionality and has recently created a "diversity coordinator" position in order to ensure that the organization better addresses this new approach to diversity.

Despite the work that is being undertaken on intersectionality, this approach to discrimination and identity has yet to gain full currency within federal multiculturalism policy, the judicial system, civil society and academia. In the continuing efforts to develop new research approaches and modify policy orientations, consideration should be given to understanding and addressing the ways in which intersectionality, as it relates to both identity politics *and* interlocking oppressions, is *experienced* by individuals from racialized communities. In other words, attention should be placed on understanding how people are directly affected by and come to terms with their structural positions, i.e. their location at the intersection of different forms of oppression. An *experiential* and contextual approach to diversity allows researchers and policy makers alike to better understand how members of traditionally disadvantaged groups are affected by and perceive the outcome of intersecting oppressions in Canada.

A key to undertaking this work is exploring, through the lens of an intersectional approach to oppression, how culture and art are used as media through which racialized individuals convey and express their identities and/or situation in Canadian society. In this, Hip Hop culture, a growing cultural and artistic movement in Canada, can be used as a means to explore how intersecting oppressions affect visible minorities in Canada. The case of Hip Hop culture in Montreal, Quebec, provides an interesting glimpse into the impact of class, race and age-based oppressions in the country.

A key to undertaking this work is exploring, through the lens of an intersectional approach to oppression, how culture and art are used as media through which racialized individuals convey and express their identities and/or situation in Canadian society. In this, Hip Hop culture, a growing cultural and artistic movement in Canada, can be used as a means to explore how intersecting oppressions affect visible minorities in Canada.

Hip Hop evolved out of the encounter and subsequent cultural métissage that occurred when young, urban New Yorkers created a new vibrant youth culture out of an amalgamation of African American, Jamaican and Afro-Latino musical and dance styles in the 1970s (Rivera 2003). Over the past decade, Hip Hop culture has grown in popularity throughout the world, as disenfranchised youth from various ethnic, racial and religious backgrounds have used the music to contest political, economic and social oppression in their respective countries. In France and Belgium, for example, Hip Hop has become a vehicle for youth of North and West African backgrounds contest racism, poverty and alienation in their neighborhoods. Artists such as MC Solaar and Assassin have contributed to making France the second largest Hip Hop market in the world (Aidi 2000).

In Canada, Hip Hop is turning into a full-fledged youth movement led primarily by Black youth but increasingly involving youth originating from East and South Asia, the Middle East, First Nations communities, and Europe. Organizations such as Montreal's Hip Hop 4Ever International Festival and Black Youth in Action, and Toronto's Block Headz are seeking to capitalize on the popularity of Hip Hop culture in order to develop spaces for critical reflection and political mobilization. Unfortunately, their efforts are regularly challenged and even hampered by an extremely lucrative strand of Hip Hop: "Gangster rap," which glorifies shootings, substance abuse, sexual assault, and homophobic attacks. Police services in Montreal and Toronto have noted with great concern the emerging ties between Gangster rap and organized crime. Nonetheless, it is undeniable that Hip Hop can shed a light on the intersections of race, class, and age as they are experienced by Black (and other) youth in Canada.

One of the most eloquent examples comes from the latest album of leading Quebec rap artist, SP (Sans Pression) entitled: "Répliques aux offusqués" (Rebuttal to the Annoyed). In this candid and brutally honest album, SP exposes the challenges and realities faced by young, poor Black men in Montreal. Using a mixture of French, English, Ebonics, Haitian Creole and Québécois joual, the artist decries the increasing nihilism and gratuitous violence affecting Black youth in the city.

> *Dans le territoire hostile (c'est la mwen connin map mouri[1]) Les projectiles filent c'est pas chill (tout moun ap kouri[2]) / Backstab des fois, on dirait que je suis un habitant de la banlieue de Bagdad… Quelle sera la prochaine sentence la maximale? Le pire c'est que souvent c'est du black*

on black / Pour une chose aussi banale qu'un eye contact (Derrière mon sourire).

Every day stress montréalité une mort prématuré / Dans le territoire hostile c'est prêt à mourir prêt à tuer / La vie de la rue ç'a l'air de rien mais yo ! C'est grave / J'en connais plein qui n'ont jamais atteint mon age / C'est fucked up mais c'est des choses qui arrivent quotidiennement… T'as beau dire que ce sont des salauds / Le monde est capable de tout faire pour le cob[3] / C'est qui tu penses le mammifère le plus cruel du globe ? (Le plus cruel).

References to a "hostile territory" and to "Baghdad" highlight the extent to which many poor Black youth in Montreal feel as if they are living in a war-zone, where anyone can become a victim of senseless violence. The notion of a "stress montréalité" shows how violence and the resulting anxiety are not concentrated in one neighborhood but extend throughout the city. SP sees the crisis facing Black youth as being related primarily to the desire to consume and to accumulate wealth. In SP's song, *Le plus cruel,* he cites another source of anxiety and distress: racial profiling by law enforcement officers. He raps:

Je sais que c'est chaud dans le réseau, dans la rue, dans l'char, dans le bus même dans le métro / Les babis patrouillent le secteur, veulent savoir je fais quoi / Disent que je « fit » la description, pis que ça aurait pu être moi. (Le plus cruel).

This sarcastic "rhyme" highlights the contempt many Black youth have for police officers, some of whom target, harass and even beat youth because they are suspected of being criminals. The issue received considerable public attention in Montreal during the summer of 2003 when Black mothers launched a 750,000$ lawsuit against the Montreal police force on behalf of their children, and a women videotaped police officers telling young girls of Haitian descent to "go back to your country" (Otis-Dionne 2003).

To the average outsider, this very bleak perspective on life in Montreal contrasts with the peaceful, relatively affluent image of the city that most Canadians (including residents of the city) possess. While the analogy made between Montreal and Baghdad may be exaggerated, it does contain a kernel of truth: some Black youth living in the poor neighborhoods do fear for their lives. The intersectional approach to oppression provides some clues to understanding the vision expressed in SP's songs.

Many Black youth in Montreal live in some of the poorest neighborhoods in the city where sports and other facilities and extra-curricular programs are very limited or, in some cases, inaccessible. Adequate housing is often a problem for youth who belong to large families that live in very small and occasionally dilapidated apartments. Adequate food and clothing is also a problem given that 57% and 66% of Black youth live below the poverty line (Torcyzner and Springer, 2001). Limited job opportunities for Black youth also contribute to high levels of poverty. Youth of all backgrounds who enter the labor market are often disadvantaged due to a lack of working experience and of seniority. For Black youth, who bear the brunt of discrimination based on age *and* race, the situation is worse: several studies have revealed disproportionately high levels of unemployment and racial discrimination in the workforce (Ibid.; Chicha-Pontbriand 1990; Pierre 2002).

With these disadvantages tied to lower socioeconomic status, age and racialized status, a sense of hopelessness and a desire to accumulate wealth has emerged and has been exploited by organized crime. According to police reports, biker gangs have begun using poor, Black youth to do their "dirty work" (Savigny forthcoming). This has led to an increase in violence among Black youth, seven of whom have died since May 2003 (Ibid). In this way, the rise in so-called "Black on Black" violence can be traced to specific social and economic factors that have led to some Black youth seeking employment in the criminal sector.

We are alerted to this sad reality through the songs of SP, and other local Hip Hop artists, who lament a breakdown in communal values, limited opportunities, discrimination and a rise in self-interest, nihilistic violence and avarice. From an intersectional perspective, fully understanding and addressing the "every day stress montréalité" requires looking at and developing strategies to tackle the disadvantages tied to race, age and social class in a manner that captures their interconnections. Thus, a national strategy to combat racism must not only involve individuals, organizations and institutions that focus on racism but should also implicate institutional and social actors that tackle other forms of discrimination such as poverty, gender bias, ageism and homophobia.

Notes

1 Translation from the Haitian Creole: "That's where I know I will die."

2 Translation from the Haitian Creole: "Everyone runs."

3 Haitian Creole for "money."

Intersections of Diversity:

A New Approach to Government Policy Development

Mark Curfoot-Mollington

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ABSTRACT

Although the federal civil service has vastly improved its apparatus to deal with diversity in the past thirty years, the time has come to adopt an "intersections of diversity" approach to policy-making in Ottawa. Links between disability and aboriginal status for instance, or between gender and religion, or sexual orientation and ethnicity must be made: what have traditionally been perceived as isolated "target groups" are increasingly found to be unified on many social issues. Such an approach, notwithstanding its inherent difficulties, can only contribute to the elaboration of more equitable social policies and programs.

For those of us who have spent our careers in the federal government, it proves a novel challenge when asked to argue for changing an approach to policy development, which for all intents and purposes, seems to serve Canadians well. To advocate such change to a "tried and true" method that we have employed for many years, however, need not serve to denigrate it or deny the great benefits it has rendered not just for targeted audiences but society as a whole. Rather, it is simply to acknowledge that what has worked well in the past may not currently be working as well as it ought to, and cannot be relied upon to achieve the same level of success in the future. I write this preamble because after twenty-five years of working with governments in dealing with issues of diversity, I have come to realize that it is now time to approach diversity from a different perspective. For in fact, Canadian diversity has overtaken our understanding of it.

Since the 1970s, which is when I initially became actively involved with government policy and programming initiatives focusing on issues of diversity, the federal government has made great strides; first in acknowledging diversity, and then in implementing new services or modifying existing ones with a goal of addressing the specific needs of identifiable groups and minorities. The 1970s and 1980s heralded a trend on the part of the federal government to target policy initiatives responding to the needs of specific groups through the establishment of major programs, at times with their own Ministers of State. We saw the emergence of programs such as the Multiculturalism Program, the Native Citizens' Bureau, the Women's Program and the Status of Disabled Persons Secretariat in the old Department of the Secretary of State.

Divisions mandated towards the extension of services to targeted groups sprang up in departments across the spectrum of government. The former Department of Communications, for example, set up a whole directorate in its Broadcasting Policy Branch devoted to developing policy for the delivery of services from the broadcasting industry specific to the needs of various minorities and under-served groups. Departments, moreover, were required to answer to Parliamentary committees such as the Standing Committee on the Status of Disabled Persons or submit annually reports to be included in an omnibus report to be tabled in Parliament on their policies, activities and internal management initiatives related to regional development, multiculturalism, aboriginal involvement and so forth. Over time, departments and agencies not only came to realize the need to broaden their understanding of our increasingly diverse society, they actually found themselves held accountable, at least to a degree, for their successes and failures in dealing with this diversity.

Notable changes began to appear in policy and subsequent programming initiatives. When the Broadcasting Act was being drafted in the late1980s, policy staff whose job it now was to deal with issues of diversity were able to lobby for inclusive clauses such as the one below to be enshrined in law:

> It is hereby declared as the broadcasting policy for Canada that the Canadian broadcasting system should… through its programming and the employment opportunities arising out of its operations, serve the needs and interests and reflect the circumstances and aspirations of Canadian men women and children, including equal rights, the linguistic duality and multicultural and multiracial nature of Canadian society and the special place of aboriginal peoples within that society. Broadcasting Act, Statutes of Canada 1991, 3(1)(d)(iii).

In responding to the spirit of the Act, the Department of Communications marked the passing of the legislation by establishing and providing ongoing program funding for an aboriginal satellite television network, Television Northern Canada, as well as a broadcast reading service for the visually-impaired.

We all recognize that the efforts of government were far from perfect; lip-service to newer policy outlooks as well as many subsequent initiatives did not necessarily always result in changes to the way things were done. I think it is fair to

say, nonetheless, that overall, enormous strides were made. To have used the word "diversity" thirty years ago in the context of government policy on industry, trade, agriculture, justice, universities, culture, prison or transport systems would have drawn blank stares from many civil servants. That is not the case today. The point has been made and at the very least acknowledged by most policy makers: Canadian society is diverse and government policy and services must reflect and respond to this diversity.

Yet as I look back on these early initiatives, I can appreciate that our efforts to date are only a first step in creating a universal understanding among civil servants of the complexity and multiplicity of Canadian diversity. We strove in almost every instance to set up units empowered to deal with only one aspect of diversity. An individual policy analyst or program officer would, for example, confine his or her activities only to issues related to physical disability (visual impairment, hearing loss or physical mobility), another analyst to linguistic minorities, a third to ethnocultural minorities. Even when housed in the same operational unit, these policy analysts would rarely examine the possibility of any intersections among their separate portfolios or consider potential areas of convergence among their client groups. The system neither promoted nor allowed for such inter-sectoral partnering. Target groups themselves, or perhaps more precisely their NGOs and lobby groups, moreover, usually resisted any such convergence, perhaps fearing a loss of program funding.

I write from personal experience. When I headed up a unit responsible for policy issues related to disabled persons, ethnocutural minorities, women, children, aboriginal peoples, and seniors, I was regularly called upon to speak at venues across the country and abroad. At these events, I would dutifully outline Canada's progress or, sometimes more analytically, obstacles to progress for providing services to each of these target audiences. When I re-read these speeches today, I am struck by how much each speech reads like six separate addresses. Yes, these papers were held together by a common theme of government recognizing diversity and trying to reflect this new-found recognition in its policy and programs. But in no way did I endeavour to make the link between the various components. Disability, for example, in no way entered into the equation when I expounded upon the programming needs of ethnocultural minorities.

And so it was for the most part across government. Policy makers in departments and agencies would address the needs of targeted groups one by one when determining how their needs related to mandates. The Canadian Ethnic Studies Program, for example, endowed a number of thematic chairs-of-study at various universities dealing specifically with disciplines such as education, healthcare, and culture, but clearly within the broad context of ethnicity and immigration. What was common to the vast majority of these endeavours was that in preparing the policy frameworks, each target group was scrutinized and analysed separate from the others.

All of this was to the good; we must not lose site of that. What strikes me now, however, is the extent to which we failed to consider the now obvious observation that somehow these target groups may not have existed in isolation to each other. There have, of course, been many notable exceptions to this. Native elders, for example, have participated in programs focusing on aboriginal youth; this is in keeping with the role their seniors have always played in articulating aboriginal needs within the context of a more holistic view of the community. The Multiculturalism Program did in the early nineties support the library of the Canadian National Institute for the Blind to provide books on tape for blind Canadians from various ethnocultural communities. Government programs have targeted visible minority youth in urban areas or official language minority seniors in rural environments. Generally, however, the focus has been upon one identifiable group as if it were somehow monolithic. Diversity was a viable option for Canadians; in dealing with government, Canadians could choose to define themselves as they saw fit as long as they defined themselves with one identifier.

As policy makers, researchers, service providers and academics, the challenge for us today is to break away from this traditional view of social diversity. To do so, perhaps we must first acknowledge that Canadian society is much more diverse than we ever dreamed possible thirty years ago. It is realistic to assume that this diversity will continue to expand in the coming years based upon changing social and demographic factors because Canadians are living longer; most immigrants are now coming from Asia, Africa and South America; increasing numbers of Canadians are from mixed ethnicity and that number can only be expected to increase with future generations; fewer Canadians claim adherence to the traditional "mainline" Christian denominations; improvements in medical science means greater opportunity and demands for accessibility from disabled Canadians; there is a rapidly growing aboriginal youth population; new applications of information and communications technology are providing greater potential for development in rural communities; increased recognition of gays and lesbians is leading to their more open participation in community activity; and there is an increasing awareness of the economic, social and cultural opportunities afforded by traditionally marginalised groups to the collective society.

If, then, the tried and true approach to diversity (that is, looking at a single collective defining feature of a group, i.e. disability, language, etc.) may not serve us as well in the coming years, what method will lead us to draft more effective policy? I think we need, first of all, to step back from the traditional way in which bureaucracies have viewed diversity in order to focus more intensely on the concept of identity. With a fresh view of identity as a cornerstone of our understanding of a new diversity, we can then move forward to integrate this understanding of identity into our research, analysis and policy development.

If asked to define one self, to prepare one's own individual profile, I doubt if anyone would elect to mention only one identifying factor (identity marker). I might define myself as an anglophone, Anglo-Celtic, bilingual (both official languages), Anglican, Upper-Canadian, urban, middle-class, fairly prosperous, middle-aged man. I would undoubtedly consider someone who might identify me only as a man or by my sexual orientation or by the fact that I am an urban dweller to have done me a disservice. Using the identity

markers I have selected for myself by no means makes me unique as a Canadian - there are probably hundreds of thousands of Canadians like me - but it does serve to highlight the fact that to understand me all of these identity markers must be taken into consideration.

In order to grasp the degree of diversity in Canada today, one needs to realize the breadth of identity and the multiplicity of identity markers within every identifiable sector of society. A new view of the concept of Canadian diversity thus becomes a recognition of the vast collective of all of our self-identifying intersecting identity markers.

Across departments, civil servants are slowly becoming aware of the potential of this new approach to policy development. This new approach, which we call "intersections of diversity," affords a more broadly based outlook within government on the concepts of identity and of the actual reality of the collective. In a sense, it is not a formula for standard policy analysis; you will note that I have chosen to use the word approach. What it really boils down to is this: intersections of diversity is a call to civil servants; it is a challenge to be open to viewing diversity in all its permutations and to recognize the need to respond to diversity with all its ramifications.

I write, of course, from the mind-set of a bureaucrat. I am not an academic and it has been thirty-five years since I even opened a social science text book. I have, however, had the opportunity to discuss this concept of intersections of diversity with numerous civil servants and interest groups. Almost a year ago, a cross-section of government policy and program officials came up with a series of identity markers which they determined germane to the preparation of policy and the development of programs. Recognizing that no list could ever be completely inclusive, the following thirteen identity markers were identified: race, ethnicity, heritage language, religion, gender, age, ability, socio-economic status, sexual orientation, immigration, aboriginal peoples, official language, region.

If we accept the fact that diversity involves the intersecting of various identity markers, the challenge comes in ensuring that this broader understanding of diversity is integrated into our policy development exercise and ultimately reflected in our programming initiatives. This may not always be as easy as it sounds. Much as one dislikes quoting the old managers' politically incorrect lament, "if only I could hire a disabled, lesbian, francophone aboriginal, woman," it does serve to illustrate a point. No one single policy perspective will necessarily serve equitably all Canadians just as no one employee could ever serve to increase the diversity of the office or re-balance equity in the work place. The key is to develop policies with the flexibility to be applied to increasingly diverse target populations.

One has to be practical: not all identity markers intersect with each other in every situation. Let's face it, one could, I suppose, make an argument for the inclusion of every identity marker in every policy initiative, but to what degree this would prove a productive exercise is questionable. Sexual orientation or religion, for example, may not be as important in drafting policy in agriculture to the degree they are in drafting legislation on same sex unions. But care should, nonetheless, be taken; only after inclusive initial research has been undertaken, and the full range of possible intersection actually considered, should the more arcane intersections be jettisoned. The challenge really boils down to selecting carefully the identity factors which do relate to the issue, determining how they intersect, and only then proceeding to develop policy and programming initiatives which can address the specific needs created through these intersections.

There are obvious examples of intersections which come to mind. In the field of youth justice for example, aboriginal, region (urban and rural) and socio-economic status are natural converging identities, as are race, region (urban), age (again youth), and heritage language. Within the health field in the context of services for disabled persons, the identity markers of immigration, heritage language and gender may need to be examined together; in another scenario, region (rural), official language and age (seniors) may be pertinent markers for ensuring an acceptable level of service. In developing heritage and cultural policy on, say, new outreach initiatives to support Canadian periodicals and publications, heritage languages, immigration, region and ethnicity may be important intersecting identity markers; and official language policy, region and immigration may intersect to influence linguistic policy.

With intersections of diversity, far-reaching, comprehensive and inclusive research becomes more important than ever. Research simply on age and disability alone may not provide the data necessary for formulating inclusive and effective policy. Adding in specific identity markers when commissioning the research (such as ethnicity, aboriginal and language) might produce results much more suited for defining policy on aging in a rapidly changing society.

One could cite endless hypothetical examples. But the actual determination of relevant intersecting identity markers is best left to experts in the field. The bottom line is that government departments and agencies must learn to step back and view an issue from a more broadly based perspective.

Openness to a new understanding of diversity is, I have come to conclude, an exciting and cutting-edge approach to dealing with Canadian diversity. Intersections of diversity is not an easy concept; there is no ready formula for applying it to policy situations. By its very nature and changing application, it tends to defy a simple theoretical definition since it is, in effect, more a change of mind-set than an application of academic scientific methodology. Yet if applied, it offers the potential for a greater understanding of the diverse nature of Canadian society with all its exciting and ever changing permutations. Its application is an effective approach for comprehensively viewing this country in all its multiformity, for ensuring more inclusive and far-ranging public policy and, ultimately, for addressing the actual needs of Canadians in a more effective and meaningful way.

Intersections of Diversity:

Is This the Road to Better Policy?

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ABSTRACT

Increasingly, the development of constructive and cost-effective public policy requires encouraging and recognizing coalitions of interest among the diverse Canadian minority communities. An intersectional approach would assist policy-makers in identifying existing or desired coalitions of interests, and in deconstructing the "hierarchy of difference" that generally informs our understanding of, and treatment of issues regarding diversity. The authors insist that intersections of diversity are indivisible from a new vision for Canada in the twenty-first century.

As public servants, we hear time and again about the inherent value of diversity and, whether we intend to or not, we reinforce this theme, weaving into our work messages about diversity writ large and its contribution to Canada's creativity and innovation. Diversity has traditionally been approached quite broadly, with minimal differentiation or reconciliation among diversities and not enough thought given to their interactions and overlaps. In this article, we challenge the traditional approach to diversity – an approach that has treated diversities singularly, in isolation, and as one and the same – and evaluate whether approaching public policy through the lens of intersections makes sense. In other words, would taking intersections of diversity into account lead to better public policy?

We argue that looking at intersections of diversity does make a difference and would contribute to better policy for two reasons. First, an understanding of intersections of diversity lends itself to exploring similarities across collectivities of Canadians, which would provide an avenue for government to tackle issues in a more comprehensive manner. Second, by undermining the "hierarchy of difference," intersectionality facilitates acceptance and inclusion. We will explore these arguments in turn.

First, policy-making situated in an intersections framework would assist policy-makers in identifying existing or desired coalitions of interest. Such coalitions of interest can be critical staging grounds for the introduction and implementation of policies that affect cross-sections of society with mutual or overlapping interests. An intersections framework encourages policy-makers to look beyond singular diversity groups when designing policy, an approach that is likely to prove cost-effective by capitalizing on existing work, as well as more likely to effect desired change.

Racial profiling is one issue where an intersectional approach would facilitate the identification of coalitions of interest in an effort to develop more effective policy. Racial profiling could be – and has been – viewed primarily as a concern for Black communities, especially those in Toronto, and this has contributed to a rather skewed perception of the issue. Arabs and Muslims after 9/11 have a stake in discussions about police profiling, as do Aboriginals, not to mention gay and lesbian communities. Policy development must take into account the interests of those affected and should seek to bring these communities together to tackle the issues. Intersectional Canadians – perhaps the lesbian Aboriginal or the Black Muslim – often inhabit multiple worlds and are able to make connections between interests that others may be unable or unlikely to make. Those who study social networks might liken intersectional Canadians to "boundary spanners" who connect those in their network to other, external groups, providing a conduit for the flow of information and knowledge.

Second, we contend that by facilitating acceptance and inclusion, intersectionality undermines the "hierarchy of difference." We draw here on the work of Iris Marion Young in *Inclusion and Democracy* (2002). Young argues that a free, open and inclusive discussion is only possible when all participants have an equal voice. Given the historic complexities of Canada, some identity markers have been given a higher stature or status than others. Equally, in western societies the iron triangle of "race, class and gender" has been a diversity hegemone for at least the last two decades. Intersections unsettle this dominance and insist on a different approach to diversity – one that does not *a priori* privilege some diversities

over others. This is not to imply that in any given enquiry, all diversities will be salient or even equally salient. It does, however, demand that rationales for consideration of diversity run deeper than "we lack the data," or "that is too complex." Ducking hard questions makes for bad policy and poor research.

We have argued, then, that intersections would lead to better policy. To press the point, we consider three examples where intersections were not taken into account and where, consequently, outcomes were somewhat less than optimal. We will look at Canadian preparations for the World Conference Against Racism, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance; attempts to create a representative federal public service; and, finally, the ongoing Canadian response to 9/11.

WCAR: Wrong Turn?

The World Conference Against Racism, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance took place in August 2001. Prior to the conference, Jack Jedwab et al. prepared an extensive report outlining precisely the common cross-cutting issues faced by various minority communities, however so defined, in any number of policy areas. In spite of this, and in spite of the conception of the conference as a broad and far-reaching examination of diversity, the proceedings were dominated by questions of race and Black experiences in particular, to the exclusion of other forms of diversity. Issues of sexual orientation and religion were almost entirely absent, unless one, rather perversely we might add, considers the anti-semitism that emerged in the proceedings of the NGO forum as evidence of religious inclusion.

Indeed, the privileging, or replication of the "hierarchy of difference" was apparent even within the government secretariat that was established to manage the Canadian consultations. Two South Asian Muslim women employed by the secretariat were informed that they were "not visible enough" (in other words, not "dark" enough) to staff the consultations' registration table and were thus removed from that responsibility. Had an intersectional approach been embedded in the preparations leading up to the conference, organizers would have been forced to look beyond traditional diversities, to include a broader range of perspectives (and, moreover, various shades of flesh!), and hopefully push the conception of tolerance beyond racial tolerance alone. In the end, however, sceptics argued that not even the cause of racial tolerance was advanced as a result of the conference. In fact, one could argue that the conference proceedings caused considerable damage to the fragile coalitions of interest that existed around discrimination and other diversity issues.

A Representative Public Service: The Language Traffic Jam

In our second example, we consider attempts to create a representative federal public service. Although bilingualism is not required of all employees in the public service, many positions require that candidates have competence in both official languages prior to taking up their positions as public servants. Some have suggested that this requirement will adversely affect the representation of Atlantic and Western Canadians, where competency in both official languages is lower and where applicants are already disadvantaged by geographic requirements that limit the scope of government competitions to applicants residing within the National Capital Region.

An intersectional analysis would have shed light on the official language profile of those living outside of Ontario and Quebec and demonstrated the likely negative impact of official language requirements. Policy-heavy jobs in the federal public service are already dominated by residents of the National Capital Region, and obliviousness towards the regions is unfortunately acutely apparent.

An intersectional analysis would have shed light on the official language profile of those living outside of Ontario and Quebec and demonstrated the likely negative impact of official language requirements. Policy-heavy jobs in the federal public service are already dominated by residents of the National Capital Region, and obliviousness towards the regions is unfortunately acutely apparent. For example, a few years ago, we were both involved in policy discussions to create a framework for celebration, commemoration and learning in Canada. The coming commemoration of the landing of Champlain and the founding of Quebec City were both discussed in detail, but nary a word about Alberta and Saskatchewan's upcoming centenaries, save to describe the latter province as "a wasteland." Is it any wonder that we insist on hanging the flags of our respective provinces in our offices, even though few are able to correctly identify them?

Creating a more representative public service is absolutely a valid policy objective, but it could be better met by employing an intersectional approach that moves beyond increasing the representation of singular groups. An intersectional approach would avoid triggering antagonism between Canadians who feel excluded on the basis of geography and those who feel excluded on the basis of language, as well as those visible minority Canadians for whom language is a systemic barrier.

The Response to 9/11: Did Canada Just Run a Red Light?

Third, intersections have not been considered in Canada's ongoing response to 9/11, and there appears to have been little serious consideration to how various activities would impact on Canadians differently. In particular, South Asian men have become the target of much scrutiny, particularly if they are Muslim as well.

While relevant research and policy work is not yet extensive, it has until now focused on young Muslim women. As a result, there is little to guide policy on young men post-9/11. We have even less to assess the impact of existing and new policies. Indeed, even where expertise existed in government, it was often poorly utilized. A young Muslim woman working in the public service was removed from any files pertaining to 9/11 because, in the words of one colleague, "now must be a sensitive time for you." Rather than take advantage of the expertise that this intersectional public servant had as a result of her diverse identities, policy was developed by people with little, if any, understanding of the issues that the communities in question faced.

At the same time, the critical examination of the issues that emerged following 9/11 has, in many cases, reverted to an approach concerned primarily with elements of the iron triangle of race, class and gender. Researchers and organizations, including the Ontario Human Rights Commission, are looking at racial profiling, but not other types of profiling. Moreover, despite the differences, religion has been subsumed by race in many analyses. The differences between religion and race and the impact of police profiling on a broad range of individuals would be made more evident if an intersectional approach were employed.

Of course, adopting an intersections approach does not mean that all issues must be examined from all vantage points at all times. Indeed, this is the argument that critics launch to discredit intersections. They suggest that intersections would require policy-makers to focus on an unrealistic number of possible identity combinations, or that they would be forced to develop highly specific policies for, say, the young, poor, Black, lesbian, disabled, francophone women in rural Manitoba. These critiques, we contend, are intellectually dishonest and are merely looking for a means to avoid exploring the complex subject of human diversity. Taken to their extreme, their arguments suggest that we could never really know anything, except ourselves for brief moments in time and, even then, with only a partial picture. This, of course, runs against our sensibilities because while deconstruction and unpacking may be tools in our policy toolkits, these are not endpoints; rather,our job, as policy-makers, is ultimately to construct.

Implementing an intersectional approach in policy and research is by no means a small order, but it is a necessary one. Indeed, we, and others, have worked over the past few years to do so, and recognize the challenges. Few have argued that the current approach works as it should; nor have many argued that simplifying diversity into discrete "identity units" produces equitable results. The primary challenge has not been resistance to the *idea* or theory of intersectionality, but rather resistance to the task of creating a new, more fulsome way of looking at, and addressing, diversity. Developing an intersectional approach to diversity is absolutely a complex task but, as we have argued, it will improve research findings, policy outcomes, and the cost-effectiveness of delivery.

In *Making History,* Paul Martin outlines his vision and direction as Canada's 21st Prime Minister. He argues that "the time has come for a new approach by leaders to building Canada. An approach based on national purpose… An approach that builds Canada's nationhood, not through the diminishment of provinces or particular identities, nor by the rejection of the world outside, but by making the national space the place in which Canadians build better lives, a better future and a better world. An approach that will take on the big challenges that matter, and do so by changing the way things work in Ottawa." Intersections must be a part of this approach.

Do You Know Your Canadian Issues?

Êtes-vous au fait de vos Thèmes Canadiens ?

Intersections of Diversity:

The Case for Policy Intervention

Meyer Burstein

Meyer Burstein was responsible for Canada's strategic planning and research programs during a formative period in the development of Canada's present immigration regime. He is the founder, in collaboration with Demetrios Papademetriou, a leading American thinker on immigration issues, of the international Metropolis Project, which seeks to strengthen the role of science in public policy and practice.

ABSTRACT

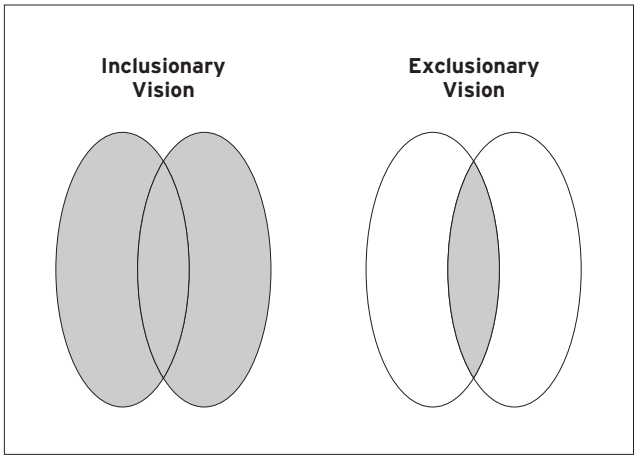
The author comments on some of the issues addressed during a workshop on intersections of diversity conducted in Niagara Falls in the spring of 2003. While conversations about diversity typically revolve around the issues of exclusion and disadvantage, which are indeed important issues, Meyer Burstein points to the fact that diversity could also be discussed in terms of what it can bring to the Canadian political, business, and cultural sectors.

The Intersections of Diversity project began with two objectives: (i) to contribute to a better understanding of intersecting diversities; and (ii) to "build a horizontal, cross-government policy framework … [that is] … inclusive of, and responsive to, the intersecting nature of diversity". This article focuses on the latter policy objective and examines the lessons that emerged from a two-day workshop conducted in Niagara Falls in April of 2003. The majority of workshop participants were academics, with a smaller number of government researchers and policymakers, and a sprinkling of NGOs.

At the start of the Niagara Falls workshop, participants were challenged to think of intersecting diversities from the perspective of membership and inclusion in multiple diversity groups. Unfortunately, this optimistic notion of inclusion did not find fertile ground and stood in stark opposition to the near total focus of the workshop on exclusion and disadvantage.

This dominance of the exclusionary vision led participants to focus virtually all of their attention on remedial government policies. As a result, the prevailing dialogue centered on rights, on measures to enhance access, and on ways to redistribute income and privilege. There was very little discussion of the actual or potential contributions that groups characterized by multiple identity markers could make towards strategic policy goals such as enhanced trade or regional development.

To some extent, the focus on remedial policy interventions can be explained by the choice of identity markers and by the language of the conference which referred to the need for policies that are "…inclusive, sensitive and responsive to marginalized groups …". This was not inappropriate given that many of the identity characteristics have long been associated with disadvantage and discrimination. The unipolar nature of the discussion did, however, clash with another idea that has been gaining currency, namely that diversity is a valuable resource and one that Canada is uniquely well positioned to exploit. After all, if a little diversity or a single marker of identity is a good thing, why should more diversity and multiple identity markers not be even better?



This is not to say that the workshop did not treat serious issues in a serious way. In particular, the organizers of the conference were successful in drawing attention to a set of issues that have heretofore been largely ignored. As well, a variety of creative and, oftentimes, speculative ideas were advanced for dealing with concerns that frequently fall outside the domain of federal policy development and program implementation. The challenge now is to follow on this initiative in a sophisticated, but practical, way. Here too the workshop offered some important lessons. Six key points are elaborated below to serve as a guide in the event that the organizers or, better yet, members of the policy community decide to move this initiative forward.

Key lessons and next steps:

(a) It is important to situate *different circumstances* at the core of any arguments regarding the need for incremental policy measures to deal with multiple identity markers. This is necessary in order to distinguish such claims from other, straightforward calls for additional resources (whether or not additional resources are needed is not in dispute here). Two general circumstances requiring special intervention by government can be identified. The first circumstance occurs when separate, overlapping identity markers *interact* to produce needs that are qualitatively or quantitatively different from those produced by simple aggregation of the needs associated with the individual markers. The second occurs when there are no interactive effects but the burden of accessing multiple services proves too great for clients with multiple needs originating in multiple diversities. Under such circumstances, the onus for obtaining services cannot rest with the recipients but must, instead, be assumed by governments who need to reach out and to bundle services.

(b) As might be expected, there was too much enthusiasm at the workshop for creating multiple, overlapping identities and then calling for special interventions. This risks turning a good idea into a risible one. Rigorous and extensive pruning will be needed. A good place to begin would be with the identity markers themselves. The current selection lumps together personal characteristics and ascribed features (some of them time and situation-dependent) with outcome measures. A smaller set of identity markers most closely aligned with strategic policy concerns would stand a greater chance of attracting support from government agencies. This initial reduction should be followed closely by statistical analyses aimed at clarifying the size of various populations and the conditions under which they live. Service providers and NGOs could play a very useful role in helping to focus this analysis. As well, members of the affected groups should be given a voice in the process since they are the real experts. Ultimately, hard choices will need to be made. Only where numbers warrant – and subject to the conditions identified in step number one above – can a legitimate case be made for government intervention.

(c) Some situations are best dealt with institutionally at the level of practice and not at the level of policy or program reform. This is particularly true of small, physically dispersed populations requiring complex, one-off interventions. In such circumstances, the answer may lie not in the services but in how they are delivered, with NGOs likely being the preferred delivery vehicle. A deeper analysis of how NGOs and non-government service providers respond to persons characterized by multiple identity markers would produce a better understanding of the issues and of the organizational and financial implications of addressing them.

(d) For the intersections project to move forward, the buy-in of several key communities will be needed. This can only occur after the pruning exercise described above has taken place. The key communities that will need to be engaged, and who were underrepresented at the Niagara seminar, are policymakers, service providers (both government agents as well as NGOs) and members of the target communities. These groups will need to be brought together. A threefold goal should be established for such a gathering: (i) to initiate a small number of action research projects; (ii) to establish a 'board' to evaluate the research results and recommendations; and (iii) to seek commitment for implementing a series of pilot experiments to address the issues identified by the research.

As might be expected, there was too much enthusiasm at the workshop for creating multiple, overlapping identities and then calling for special interventions. This risks turning a good idea into a risible one.

(e) Finally, an effort should be made to identify instances where overlapping identities constitute a resource that can be tapped to the advantage of all concerned. There is a pronounced tendency, especially prevalent among academics and the non-governmental sector, to equate diversity with need. This single-minded focus narrows the appeal of diversity by aligning its support exclusively with altruist motives and ignoring the broader constituency that responds to national self-interest. If diversity is to be viewed as a good thing and public policy is to be based on honesty and liberal democratic principles, then the advantages of diversity, and not only the costs, will need to be enunciated with far greater clarity and proclaimed.

An Intersectional Approach to Queer Health Policy and Practice: Two-Spirit People in Canada

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ABSTRACT

Brotman and Ryan explore intersectional oppression and discrimination in health care policy as it relates to the queer community. They emphasize that this community is in fact much more diverse than traditionally defined – white, upper class gay men – and that better health services, and access to them, ought to be provided to those who have been marginalized on account of their multiple identities.

Situating Queer Health

The concept of queer[1] health is only beginning to be addressed within institutional and governmental discourses. Up until recently health practitioners and policy-makers rarely considered the health status of queer people as an area of concern, and when doing so, focused almost exclusively on identifying same-sex attraction as pathology[2]. Although professional health associations are beginning to address sexual orientation within guidelines and policy directives[3], most health care institutions and practitioners continue to ignore the health care needs of queer people. What we have today is a health care system in which, at worst, queer people's health is damaged because of oppressive practices, and at best, queer people are simply rendered invisible. Under these conditions, it should be no surprise to us that queer people have an especially mistrustful and apprehensive relationship with health care institutions and professionals. It is also no surprise that, until recently, the voices of queer people in health care decision making, health promotion and disease prevention were largely absent (Ryan, Brotman and Rowe, 2000).

The major exception to this trend has been in the case of research, practice, and policy into the prevention and treatment of HIV/AIDS. To some extent, the emergence of the HIV/AIDS pandemic has paved the way for queer people to be recognized as active partners in health policy and program development (Ryan and Chervin, 2000). Still, this model has had little effect on other health care arenas, as HIV/AIDS bears no relationship to the lived experience of HIV-negative queer men or women (Peers and Demczuk, 1998). In fact the focus of research, activism, and funding on the pandemic has sometimes resulted in the marginalization of other queer health issues[4].

There are many positive developments in recent years, however, that need to be highlighted. A steadily growing interest in the health and health care needs of queer people has emerged over the past ten years in localized, community-based sites, corresponding with advances in queer rights agendas across North America. The entrenchment of sexual orientation as grounds of discrimination in the Canadian Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms has lent legitimacy to the articulation of a rights-based discourse in health care settings. Research and policy focused upon health outcomes and best practices is beginning to emerge thanks to the efforts of queer activists and their allies in health professions to promote the needs of queer people and communities. This has resulted in some institutional recognition of sexual orientation as a category of discrimination and subsequently as a unique social determinant of health in health policy environments.

Queer health activists in Canada have worked to call attention to health disparities among queer people and to substantiate a perspective on global queer health.[5] Many community-based health initiatives have emerged from the grass-roots and, although under-funded, have made inroads in the development of queer health policy and practice. For example, the Canadian Rainbow Health Coalition was launched in 2002 as a pan-Canadian group to advocate for better health services and access across Canada.

While queer health activists and their allies have done much to identify the need for health care policy to address queer-specific discrimination, the movement for global queer health has done little to address diversity within its midst. Focusing on global concepts of exclusion based upon a single identity category, queer health activists have advanced and legitimized a construction of "queer health" reflecting multiple forms of privilege, including such identity categories as white, Christian, young, able-bodied, urban and male. That is, the global health of queer people has largely been articulated and shaped through the lens of a restricted group of relatively privileged queer people. This mirrors the reality within most queer rights-based and community initiatives (Baradaran, 2003).

Several authors have described lesbian women's invisibility in both the women's health movement (which ignored sexual orientation-based oppression) and the gay health movement (which ignored gender-based oppression) (Daley, 1998; Gentry, 1992; Jenness & Broad, 1994). There is also ample evidence of the negative health impact of exclusion faced by older gay men and lesbians who fear accessing health care organizations in either mainstream or queer communities because of the combined realities of homophobia and ageism (Brotman, Ryan and Cormier, 2003). Indeed, there are large gaps in knowledge about the health care issues of queer people who face multiple forms of marginalization and oppression including: lesbian and bisexual women, queers of colour, older, poor, disabled and Aboriginal queers. While it may have been historically relevant to struggle for recognition of queer health as a unique social category, and to expose how homophobia oppressed all queer people regardless of other social locations, doing so entrenched an essentialized ideal of queer health which excluded and oppressed queer people situated at the margins. It is only through the agitation and organization of these queer people that there is growing recognition from within the queer health community of their exclusion. The time has now come for queer health activists to dissect the identity label of "queer," to understand how queer health theory, research and practice misrepresents, and does harm, to queer people who face multiple forms of oppression and ultimately, to make room for diverse queer people at the table.

To do this it is necessary to begin from a perspective which situates difference and diversity within the political context of intersectionality[6]. Addressing difference within queer communities must go beyond reified notions of monolithic "gay" experience in health promotion strategies and problematize identity constructs to include an examination of power, privilege and intersectional identity. By examining the impact of intersectional oppression, we can begin to open up space in which to address the problem of invisibility within the current discourse on queer health, and to develop more inclusive and diverse categories from which to theorize, build capacity and plan action.

To situate this discussion, we will describe the results of a research project completed in 2000 with Two Spirit[7] people in Montreal. This project was undertaken as part of a larger initiative on health care access for gay, lesbian, bisexual and Two-Spirit people in Canada[8]. In total, 5 focus groups (with 61 individuals) were held across Canada[9]. In Montreal, two Two-Spirit focus groups were undertaken with a total number of 12 participants representing both Two-Spirit people themselves, and their Aboriginal allies in health. Individuals came from both reserve-based and urban environments. Conversation focused broadly on the following themes: meanings of health, people's notions of identity and community, and the experience of health care barriers within and outside of Aboriginal communities. We will discuss some of these themes in the current paper.

It is important to identify that neither of the authors of this paper are, ourselves, Two-Spirited. We have attempted, in doing this research project, to take an explicitly reflexive stance[10] as people with multiple privileges granted us by our individual social locations (as a white heterosexual female and white gay male) and status as university researchers. Our history of work as activists and academics on queer issues has supported participatory methods as a means of addressing such issues as power-sharing, promotion of human rights agendas and building alliances with marginalized people and communities. In the current context, all stages of the research process supported the inclusion of Two-Spirit people as consultants and team members[11]. Still we recognize the advantage our privileged space gives us to frame the issues and receive credit for knowledge transfer in academic and public policy circles.

Two-Spirit People's Health: The Impact of Intersectional Oppression

If we accept the premise that health policy largely excludes the voices and realities of queer people generally, and that the smaller body of work on queer health has little reference to multiply marginalized people, then we can begin to understand just how invisible are the health care needs and realities of Two-Spirit people. In fact, Two-Spirit people in Canada have been left out of health research and policy activities in multiple settings; mainstream, queer and Aboriginal. Few people involved in health care at any level have even heard of the term Two-Spirit. Aboriginal communities themselves have little documentation on the lives and experiences of Two-Spirit people and have only recently begun to recognize Two-Spirit people through localized initiatives. This absence of knowledge and understanding contributes to a health environment shaped by ignorance. But it is not ignorance alone that fuels discrimination in health settings. The intersectional oppression that Two-Spirit people face is structural[12] in nature, based upon historical and current discrimination in health care and other settings which inform and have an impact upon health. Colonialism[13], heterosexism, homophobia/transphobia[14], classism and sexism experienced by Two-Spirit people have put them at a unique disadvantage with regard to their health.

Two-Spirit people's health status is informed by multiple layers of oppression, as both Aboriginal and queer. Their health is compromised as a result of historic and current colonial and racist oppression to which all Aboriginal people are subjected (Monture-Angus, 1995; Waldram, 1994; Wright et al., 1997; Wotherspoon, 1994) and which has caused higher rates of substance abuse, addictions, depression and suicide, morbidity and mortality

than experienced by non-Aboriginal populations (Waldram, 1994; Wotherspoon, 1994). Rates of HIV/AIDS in Aboriginal communities are also considerably higher and are connected to the negative impact of social conditions under which most Aboriginal people live in Canada (Wotherspoon, 1994).

Queer communities also face oppression in the form of heterosexism and homophobia/transphobia which has resulted in increased health risks, some of which are similar to those identified in Aboriginal contexts, such as higher rates of addiction, depression and suicidal ideation (Andersen, 1996; Hartstein, 1996; Hershberger, Pilkington & d'Augelli, 1996; Ramafedi, 1999). These experiences of oppression, which contribute to greater negative health outcomes, are complex and interweaving and result in specific forms of exclusion and marginalization. For example, there is some documentation that the interactions between racism/colonialism and homophobia/transphobia put Two-Spirit people at greater risk of HIV infection (Ryan & Chervin, 2000). Although there is no epidemiological research specific to Two-Spirit people from which to draw to confirm the impact of multiple oppression on health, our qualitative research has demonstrated that Two-Spirit people confront many health problems (Brotman, Ryan, Jalbert and Rowe, 2002a).

These experiences of oppression, which contribute to greater negative health outcomes, are complex and interweaving and result in specific forms of exclusion and marginalization.

We can look to the role of identity formation in health status and outcomes as a means of highlighting this reality. Intersectionality theory can help to frame this discussion from the perspectives of Two-Spirit people. The process of self-definition and self creation for people whose identities are doubly bound is fraught with conflict and challenge. This complex issue is referred to as intersectionality and identity (Crenshaw, 1995). Often labouring to reconcile both identities, Two-Spirit people can become caught between two worlds, forever defined as "other" by those communities in which they seek to define themselves. In attempting to maintain loyalties to many often politically, morally or philosophically opposed communities, these people may become hybridized subjects (Bhabha, 1994) which brings with it risks to the development of a healthy and integrated sense of self (Brotman and Kraniou, 1998).

The issue of "coming-out" is particularly salient in the current context. Queer health research has pointed time and again to the importance of coming out as gay, lesbian or bisexual to the positive health and well-being of queer people[15]. But the accepted model of coming out has been critiqued by queers of colour as being largely derived from the experiences of queers of privilege; namely, white, upper class, gay men (Smith, 1997). Many contemporary queer people are not comfortable naming themselves as "gay," "lesbian," or "bisexual," and feel rather as if they had been grouped into these categories by the power of the English language alone. In Aboriginal communities, for example, there is research which points to the ways in which historic forms of colonial oppression actually informed homophobia within Aboriginal communities (Brown, 1997; Jacobs, Thomas and Lang, 1997; Roscoe, 1987; Tafoya, 1997; Wright, Lopez & Zumwalt, 1997). Colonization and Christianity regarded Aboriginal cultural beliefs, and undoubtedly, Aboriginal gay men, lesbians, bisexuals and transgendered people, as abnormal. Therefore, Christianity has made possible the growth of heterosexism and homophobia/transphobia that are used as a justification for the exclusion and rejection of Aboriginal queers in modern day Aboriginal communities (Jacobs and Brown, 1997; Meyer, 1998; Williams, 1984). Thus, accepting to call oneself gay or lesbian and thus merging oneself into the larger queer body politic means accepting a construction that is colonialist and oppressive in nature. Connecting coming out to good health may also label those who choose not to "come out" for reasons related to rejection of essentialized identity constructs, as experiencing unhealthy self-concept. This places Two-Spirit people in the uneasy position of having to accept an exclusionary label which goes against their sense of identity or risk being seen as exhibiting internalized homophobia.

Aboriginal queers are in a unique position of having another choice. For them, the term "Two-Spirit" (Two-Spirit People of the First Nations, 1998[16]) enables a process of positive self-affirmation and connection to a pre-colonial time of Aboriginal solidarity which runs counter to hegemonic constructions of gay identity. Unlike many other communities of colour, Two-Spirit people can look to a unique history in which they were honoured. Claiming this identity can, therefore, help reposition Two-Spirit people as central to their community's history and tradition as both queer and Aboriginal (Walters, 1997).

Unfortunately, claiming Two-Spirit identity is not achieved by all Aboriginal queer people for a variety of reasons including lack of awareness of this history and tradition in pre-colonial times and because being "out" results in homophobic/transphobic oppression within communities. While claiming a Two-Spirit identity represents a positive self-affirmation, it does not change the fact that risk of discrimination within and without Aboriginal communities is very real. Meyer (1998) observed that coming out is often difficult because of the "internalized concept of sin" stemming from Christian evangelization and its acceptance by Aboriginal family and community. Indeed, coming out is also sometimes perceived as a process of rejection of Aboriginal identity because "gay identity" is associated with Western culture and ideology. As a result, Two-Spirit people struggle to achieve safety through a variety of means, not least of which is choosing to leave their community. This strategy of coping and survival does have consequences. Although an urban centre can offer anonymity and the potential to connect with a

larger queer community, it may result in the loss of identity and cultural connection and to exposure to additional forms of racism and colonialism not experienced within or buffered by living on reserve (Meyer, 1998).

Queer communities themselves hold discriminatory beliefs about Aboriginal people. One such example is in the case of the stereotyping of the "ethnic" family/community. Western queer political agendas have tended to mythologize "ethnic" communities as being more homophobic/transphobic than mainstream communities. The theory is that the "ethnic family/community's" attachment to traditional or religious values and doctrine renders them a more frequent site of queer people's oppression (Van der Meide, 2001). This form of racist stereotyping has served to mask the political and supportive role of the family/community within communities of colour as "a source of resistance to racism" (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1992: 124), and ultimately has resulted in the alienation of queer people of colour and Two-Spirit people from mainstream queer communities which are seen as being irrelevant and/or racist towards their particular experience.

What results is an experience of bifurcation (Brotman and Kraniou, 1998) in which Two-Spirit people end up being forced to choose between defending family and community in response to racist and colonialist attitudes in queer communities or defending their sexuality or gender identity in response to homphobic/transphobic attitudes in Aboriginal communities. This bifurcation of identity and allegiance significantly undermines two-Spirit people's potential to self affirm. Two-Spirit people also risk losing support from those who can help to counter either the experience of racism/colonialism or homophobia/transphobia felt within mainstream, Aboriginal or queer environments. As a result, Two-Spirit people are wary to seek out help from local communities with whom they share a component of their identities, and when doing so, often have to make choices as to which component of their identity matters most to an interaction. The health consequences of living in and between spaces and communities, of facing discrimination on multiple fronts and on experiencing isolation have been outlined previously. They include significant mental health problems such as addictions and substance abuse, depression and suicidal ideation. Because of the combined effects of oppression in health care settings, Two-Spirit people also hesitate to access mainstream or community-based resources and often only do so when in crisis (Brotman, Ryan, Jalbert and Rowe, 2002b). Two-Spirit people we spoke with confirmed that this crisis-oriented interaction with health care delivery systems in urban centres, made it highly unlikely that health care workers would ever have the opportunity to uncover or explore the roots of homophobia/transphobia in Two-Spirit people's decision to leave their community or in addressing racism and colonialism within contemporary queer culture.

Conclusion: Intersectionality and Health Policy - Transforming Relations

This paper only begins to touch upon the usefulness of an intersectional approach in understanding the impact of oppression on the health of marginalized populations. In highlighting the lived experience of Two-Spirit people, we hoped to call attention to the ways in which people who, because of their social location, experience powerlessness in multiple arenas, not least of which are the communities with whom they identify. Intersectional theory can provide a framework from which to explore and expose the ways in which structural forms of oppression, experienced simultaneously, can contribute to a bifurcated sense of identity and fractured experience of community which ultimately complicates people's capacity to self-affirm and to find safe, inclusive and healthy spaces. We focused on the themes of identity and access in the lives of Two-Spirit people in order to demonstrate the ways in which health status is significantly undermined by essentializing and discriminatory approaches in both mainstream and community-based sectors.

We cannot underestimate the value of documenting the experiences of multiply marginalized people from their own standpoint. In the case of Two-Spirit people, this would enable us to learn about their struggles to reconcile competing senses of space, to self-affirm, to gain recognition and respect for their whole selves and to achieve good health. Documenting Two-Spirit people's strengths and resilience can help to support their inclusion in health systems through increased understanding of their unique identities, struggles, and experiences. This understanding can contribute to the incorporation of their self-identified priorities into disease prevention and health promotion strategies. It also serves to publicly document and support community capacity and suggest new partnership models in order to bring about improved health.

We want to end by making some general conclusions about the necessity to transform health policy in order to incorporate an intersectional approach to the design and delivery of health services. Particular attention must be placed on the development of services for queer people which centrally locates queer people's multiple identities and the impact of being multiply situated upon the capacity of queer people to positively self-affirm, both within their own communities as well in mainstream society. Intersectional approaches to policy and program development facilitate a process in which power relations are explicitly named and, as a result, altered. The promotion of capacity-building is essential to this process. This can be achieved through a variety of means including supporting localized health initiatives under community control, improving training and educational opportunities, and facilitating interactions between sectors and networks. These initiatives not only require adequate funding but a commitment to the repositioning of players to include diversely situated people and their allies around the decision-making table, as equal partners. Only then can the system be transformed to reflect the values of emancipation, solidarity and human rights.

Notes

[1] A new and fluid identity label, queer incorporates ambiguity into definitions of gender identity and sexual orientation. It is a re-appropriation of a traditional "put-down" and explores new combinations of identities and pluralistic forms of sexual expression. At the same time, the term queer is meant to gather resistance to all forms of heterosexist oppression. An umbrella term, queer incorporates terms such as gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender.

[2] Queer people have historically been socially defined within medical terms as mentally ill, thus rendering the health care system one of the primary arenas through which control over their lives was exerted. Since homosexuality was, up until recently, labeled a psychiatric disorder, it was up to medical professionals to "cure" queer people of their same-sex attractions. Many people today can still remember being institutionalized, undergoing therapies or treatments designed to cure them of their "unnatural and unhealthy" preoccupations and/or facing social stigma and isolation initiated by and in medical systems (Brotman, Ryan, Jalbert and Rowe, 2002a)

[3] For further information, please check the web-sites of the American Psychological Association or the Canadian Association of Social Workers as examples of professional bodies that have incorporated statements on sexual orientation into guidelines and policy.

[4] There was a gay and lesbian health movement in North America in the 1970s, which was nurtured by the birth of gay and lesbian community organizations. However, the advent of AIDS interrupted this movement as activists deployed their energy and resources in the fight against this disease. The gay and lesbian health movement did not die with the appearance of AIDS, but it quieted down, became less visible and resource-poor (Mancoske and Lindhorst, 1995).

[5] The current paper defines health from a broad perspective that incorporates the physical, psychological, emotional, social and spiritual components that contribute to health and well-being. The World Health Organization definition of health is most closely aligned with the ideology of health as understood in the current context. Identifying health as a broad and holistic construct is particularly important when considering the lives and experiences of queer people. The experience of being in a homophobic/transphobic society necessitates a broad view of health in which issues such as coming out, locating community and managing oppression are contextualized and understood as mental health issues. Utilizing this perspective facilitates the integration of an analysis of the health impacts of oppression and marginalization upon the lives of queer people and the necessity of a holistic perspective when articulating recommendations for change (Brotman, Ryan, Jalbert and Rowe, 2002a).

[6] Intersectionality theory is derived from the broader body of writing on "critical race theory" (Crenshaw 1995; Delgado, 1995) although anti-racist feminist literature of the same period also refers to this concept (Bannerji, 1995; Bishop, 1994; Stasiulis, 1990). These theories emerged over the past fifteen years in an attempt to expose and examine "the historical centrality and complicity of law in upholding white supremacy and concomitant hierarchies of gender, class and sexual orientation" (West, 1995: xi) in the United States (Crenshaw, 1989; Delgado, 1995), and Canadian (Duclos, 1993; Khana, 2000), legal systems. Formed for the most part, by legal theorists of colour, critical race theory addresses the law's treatment of indigenous peoples and people of colour and the role the law has played in shaping and maintaining social domination and subordination (West, 1995: xi). Intersectionality is based on the premise that intersections of oppressions cannot be captured wholly by looking at the separate identity dimensions of experiences (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1992; Caldwell, 1995; Crenshaw, 1995; Davis, 1996; Grillo, 1995; Grillo & Wildmann, 1995; Mama, 1992). An intersectional approach has also been applied to sexual orientation as an identity category in recent years (Eaton, 1995; Gunning, 1995; Van der Meide, 2002). This critique has developed from within a radical framework, focusing on the liberatory struggles and resistance strategies of persons of colour as well as state and legal mechanisms of oppression (Friere, 2001). Critical race theorists have paid a great deal of attention to contemporary manifestations of these historic processes, commenting on the role of both neo-liberal and postmodern discourses in law, the state and society. The liberatory project of critical race theory is ultimately useful to many other theoretical and practice disciplines, particularly those considering contemporary problems in health care.

[7] Much evidence indicates that Aboriginal people, prior to colonization and contact with European cultures, believed in the existence of three genders: the male, the female and the male-female gender, or what we now call the Two-Spirit person. The term Two-Spirit, though relatively new, was derived from interpretations of Aboriginal languages used to describe people who had received a gift from the Creator, that gift being the privilege of housing both male and female spirits. The concept of Two-Spirit related to today's designation of gays, lesbians, bisexual and transgender persons of Native origins. Two-Spirit people traditionally held esteemed positions in their communities. The arrival of the Europeans was marked by the imposition of foreign views and values on Native spirituality, family life and traditions. The missionary churches' views on sexuality, for example, created many new taboos. Many traditions, including that of the Two-Spirit were eradicated or at least driven underground from many (but not all) tribes of North America (Meyer, Goodleaf and Labelle, 2000).

[8] The project was undertaken under the auspices of The McGill Centre for Applied Family Studies (McGill School of Social Work, Montreal) with the support of Égale (Equality for Gays and Lesbians Everywhere, Ottawa) in partnership with Health Canada. This paper contains some excerpts from our publication: Brotman, S., Ryan, B., Jalbert, Y. & Rowe, B. (2002). Reclaiming space-regaining health: Health care access and Two-Spirit people in Canada. Journal of Gay and Lesbian Social Services 14(1), 67-87.

[9] Morgan, D. (1997). Focus groups as qualitative research. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

[10] Taking a reflexive stance requires researchers to position and name themselves, including acknowledging the privileged position they occupy outside the world in which they are studying as academics tied to institutions of power. It also requires researchers to identify how this and other privileged or marginalized positions they occupy inform the process of research and analysis (Eakin et al., 1996:162). Reflexive researchers committed to the development of anti-oppressive projects and processes must explicitly claim their ideological positions and work towards power-sharing in design and methods.

[11] Particular thanks to Natalie Lloyd

[12] Structural intersectionality refers to the burdens faced by multiply marginalized people which are the consequence of multiple forms of oppression such as gender and class oppression, compounded by structural racially discriminatory practices (Crenshaw, 1995: 358). These include housing, employment, and health care as examples. Crenshaw points to the fact that, intersectional subordination does not necessarily result from the intentional practices of systems and institutions but "is frequently the consequence of the imposition of one burden interacting with predisposing vulnerabilities to create yet another dimension of disempowerment" (Crenshaw, 1995: 359).

[13] Colonialism, in the current context, is the process through which Aboriginal people were subjected to occupation by European settlers to North America beginning in the 16th Century. Policies of eradication and assimilation marked contact between Aboriginal peoples and newly formed occupying governments whose prime interests were in freeing up land for settlement by European arrivals and gaining control over local resources. The Churches, through their missionary agents, were central to the plan of assimilation and eradication through conversion of Aboriginal people to Christianity. Forced resettlement of Aboriginal peoples to reserves and residential schooling of children resulted in the loss of language, tradition and culture, the breakdown of family and community, the eradication of subsistence ways of life and self-determination and death. Aboriginal people were faced with great poverty and disease, inadequate housing and substandard living conditions which continue to this day (Brotman, Ryan, Jalbert & Rowe, 2002b).

[14] The term "homophobia" was coined in 1973 by George Weinberg. For him, homophobia is the irrational fear, hatred and intolerance of homosexuals. Transphobia can be defined in a similar vein as the irrational fear, hatred and intolerance of transgendered people. For Simkin (1993), heterosexism is the presumption that heterosexuality is the norm and that any other form of sexual expression is deviant.

[15] Coming out theory postulates that the act of coming out, to oneself, one's family, one's community and society as a whole is a process of self acceptance and letting go of shame and dramatically improves the likelihood of developing positive self esteem and by extension, good health (Brotman, Ryan, Jalbert and Rowe, 2002a). Many studies on queer health, from the perspectives of both gay men and lesbians have concluded this to varying degrees.

[16] To find out more about the status of Two-Spirit people in Canada: Deschamps, G. *We Are Part of a Tradition: the 2-Spirited People of the First Nations.*

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