



**ROSA
LUXEMBURG
STIFTUNG**
NEW YORK OFFICE

THE VALUE OF DIVERSITY

Canada's Immigration and Integration Regime

By Oliver Schmidtke

Table of Contents

Migration in the 21st Century. By the Editors..... 1

The Value of Diversity

Canada's Immigration and Integration Regime..... 2

By Oliver Schmidtke

The History of the Canadian Immigration Regime: From a White Settler Society to the Public Policy of Multiculturalism..... 3

- Canada's colonial legacy..... 4
- The impact of bilingualism..... 5
- The modernization of immigration policies..... 6
- Different groups of immigrants..... 8
- The turn toward multiculturalism..... 9
- Altered state symbolism of national identity..... 11
- The role of civil society and immigrant advocacy groups..... 12

Current Challenges in Managing Migration and Integration..... 13

- Selling Diversity: Marketizing migration and the neoliberal logic..... 13
- Temporary migrants—second-class workers?..... 14
- Decentralization: boon or bane?..... 16
- Equitable inclusion into the labour market?..... 17

Conclusion: Canada Between Multiculturalism and Neoliberalism..... 19

References..... 20

Published by the Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, New York Office, December 2012

Editors: Stefanie Ehmsen and Albert Scharenberg
Address: 275 Madison Avenue, Suite 2114, New York, NY 10016
Email: info@rosalux-nyc.org; **Phone:** +1 (917) 409-1040

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is an internationally operating, progressive non-profit institution for civic education. In cooperation with many organizations around the globe, it works on democratic and social participation, empowerment of disadvantaged groups, alternatives for economic and social development, and peaceful conflict resolution.

The New York Office serves two major tasks: to work around issues concerning the United Nations and to engage in dialogue with North American progressives in universities, unions, social movements, and politics.

www.rosalux-nyc.org

Migration in the 21st Century

Migration is not a new phenomenon—it is as old as humanity. But in a world in which more and more goods and services are exchanged at an ever faster pace, migration has globalized as well. In contemporary capitalism, it has—following the general trend of neoliberal development—increasingly become socially differentiated: for economic reasons nation-states court a privileged group of highly skilled migrants while erecting higher and higher barriers against refugees from poverty and war. On the basis of this reasoning, the OECD countries' aims regarding immigration and integration policies have more and more converged.

At the same time, xenophobic and racist currents have been growing in the last two decades on both sides of the Atlantic. Many European countries are confronted with the rise of parties of the radical right that agitate against migrants. In North America, a growth of “nativist” groups can be observed as well, though these are not organized as independent parties.

Despite these parallels, there are at times surprising differences in actual policies. This is true with regard to the options migrants have to legally enter the country but also for integration policies—up to the question of how societies envision their communities and the underlying sense of nationhood. In this respect, reactions to migration are more liberal in the classical immigrant countries of North America than in Europe. This is particularly the case for Canada—even though continuing immigration confronts the country with particularly profound societal changes.

In the last fifty years, Canada has changed from a society dominated and defined by white settlers into a multicultural society that generally accepts diversity as part of its self-conception. This transformation is at the heart of the study penned by Oliver Schmidtke, Professor of Political Science and History at the University of British Columbia in Victoria, Canada. Schmidtke demonstrates how the country has reformed its immigration and integration policies since the 1960s. In this sense, migration—and migration policies—have functioned as an engine of modernization, not least in terms of broad acceptance of multiculturalism in the society. His conclusion: While European countries may learn from Canadian migration policies, neoliberalism—with its “utilitarian” concepts driven by economic considerations—puts pressure on the very liberalism of these policies, leading to the expansion of a “guest worker status” and the decline of humanitarian concerns.

*Stefanie Ehmsen and Albert Scharenberg
Co-Directors of New York Office, December 2012*

The Value of Diversity

Canada's Immigration and Integration Regime

By Oliver Schmidtke

Canada is a country that is fundamentally shaped by migration as it prides itself on having some of the most comprehensive and liberal legislation in this policy field. First, this claim reflects the simple fact that Canada has one of the highest per capita admission rates and is one of the key destination countries for migrants. One in five Canadian residents was born abroad. Despite the recent economic crisis, Canada has maintained its long term immigration vision. Roughly 250,000 permanent residents have come to Canada each year since 1990.

Canada's major cities also show an exceptional degree of ethnic-cultural and religious diversity. In 2006 immigrants constituted 19.8 percent of the population, a higher proportion than in any other Western country except Australia (where the figure is 22.2 percent). Over 70 percent of the newcomers reside in the country's bigger cities. For instance, roughly 46 percent of Toronto's population is made up of Canadian citizens who were born outside the country. Given that Canada's new citizens represent more than 200 ethnic groups, the country has become something of a microcosm of the world's population. In cities like Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal, "visible minorities" are predicted to become the majority of the population by 2017 (Belanger 2005); in 1960 only about 2 percent of the country's population could be classified as belonging to a visible minority. This dramatic increase in cultural diversity¹ has changed how Canadians see them-

selves as a nation and the character of the political community to which they belong.

Second, for many political observers, Canada can be seen as the multicultural society par excellence. In this respect, Canada has adopted a rationale for integrating newcomers that is distinct from other Western societies, particularly in comparison to the European context. Since the late 1960s multiculturalism has become a state policy promoted and adopted by many segments of society.² Over the past four decades, this tendency to view cultural and ethnic diversity as a societal feature worthy of preservation and protection has become an integral part of the Canadian national identity. An ever-increasing cultural heterogeneity has developed into an ethos of plurality widely cherished by the majority of Canadians and deeply institutionalized in state practices.

The country's track record of integrating newcomers reflects this commitment: Canada ranks highly on the integration scale developed by the Migrant Integration Policy Index (analyzing 148 policy indicators) and in its longitudinal comparative study on incorporating newcomers into the social fabric.³ Of the major immigrant countries, Canada and the USA are the ones with the most comprehensive programs of fa-

1 Similarly, the notion of a majority and a minority culture—whose relationship constitute the very conceptual framework of thinking about processes of immigration and acculturation in the tradition of Robert Park and

the Chicago School—is being redefined by this development.

2 Reservations regarding Canadian multiculturalism are most pronounced in Quebec where a high-profile commission has recently concluded that the French province is better served with a form of "interculturalism" which protects French culture and language (see Schmidtke 2008).

3 See www.mipex.eu/canada.

ilitating integration and combating racial discrimination. As will be discussed later in more detail, Canada has a distinct track record of providing migrants with a swift path to citizenship as well as equitable access to educational and labour market opportunities (Aydemir and Borjas 2007). Its immigration policies are particularly attractive for high-skilled permanent migrants and their families (Gera and Songsakul 2007). As a result, for many observers Canada has become a model for how to tackle the complex and politically controversial task of managing migration. Its mode of recruiting migrants through a multi-dimensional selection scheme (point system) has made Canada a blueprint for some of the more ambitious immigration policies in Europe and a veritable competitor for other countries seeking to attract highly trained migrants from around the world (most notably the United States and Australia).

The following study will address how Canada has developed into one of the most attractive destination countries and how sustained levels of immigration have transformed the country in particular during the latter part of the 20th century. In this regard it is worth noting that Canada's approach to managing migration was originally rooted in a genuinely European legacy of nation-building. Only gradually has Canada separated its immigration policies from any notion of an ethnically rooted national identity. It has simultaneously developed an ethos of diversity fundamentally opposed to the exclusive con-

cept of nationhood cultivated in the European tradition (see Brubaker 1992). Such a historically oriented approach is designed to tackle two central questions: Why has Canada taken such a distinct (multicultural) trajectory in recruiting and integrating migrants? And how did such a profound transformation unfold that allowed Canada to embark on this path toward liberal immigration and integration policies?

This perspective will also demonstrate how the Canadian immigration and integration regime is a socio-political project in constant flux. Canadian multiculturalism is constituted by a general set of norms and policy prerogatives which have been substantially transformed by the socio-political realities on the ground. Have multicultural policies been effective; have they produced the intended outcome? How have its core principles and policies changed Canadian society and politics? With its dual normative principle of publicly endorsing cultural diversity and committing to the equitable inclusion of immigrants, Canada's multicultural notion of citizenship has faced a new set of challenges and opportunities at the beginning of the 21st century. Most importantly the neoliberal orientation of recent federal governments in Ottawa has created some considerable obstacles to the multicultural promises of equitable inclusion. The concluding part of this study will re-evaluate the promises that Canada holds as a "model" for how to tackle the politically controversial issues of migration and integration.

The History of the Canadian Immigration Regime: From a White Settler Society to the Public Policy of Multiculturalism

Canada was historically founded on immigration and, with respect to its underlying sense of collective identity, was strongly shaped by the image of a settler community where the new-

comer helps to determine the inner organization and self-perception of society. At the same time, however, Canada also demonstrates many of those features (or, perhaps more ap-

propriately in this context, pathologies) characteristically attributed to a European sense of nationhood: discriminatory, if not openly racist, practices against those not considered to be legitimate members of the culturally dominant groups; a sense of superiority vis-à-vis minority ethnic groups; and contempt for those who do not fit the white, Anglo-Saxon mold. Anxiety about the imperialist aspirations of Canada's large southern neighbour prompted measures intended to protect Canada's ethnic-cultural composition and its distinct, ethnically-framed identity as a former British (and French) colony.

Canada's colonial legacy

This was the environment in which Canada's immigration law was originally developed. The early development of the Canadian state was closely linked to the idea of employing immigration as a nation-building device while at the same time imposing severe immigration restrictions on certain national and ethnic groups. In its earliest years Canada portrayed itself as a "white settler society or colony" (Stasiulis and Jhappan 1995); this model was firmly in place until well after the end of the Second World War. Shortly after Confederation in 1867, when Canada became a self-governing state, the country adopted provisions designed to maintain the ethnic-cultural composition that the colonial powers had established in this part of North America. Immigration policy at this time explicitly favoured the influx of new citizens from a white, preferably British-Protestant background. The idea of racial purity and civilizational superiority attributed to (Anglo-Saxon) Europeans was a clear component of the English Canadian approach to nation-state building (Badgley 1998). This early period of immigration shows a seemingly contradictory tendency: on the one hand, the years leading up to the First World War saw the largest influx of newcomers in this country's history, propelled by the young state's emphasis on pop-

ulation growth and economic development. On the other hand, however, the state-orchestrated expansion of Canada's population through migrant recruitment did not translate into a liberal immigration policy. Instead, selection criteria based upon "race, ethnicity, nationality and colour," governed the admission process and thus discriminated against visible minority immigrants (Basran and Zong 1998). In effect, the Canadian government maintained a policy that sought to limit the entry of migrants coming from Asia and Africa, or from the "non-traditional source" regions (Li 2003).

A vivid indication of the themes dominating early Canadian immigration policies was the *Chinese Head Tax and Exclusion Act*, which was in place until 1923. The act was designed to discourage permanent settlement of Chinese labourers by preventing female family members and other Chinese women from entering Canada. The distinction between white Anglo-Saxon Protestants and other ethnic groups was driven by a strong image of national identity, characterized by the belief in the superiority of the white race and keenly protected by the state. The results of this legacy were marked inequalities between migrant groups and discriminatory, at times openly racist, state practices in selecting newcomers to the country. After the Second World War, the explicitly xenophobic elements of Canadian immigration policies were downplayed and partly replaced by anti-Communist rhetoric used against applicants from Central and Eastern Europe. The idea of a white European settler community, now framed in terms that reflected the dynamics of the Cold War, remained the guiding principle for designing immigration policies and settlement programs well into the second half of the 20th century.

The second determinant of immigration policy in the newly independent Canadian state followed an entirely different logic: immigration was also meant to be an instrument to meet labour market-driven imperatives and thus

to reflect the broader socio-economic needs of the country. Canada recruited immigrants to fuel its demographic and industrial expansion. Yet this economic determinant, driven by highly pragmatic and utilitarian concerns, was in many ways in direct competition with the state's desire to construct a particular cultural environment through selective/discriminatory immigration practices. Only gradually did the pragmatic, interest-driven approach replace the initially dominant concern for protecting Canada's cultural identity.

Chinese Head Tax Certificate



After the Second World War it became increasingly evident that open discrimination against immigrant communities from certain ethnic or religious backgrounds was at odds with the emerging reality and needs of modern Canadian society. In the early post-war years, however, concerns about national identity being potentially compromised by migration still lingered, as a speech from Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King from 1947 illustrates:

The policy of the government is to foster the growth of the population of Canada by the encouragement of immigration. The government will seek by legislation, regulation and vigorous administration, to ensure the careful selection and permanent settlement of such numbers of immigrants as can be advantageously absorbed in our national economy. It is a matter of domestic policy [...]. The people of Canada do not wish as a result of mass immigration to make a fundamental alteration in the character of our population. Large scale immigration from the Orient would change the fundamental composition of the Canadian population.

The most important effect that this shift had on the principles guiding immigration policies was the introduction of a “point system” in 1967.⁴ Responding to the needs of a booming economy, the state began to choose immigrants on the basis of their qualifications and abilities rather than on their ethnic and geographic origins (Green and Green 2004; Whitaker 1987, 1991). Similarly, the move away from encouraging British immigrants exclusively was complemented by new ideas about how to accommodate migrant communities from all parts of the world.

The impact of bilingualism

This new approach to evaluating and governing pluralism was most apparent in the policies adopted by the government under Pierre Elliot Trudeau. Officially introduced in 1971, the policy of multiculturalism recognized and welcomed the cultural practices, traditions and values of all citizens, regardless of their country of birth, at the same time that it encouraged the integration of newcomers into the social, economic, cultural and political life of the country. This policy reflected the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, which in 1965 called for an end to the bicultural, French-British policies that had been in place for much of Canada's history. Multiculturalism was the creed intended to complement the exclusive idea of the “two founding peoples” of Canada (Stasiulis and Jhappan 1995, 110) and to encourage immigration from all parts of the world. Trudeau and the Liberal Party undertook sweeping measures to ensure that the relationship between individuals and the community was not shaped by place of birth but by a new form of societal and political integration, intended to establish a more appropriate balance

⁴ The *Immigration Act* of 1967 and its numerous amendments in the following years diversified categories and application schemes while confirming the same principles, namely the perceived economic benefit resulting from immigration.

between Canada's national community and the plurality of its cultural groups (Day 2000).

Although the bilingual character of the country constitutes an important element of the traditional narrative of Canadian national identity, it also became a driving force behind the paradigmatic re-orientation of Canada's immigration policies. From early in its colonial history, Canada's sense of unity and identity has been ambiguous, blurred by the divide between English-speaking Canada and French-speaking Quebec. While many politicians of British descent intended to build Canada as a unitary state based on British-style institutions and the English language, Confederation established a federal state in which substantive authority was transferred to the provinces (including Quebec) and the use of French was officially acknowledged. In the 1960s and early 1970s, with the "quiet revolution" providing the socio-cultural context for a more politically self-conscious province, Quebec's insistence on cultural and linguistic recognition developed into a major challenge to Canada's integrity as a country. Canada was forced to take the issue of Quebec's linguistic and cultural differences seriously if it wished to avoid jeopardizing its unity. The policy response to this challenge was to decentralize Canadian federalism further and to constitutionally recognize Quebec as a "distinct society," thus formally acknowledging British and French culture as having equal roles in shaping public life in Canada.⁵

With this heightened focus on issues of cultural respect and equal opportunities for all citizens, the 1960s and 70s also witnessed political agitation by Canada's indigenous peoples regarding their past (and present) suppression and ex-

ploitation by the Canadian state and settler society. Although this report does not detail how Canada has sought to address this past (and present) mistreatment, it is important to note that this period in the country's history marked a critical threshold: the question of how issues of cultural diversity should find institutionalized public recognition determined how Canadians reflected on the fundamental values of their society. The meaning of a fair and free society became entwined with the question of how to accommodate minorities and provide them with full opportunities to thrive in Canada. Clearly the strengthening of the multicultural agenda is closely connected with an empowered notion of social citizenship that shaped political demands and mobilization in this period (Arat-Koc 1999; Jenson and Phillips 1996). Banting (1999), for one, shows how the multiculturalist agenda and the expansion of the Canadian welfare state were historically intertwined.

There was a dramatic shift in the importance and meaning attributed to issues related to cultural diversity and equal opportunities for minorities. The newly coined term "multiculturalism" was meant to reflect this new consciousness. Multicultural policy was designed to mend the rent between British and French communities (as well as between these communities and Aboriginal peoples) and establish a framework of mutual recognition and cultural diversity that included all immigrant communities, while at the same time preserving Canada as a unified society and polity.

The modernization of immigration policies

Many factors have contributed to this paradigmatic shift in recruiting immigrants and defining membership during the second part of the 20th century. Concern for human rights, democratic self-determination, and a state-sponsored deepening of the meaning of citizenship

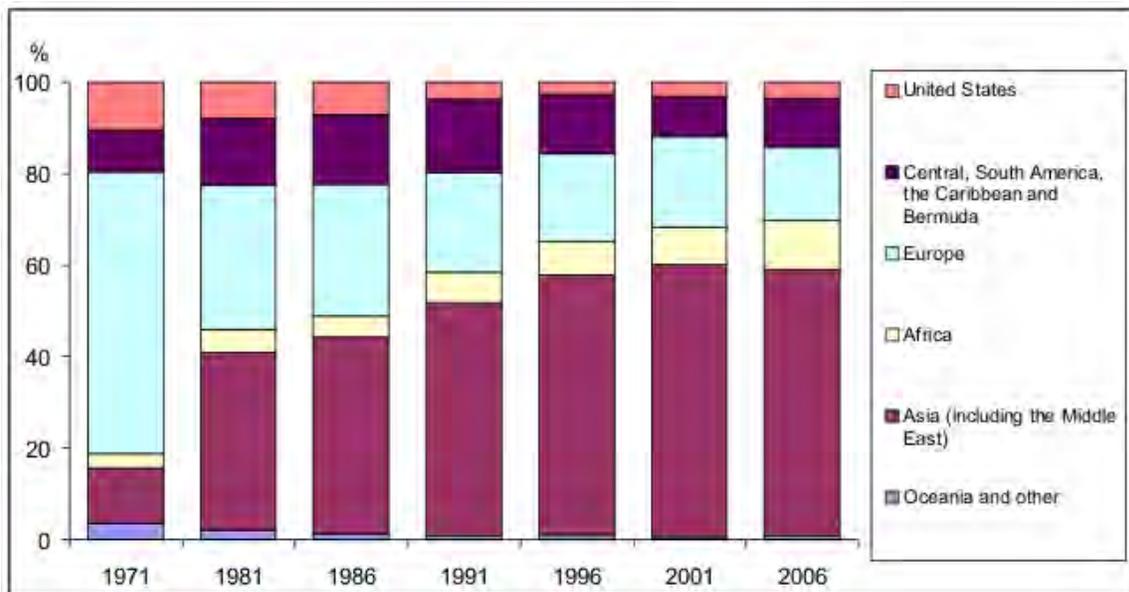
⁵ Some would interpret multiculturalism as a (federalist) response to Quebec's special status within Canada without conceding too much autonomy. Attempts at amending the constitution in order to decentralize responsibilities and recognize Quebec as a distinct society did not succeed, as certain provinces either refused to ratify the amendment (*Meech Lake Accord*) or it was rejected in a national referendum (*Charlottetown Accord*).

rights played a critical role in shaping the public debate on migration-related issues in Canada. Indeed, in his recent book Triadafilopoulos (2012) underlines the role of international moral standards (liberal norms of anti-racism and human rights) and their effect on domestic policies: the author claims that there is an increasingly salient “lack of fit” between the exclusionary practices of traditional citizenship regimes on the one hand and the universalistic, human rights commitment of Western democracies on the other hand. He described how formerly discriminatory practices against particular migrant groups have come under considerable pressure from intellectuals, civil society groups, and, most importantly, international norms surrounding the rights and entitlements of migrants in contemporary society. Triadafilopoulos contends that it was these international normative expectations that ultimately influenced Canada’s political leadership during the 1960s, prompting them to institute a “liberalization” of the country’s immigration policy.

The other, complementary force behind the fundamental shift in Canada’s immigration re-

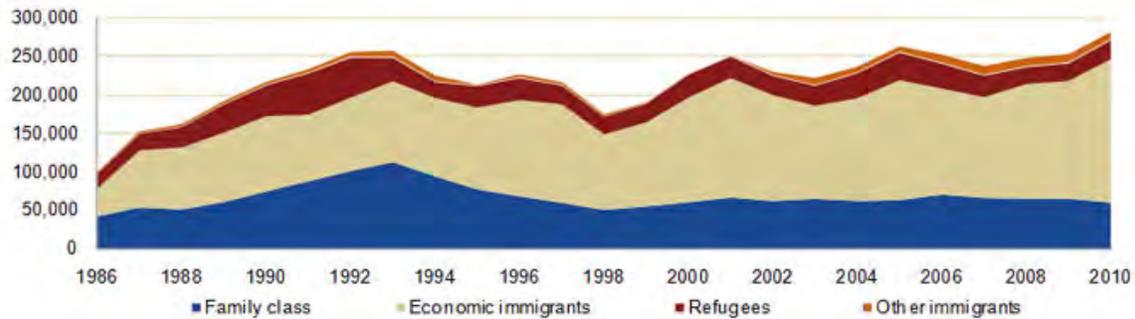
gime was the socio-economic rationale of modernizing the country through attracting skilled labour from around the world. By 1967, immigration policy was radically reformed to reflect this overall socioeconomic imperative. A new point system was introduced to evaluate applicants based on their education, linguistic skills (ability to communicate in English or French), work experience, age, existing job offer, and “adaptability” to life in Canada. From this point onwards, race and origin were no longer the determining factors for admittance into Canada. Rather, the education, age, and qualifications of potential migrants became important. Although the point system was modified during the late 1970s, migrants’ education and occupation were still seen as being important, in particular for independent migrants, one of the categories under which migrants could apply to enter Canada (Li 2003). In 2001, the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* was introduced. The new act essentially continues to rely on a reformed point system but seeks to maximize the positive effects of immigration, placing more emphasis on “flexible,” transferable skills and making an attempt to assess the education and creden-

Figure 1: Region of birth of recent immigrants to Canada, 1971 to 2006



Source: STATISTICS Canada, Census 2006

Figure 2: Permanent residents by category, Canada 1985 to 2009



Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2010)

tials of economic migrants more accurately. The act continues to emphasize that Canada needs to be able to attract highly skilled and/or professional migrants so as to be able to continue to compete in the global and knowledge-based economy. As a result of Canada's use of the qualification-based point system as its primary method of recruiting newcomers, the migrant population in the country is now far more diverse than it was in the past. The following graph indicates how immigration from Asia in particular has grown substantially since the introduction of the point system.

Different groups of immigrants

There are three basic categories under which migrants can gain permanent residency in Canada, and then citizenship: Economic Immigrants, Family Immigrants, and Refugees/Protected Persons. Once a migrant has been granted permanent resident status under any one of these three categories, he or she is also granted full and unconditional legal access to the labour market. In addition, permanent residents are strongly encouraged to become Canadian citizens after a minimum of three years in the country.

The *Family Immigrant* category applies to family members sponsored by Canadian citizens and permanent residents. The *Protected Persons* category applies to individuals who have been sponsored as Geneva Convention refugees or who successfully claim refugee status once in Canada. The *Economic Immigrants* category has grown over the past 25 years and now represents more than 50 percent of the total number of permanent residents permitted in Canada each year. In 2009, of the 252,124 new permanent residents, the Economic Immigrant category (including spouses and dependents) accounted for 61 percent of the total, while the Family Immigrant category accounted for 25 percent, and the Protected Persons category for 9 percent.

In the Economic Immigrant category, there are various streams. *Skilled Workers* are evaluated by the point system with a view to their education, work experience, language skills, adaptability, and employment prospects, and must be experienced in one of 29 eligible occupations. *Business Immigrants* must meet significant minimum net worth standards and have investor, entrepreneurial, or self-employment experience. In 2008 the federal government introduced an additional stream, *Canadian Ex-*

Table 1: Foreign and national population classified by level of education in selected OECD countries (average 2000-2001, percentages)

	Lower educational stratum (Lower secondary below grade 9)		Middle educational stratum (upper secondary, grades 9 to 13)		Higher educational stratum (tertiary level, post-secondary education plus university degrees)	
	Foreign-born	National	Foreign-born	National	Foreign-born	National
Canada	22.2	23.1	54.9	60.3	22.9	16.6
France	66.7	34.9	19.6	42.3	13.7	22.7
Germany	48.5	36.1	37.0	60.4	15.4	24.5
Italy	55.0	55.8	32.1	34.4	13.0	9.8
Sweden	29.1	22.4	40.3	48.0	30.6	29.7
UK	30.1	18.8	29.1	53.3	40.8	27.9
USA	30.1	9.3	24.7	33.7	45.2	57.1

Source: Labour Force Surveys (Eurostat), Statistics Canada, US Bureau of the Census.

perience Class Nominees, in order to address particular shortages in the highly qualified labour market. Migrants in this stream are either highly skilled, temporary foreign workers with at least two years of Canadian work experience or former international students who have at least one year of Canadian work experience.

Selecting migrants primarily based on their perceived fit within the labour market and society at large has led to one of the key features of Canada's immigrant population, namely its high level of educational achievement. As Table 1 demonstrates, the difference between Canada and certain European countries is striking. In particular in France and Germany there are far more migrants in the lower educational stratum of society than there are among those born in France and Germany. In contrast the numbers for both groups are quite comparable in Canada, and in the highest educational bracket migrants actually outperform the country's nationals (this is also the case for the United Kingdom given the large number of foreign students studying in the country).

The turn toward multiculturalism

The 1960s and 1970s saw a series of fundamental changes in how the Canadian state and society perceived and dealt with immigration. This report will consider three interconnected elements that also had a major impact on scholarly approaches in the field: a) the presence of the state in promoting diversity and multiculturalism; b) the altered state symbolism of national identity; and c) the active role of civil society and immigrant advocacy groups.

To a significant extent, the multicultural turn can be attributed to a new approach to migration adopted by state authorities. As indicated above, the Liberal government at the time committed itself to a mode of selection that did not place importance on their place of origin. In addition, policies directed at assisting immigrants and at promoting the virtues of diversity complemented this new immigration regime. The first element was public policy intended to support integration, driven by the idea of turning newcomers into full citizens with equal oppor-

tunities as quickly as possible after their arrival in Canada (Bloemraad 2002, 2006) (permanent residents can apply for citizenship after three years). Integrating immigrants into the receiving society was thus defined as an overriding duty of all levels of government, reflecting the mindset of the expanding 1970s welfare state. This task was not simply left to the market or civil society (Abu-Laban and Gabriel 2002). Until this day it has established a sense of legitimate expectations toward the state, which is seen as an agency to correct the systematic exclusion of, or discrimination against certain groups. Key aspects of these policies intended to support integration, are the so-called “settlement programs” including state-sponsored assistance in finding employment, comprehensive language training, and improved representation of immigrant groups that have suffered systemic discrimination and underrepresentation in key areas of the labour market (most prominently a policy termed Equity Employment). The overall budget for settlement programs is over 600 million Canadian dollars (CAD) annually.

The second element of the new immigration policy was the way in which the Canadian state came to play a more proactive role in policies of integration and was explicitly committed to promoting cultural diversity as an organizing principle for modern Canadian society. Under the new multiculturalist creed, the Trudeau government initially used state funding to protect the cultural heritage of ethno-cultural groups and to remove cultural-linguistic barriers to their full participation in Canadian life. This emphasis on support of cultural activities shifted in the 1980s towards addressing wider issues related to racist and discriminatory practices endured by minority communities who came to Canada after 1967 (Harles 1997; Li 2003). The 1988 Multiculturalism Act officially acknowledged this focus on concerns for equality, identity and justice and gave it a more solid legal base.⁶

⁶ The most important provision in the Multiculturalism Act reads as follows: “All federal institutions should pro-

This changed perspective on and commitment to immigrants was also reflected in Constitutional reform. In 1982 the new Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms aimed to modernize the relationship between individuals and the state. A major component of the new Charter was its explicit recognition of a series of group rights, along with its pledge to protect them.⁷ It states that multiculturalism is a fundamental part of modern Canada’s identity. It commits the country to overcoming discrimination, facilitating participation in society, ensuring equal opportunities, and the cultural expression of ethno-cultural groups. Among these are linguistic minorities, ethno-cultural minorities and Aboriginal peoples; these group rights are meant to complement the list of rights and freedoms assigned to individuals in the first sections of the Charter.

Observers focusing only on the sustainability and effectiveness of the point system tend to underestimate the multifaceted character of the Canadian migration regime. In particular from a European perspective, managing migration is regularly perceived to be predominantly a matter of attracting the most skilled migrants. However, as the example of Canada shows, the inclusion of newcomers in the fabric of society is a far more complex and long-term process. While copying elements of Canada’s recruitment policies, European countries are generally far from developing the comprehensive integration or settlement programs that migrants in Canada can rely on. Similarly, migration has become a concern to virtually all policy areas in Canada (from managing the economy to key ar-

mote policies, programs and practices that Canadians of all origins have an equal opportunity to obtain employment and advancement in those institutions.”

⁷ The rights referred to in these sections of the Charter (16-27) basically give minorities the right to use their language for public and educational purposes and to protect their cultural heritage. The Multiculturalism Act of 1988 complemented the Charter and explicitly granted to all members of Canadian society the right to see their cultures and ancestral languages protected (see Magsino, Long, and Théberge 2000).

eas of public policy such as welfare, health, education, etc.). In contrast it is still only of marginal concern to mainstream ministerial responsibilities in Europe.

Altered state symbolism of national identity

The steps towards implementing multiculturalist policies were accompanied by a decisive shift in defining the national identity of Canada. The new source of a Canadian identity was the diversity of its peoples. This replaced the traditional image of a British and French settler colony. Today, what it means to be Canadian is to a large extent defined by the idea that this country is home to a great variety of cultures that are not assimilated into any kind of dominant model (the metaphor of the Canadian “salad bowl” or the Canadian cultural mosaic is meant to capture this characteristic, in contrast to the American melting pot). The state has become a promoter of this idea and in a way sells diversity as a competitive advantage that Canada is alleged to possess in social and economic terms. Cultural diversity is thus not simply a defining characteristic of social life; in official language it has also become an important resource in modernizing Canadian society and bringing it in line with the reality of a globalized world. This pragmatism in promoting the country’s multicultural identity is nicely captured in the following quotation from a Minister of the Canadian government:

Canada has become a post-national multicultural society. It contains the globe within its borders, and Canadians have learned that their two international languages and their diversity are a comparative advantage and a source of continuing creativity and innovation (Canadian Heritage 2001, 3).

In a way, diversity has come to be seen not only as compatible with the dominant image of Canada as a society and a political community

but also, in a more radical sense, as the virtuous core of a new (post-)national identity. The American motto *e pluribus unum* could be seen as an appropriate description of the Canadian spirit: diversity is the source of its unity; plurality the source of its strength.

In this respect, multiculturalism, beyond being conceptualized in terms of a set of policy initiatives, carries an ethical-philosophical weight that suggests commonly shared social values regarding Canada’s ethnic-cultural diversity. Surveys show that most Canadians (around 80 percent) regard multiculturalism as fundamental to their self-understanding as a community and their sense of unity (Inglis 1996; see also Soroka and Robertson 2010). The concept of multiculturalism shapes the political values of individual Canadians. In spite of the fact that there have been and still are controversial debates about perceived failures of multiculturalism as a state policy, there is an overwhelming consensus that integration into Canadian society is viable only as long as immigrants continue to experience some public recognition of their cultural distinctiveness. In this regard, Canadian society has developed a strong multicultural ethos of publicly endorsing the societal and cultural implications of migration and thus creating a more inclusive environment for newcomers. An open notion of inclusive citizenship has become a key element of contemporary Canadian identity. One could argue that the issues of migration and diversity were key components in the promotion and framing of Canada’s 1982 Constitution Act and Charter of Right and Freedoms and their strong emphasis on citizens’ rights and entitlements.

The endorsement of migration and diversity as part of a new national identity has also changed the dynamic of politicizing migration in Canada: migrants and their organizations have become an integral part of civil society as well as party politics making it very difficult to imagine the kind of populist, anti-immigrant mobilization

that has shaped competitive party politics in the European context. Paradoxically, at first glance there is good reason to argue that the democratic debate on this topic itself confirms how deeply ingrained the idea of multiculturalism has become as a common point of departure: the ethos of diversity is rarely challenged. Instead it is the mode of implementation that is contested. This is very different from the political discourse in Europe where multiculturalism has come under fundamental criticism.⁸

The role of civil society and immigrant advocacy groups

The multicultural project could not have been as successful as it was had it been solely orchestrated from a state-centered, top-down approach. The political elite headed by Trudeau's Liberal Party surely initiated it in order to deal more effectively with the cleavages of a plu-

ri-ethnic society, or as some argue, in a mere opportunistic move to capture the votes of French Canadians (Gerber 2004). Yet at the same time, state-centered policies are partly responsible for setting in motion a dynamic that far exceeds the initiatives of the federal government. The experience of recent decades shows how groups in civil society have increasingly engaged in defining the reach and boundaries of group-specific rights. In this respect, multiculturalism has become a kind of political umbrella under which civil rights activists, immigrant and minority advocacy groups, union organizations, parties, and business groups have been engaged in determining what the abstract principles of fostering cultural diversity mean in actual socio-political terms (Falge, Ruzza, Schmidtke 2012). Particularly in the Canadian context, it is striking to see how advocacy groups representing the different migrant communities have become a very articulate and influential voice in the public arena, affecting the political agenda in a way unimaginable in a typical European context. To put this into provocatively candid terms, issues of migration and the related question of identity and equal inclusion have developed into a resourceful political cleavage in contemporary Canadian society. Its underlying normative issues have come to shape much of the country's social movement sector and party politics beyond the activities of migrant or minority lobbying groups.

The federal policy on multiculturalism clearly had an impact on the mobilization of ethno-cultural communities. Particularly in the period after the 1970s and 1980s, federal multiculturalism policy intended to expand the capacity of immigrant communities to take collective responsibility for dealing with the causes of inequality and for developing mobilization strategies, including judicial recourses, in order for them to be able to exercise their rights at all levels of government (Bradford 2004). The activity of civil society groups has critically contributed to making diversity and cultural pluralism

⁸ The changing nature of the international environment is an indication of how, for instance, the political debate on the status of immigrants and minorities in Europe has also shaped perceptions in Canada. Ley (2005) speaks of a politically "troubled context" for immigrant integration and a multiculturalism "on the defensive". Over the past 15 years the overall political climate for welcoming immigrants and managing diversity has changed. In particular in Europe there has been a "backlash against multiculturalism" that portrays (Muslim) immigrants increasingly as a genuine threat to society. Similarly, in the wake of the 9/11 events, there has been an outspoken tendency of perceiving immigrants as a potential security threat. Both the political elite and the media have repeatedly engaged in depicting immigration as a phenomenon against which the integrity of indigenous society needs to be protected. In this context, multiculturalism is widely associated with phenomena such as the ghettoization of Western societies, polarized ethnic relations, disloyalty to the destination society, the cultivation of hostile differences, Islamic political fundamentalism, and illiberal cultural practices that are deemed incompatible with Western liberal societies. In this influential narrative in Europe the retreat from multiculturalism is regularly justified with reference to illiberal and harmful social effects causally linked to state-sanctioned cultural diversity. While Canadian multiculturalism is widely immune to the populist rhetoric against immigrants, it is to some degree shaped by (and forced to respond to) the profound skepticism and anxieties toward multicultural modes of immigrant integration articulated in the European context.

a principal issue in public debate and, from a normative perspective, a principle greatly endorsed in Canadian society and politics.

One example is the social movement sector, where the Canadian women's movement has been strongly affected by issues of diversity. Its anti-discriminatory ethos has made the Canadian women's movement particularly, however by no means exclusively among social movements, sensitive to issues of racism and minority rights. The National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC), one of the main organizations for women's groups in Canada, adopted an amendment to its constitution in 1991 that required that one of four vice-presidents and other leading positions be reserved for women of colour, aboriginal women, and women with

disabilities. In 1993, Sunera Thobani became the first "visible minority" to be the president of NAC. Her leadership was part of a larger move by the organization, which involved re-defining "women's issues" to include issues such as racism, immigration and refugee policy, and economic and trade policies. Far from being merely a policy guideline, the idea of a multicultural society is now at the centre of public debate and has become a critical reference point in many political battles. In this regard, multiculturalism turned from a celebration of folkloristic differences to addressing matters of power sharing and deep political cleavages in Canadian society. In sum, what we can observe in the Canadian case is a somewhat self-reinforcing cycle of ethnic mobilization and political responsiveness within the political system.

Current Challenges in Managing Migration and Integration

The fundamental shift in Canada's migration and integration regime is reflective of a particular political climate: in many respects, Canadian multiculturalism is a child of the 1960s and 1970s accompanying the expansion of the social welfare state and the egalitarian spirit that fueled it. This period of the state accepting greater responsibility for issues of equality and justice is widely a matter of the past. Over the last two decades there have been important changes in Canada's migration and integration policies that, in more general terms, aim at streamlining the management of migration according to neoliberal market principles and limiting the entitlements that newcomers can receive. I have explored this growing tendency towards regarding immigrants as "commodities," whereby immigration policy becomes geared to business cycles and towards targeting a narrowly defined group of migrants with attractive "human capital" (Schmidtke 2010, 2011).

Selling diversity: marketizing migration and the neoliberal logic

Although it has long been an integral part of legitimizing Canada's point system, economic utility has increasingly become the dominant guiding principle of migrant selection policy. This is evident foremost in the priorities guiding the recruitment of new migrants. As has been alluded to above, the proportion of economic migrants has gradually been expanded at the expense of those seeking entry into Canada as family members or on humanitarian grounds. The 1976 Immigration Act defines the three priorities of Canadian immigration policy as follows: 1. family reunification, 2. humanitarian concerns, and 3. promotion of Canada's economic, social, demographic and cultural goals. Since then the emphasis has decisively shifted toward economic goals and recruiting migrants who are deemed as most "valuable" or desir-

able: the most obvious step being the introduction of the investor or business class of immigrants. Under this category access to permanent residence is tied to investing a minimum of 800,000 CAD and creating employment in Canada.

This development has been accompanied by tightening the standards of eligibility under the point system. Most recently new legislation has been introduced to make a good command of one of Canada's two official languages a requirement and to link the category of the economic migrant more closely to the availability of a job offer. The former policy on linguistic capabilities is likely to increase immigration from English-speaking countries at the expense of the non-Western world. Furthermore, recent cohorts of migrants have been denied a variety of social services (including access to healthcare and unemployment insurance) during their initial years of residence (Reitz 2004). What these developments indicate is how recent federal governments, and in particular the current Conservative government under Prime Minister Harper, have sought to shift the costs of immigration on to migrants themselves while substantially reducing the responsibility of the state in providing newcomers with services and assistance. One could argue that recent initiatives in this policy field simply reflect the ongoing struggles to achieve a better match between the labour market needs and the qualifications of migrants (such as streamlining the recognition of educational degrees or tying residency to the availability of a job offer). Yet, there is also the persistent trend of excluding those migrants who are deemed too costly or otherwise burdensome for Canadian society.

These changes all follow a strict utilitarian reasoning that seeks to maximize the *marketable* benefits that migrants bring to the country while reducing the costs involved. The utilitarian logic driving such a marketization also

operates on the basis of an important normative binary: it endorses the inclusion of highly-skilled migrants—the active and productive individuals—as being beneficial for society as they are deemed directly compatible with the expectations in the qualified labour market, while conversely, it portrays refugees and asylum seekers as non-“marketable” entities. Thus, under the auspices of a strict utilitarian, market-based logic, human rights concerns and the commitment to social justice, at best, occupy a secondary status.

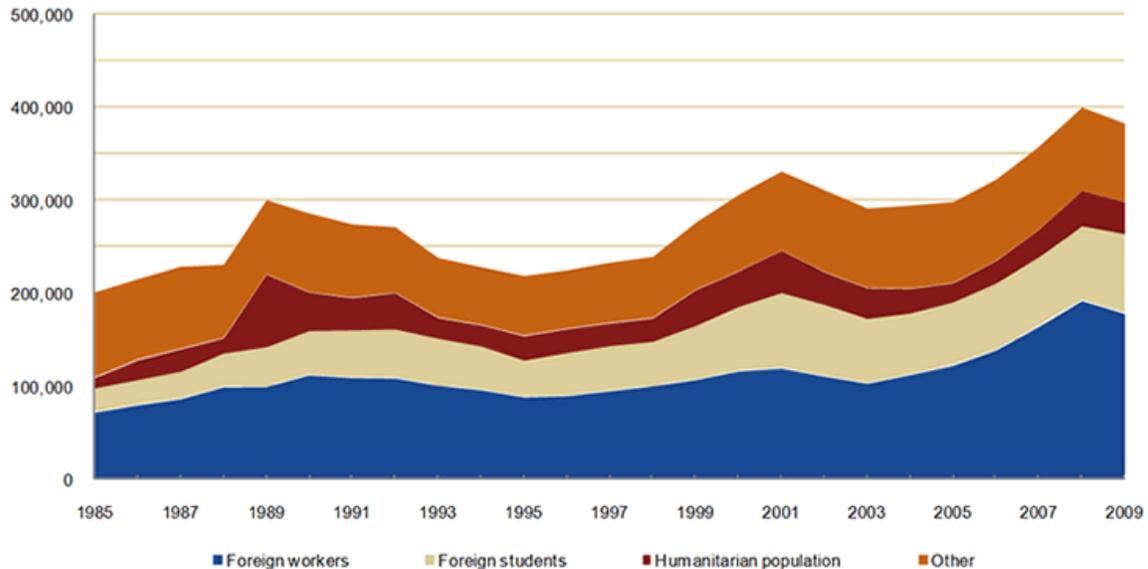
The official discourse on migration and integration has shifted accordingly. In tune with the market logic newcomers are touted as net contributors to the country's economic wellbeing. This almost exclusive focus on the marketable “value” of migrants is succinctly reflected in a statement by Citizenship and Immigration Canada from the beginning of the new millennium: “Our multilingual, multiethnic workforce provides us with a distinct comparative advantage in the global marketplace” (Citizenship and Integration Canada, 2000, 2). In *Selling Diversity*, Abu-Laban and Gabriel (2002) outline the ways in which immigration, multiculturalism, employment equity, and globalization, advertised as part of the cosmopolitan life of the twenty-first century, actually serve to reinforce marginalization, while at the same time marketing Canada's achievements.

Temporary migrants—second-class workers?

It is in line with this reasoning that Canada has significantly expanded the influx of non-permanent residents in recent years.⁹ The Temporary Foreign Worker Program, originally designed to alleviate perceived short-term occupational

⁹ For the most recent figures, see Statistic Canada's latest population report, available at www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2011/as-sa/98-310-x/98-310-x2011001-eng.cfm.

Figure 3: Canada—Total entries of temporary residents by yearly status, 1985 to 2009



Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2009)

shortages, has been in place for decades. Yet it is only recently that this scheme of attracting newcomers on a non-permanent basis has seen a dramatic expansion (see Sweetman and Warman 2010). In 2009, the number of temporary foreign workers reached 250,000—more than double what it was at the beginning of the millennium).¹⁰ In 2011, 156,000 economic immigrants entered Canada as permanent residents, while 191,000 people entered with a temporary work permit, granted to employers by the federal government. Many of these permits extend beyond a year, so as of December 1, 2011 there were 300,111 temporary foreign workers in Canada, the highest number on record. The number of temporary foreign workers has more than doubled since 2006.

¹⁰ For the first time in Canada's modern immigration history, in 2008 the number of temporary foreign workers in Canada (251,235) exceeded the total number of permanent residents admitted in the same year (247,243); official numbers published by Citizenship and Integration Canada, 2009, see www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/statistics/facts2009/temporary/02.asp.

The second largest group of temporary residents is international students. In Canada, international student numbers have increased by 51 percent in 10 years, from 97,336 in 1999 to 196,227 in 2009. Access to the labour market has become less restrictive for international students, both during their studies and after graduation. They can work in Canada for up to two years after graduation if they receive a job offer in their field of professional training. The last group of temporary residents comprises those migrants who are allowed to stay in the country based on humanitarian and compassionate grounds. This is considered to be the case when the migrant would have to face an undeserved or disproportionate hardship if he or she had to leave Canada in order to apply for permanent resident status.

The biggest group entering Canada under the temporary resident scheme are workers destined to fill positions in the labour market. Traditionally this referred primarily to

employment in the agricultural sector. Yet, increasingly these temporary workers fill positions in all sectors of the service industry and some parts of manufacturing. Entering Canada as a temporary worker is contingent upon a job offer from a Canadian employer. The work permit is tied to this particular position and can be extended for a maximum of four years.

It is attractive to employers to hire these temporary workers because they are far less expensive than other workers and can be easily fired. For instance, during the recent economic downturn, many of these temporary workers lost their jobs and had to leave the country. Canadian employers are officially entitled to pay temporary workers lower wages than their regular work force (up to 15% cent less than a regular employee). Accordingly, temporary workers are regularly subject to exploitation and marginalization (Stasiulis 2008, Worswick 2010).¹¹

Beyond the highly precarious employment situation temporary workers are regularly exposed to sub-standard working conditions. Reports on squalid housing and hazardous working environments have raised awareness in the Canadian public about these “second-class migrants” (Henneby 2009). Given their status, these workers are largely deprived of the types of legal entitlements and unionized representation that the local work force normally enjoys. What is emerging instead is the specter of a second class of workers who enjoy a far less robust set of rights and entitlements. This brings Canada much closer to the social reality of the United States even though, given the highly regulated labour market, the number of undocumented immigrants is much lower. Through expanding the temporary category Canadian immigration and citizenship policies have undermined one of the key virtues of the Canadian immigration re-

gime: namely to have citizenship policies in place that protect migrants from legal exclusion and discrimination.

Decentralization: boon or bane?

Another major development in Canada’s immigration and integration regime is the decentralization of policy and administrative competences arising from its federal system of governance. A key component in this regard is the Provincial Nominee Program (PNP). First introduced in Manitoba in 1998 it has since expanded to all provinces and territories (except Nunavut and Quebec, which has its own economic class selection system). In 2002, only 1.5 percent of all economic-stream migrants were provincial nominees, but that number jumped to 15 percent in 2008. These programs are designed to allow provincial and territorial governments to operate their own immigrant selection systems. Under this scheme, migrants are nominated by a province, based on their possessing the skills, language abilities, education, and Canadian work experience to immediately make an economic contribution to the province. In most cases these individuals are temporary migrants or former international students applying from within the country. Compared to the federal economic immigrant category with its focus on general skill levels, the PNP instead targets more specific professional groups in the labour market.

This program is meant to target migrants more effectively with a view to the provinces’ labour market needs. Its key rationale is to attract migrants to smaller provinces and cities given that the overwhelming majority of newcomers choose one of the bigger cities as their destination (over 70 percent of all newcomers settle in Montreal, Toronto, or Vancouver). Indeed, Provincial Nominee Programs have been successful in increasing immigration rates to smaller provinces and cities.

¹¹ Macklin (2003) has also shown how the temporary workers category has contributed to forms of trafficking.

A similar logic of policy process re-structuring can be detected in the field of settlement services and diversity management. As Hiebert and Sherell (2009) argue in their study of the settlement industry in BC, the task of integrating newcomers to Canada has undergone a process of decentralization in terms of handing down responsibility to the regional and local level. Following a neoliberal logic, this policy field has been transformed by the federal and provincial governments' attempts at outsourcing responsibility for settlement services to community organizations, harnessing the involvement of community groups, and seeking greater efficiency in the spending of public resources. And the expansion of the settlement sector has indeed gone hand in hand with the decentralization of service provision and the inclusion of local partners in the settlement process. To a certain degree this process can also be described as a downloading of responsibility to lower levels of governance. As a result migrants in Canada have to face increasingly diverse recruitment standards (the provincial ones however are considerably lower than the federal ones) and settlement services. At the same time, however, these changes have been coupled with an influx of additional public funding, thereby creating new opportunities to develop multicultural policies and integration programs.

Equitable inclusion into the labour market?

It is essential to the Canadian model of integration that migrants are provided with swift and equitable inclusion into the labour market and educational institutions. Canada has an outstanding track record in terms of migrants having similar levels of professional and educational achievements compared to the population born in the country. Particularly from a multi-generational perspective, Canada has been able to avoid the structural disadvantag-

es that many migrant communities in the European context have to face; Canadian society is characterized by a far greater degree of social mobility, especially with respect to the education system.¹²

Still, over the past two decades there is clear evidence of a growing gap between the labour market performance of the latest cohorts of migrants and that of the Canadian-born population. The income differential between these two groups is widening and, unlike previous generations of newcomers, migrants now face an amplified and prolonged income gap (Aydemir and Skuterud 2005; Nohl et al. 2012; Reitz and Banerjee 2007). The development over the past thirty years is striking: income levels have deteriorated among cohorts entering in the 1980s and early 1990s, improved somewhat in the boom of the late 1990s but worsened again in the early 2000s. During the economic crisis of 2008-09, recent immigrants (those who arrived during the five previous years) again saw their economic position deteriorate relative to that of the Canadian-born population. For the most recent cohort of newcomers (those with less than five years in Canada) the difference is staggering: for white immigrants the income is 30 percent less than that of the Canadian-born population; for immigrants who belong to visible minorities the gap is somewhere between 40 and 50 percent (see Javdani, Jacks and Pendakur 2012). These findings confirm a long term trend of declining earnings among recent immigrant cohorts relative to the Canadian-born population: data from the 2006 census suggest that during their first few years in the country, newcomers earn in the range of 60 to 70 percent as much as the Canadian-born population; whereas in the late 1970s the proportion was in the 85 to 90 percent range.

¹² However, recent studies have pointed to the relative deprivation of individual groups, in particular among visible minorities in Canada: Kazemipur and Halli (2001), Pendakur and Pendakur (2011), and Reitz (2007).

With a view to processes of labour market inclusion, the Canadian institutional context is shaped by an increasingly pertinent paradox: on the one hand, the Canadian migration regime is geared towards carefully selecting migrants based on their skills and their potential contribution to society. On the other hand, however, there are considerable barriers to the full utilization of these skills, mainly due to a complex, labour-intensive, and costly re-accreditation process (a process that often duplicates previous training experience). Further, the issue of migrants' access to qualified positions seems to involve more than simply the legislative framework, and instead has more to do with the complex interrelationship between various factors regulating access to the labour market.¹³ These often include subtle power struggles, the monopoly of professionalism, and rare opportunities in the labour market. As Bauder (2003) argues, institutionalized cultural familiarity in the licensing criteria enforced by regulatory bodies includes processes of exclusion that undermine immigrants' access to the professions in favour of Canadian-born and Canadian-trained applicants.

Poverty among migrants mirrors earnings trends; visible minorities in particular are affected by deteriorating living standards in Canada's urban centres (see Picot, Hou, and Coulombe 2009). Relative (to the Canadian-born) and absolute low-income rates rose dramatically among immigrants from 1980 to 2005 (Picot, Hou, and Coulombe 2009). In 1980 the low-income rate among recent immigrants was 1.4 times that of the Canadian-born; by 2005 it was 2.5 times as high.

Some of these difficulties can simply be attributed to the recurrent problems that arise when newcomers seek to integrate into the labour market. In the transition phase migrants have to face challenges such as non-recognition of degrees, lack of local work experience, linguistic abilities, soft skills, etc. However, it is a matter of public debate whether this outcome can also be causally linked to forms of racially motivated discrimination. If Canadian society is by definition multicultural in character, then the existence of racism and xenophobia that presuppose a strong sense of a dominant ethno-cultural group identity seems marginal or even outdated. Yet there are many scholarly accounts of racist practices in Canada and a persistent sense of an exclusionary white Anglo-Saxon cultural elite (Nieguth 1999). Critics of the Canadian multiculturalism model therefore argue that its primary focus on encouraging cultural diversity tends to obscure the discriminatory (sometimes even racist) practices that immigrants are exposed to in their daily life and their professional careers (Satzewich 1998; see also Boyd 2009). Henry and Tator (2002) argue that, despite societal norms of tolerance and diversity, a covert "democratic" racism plagues Canadian society.¹⁴ Also, the policies adopted under the heading of multiculturalism have come under scrutiny. By emphasizing cultural difference, multiculturalism policy can unintentionally contribute to the "ghettoization" of ethnic minorities. Some argue that, rather than actively striving for equality of all citizens, regardless of their origin, such a policy sustains (potentially discriminatory) boundaries between ethnically or culturally defined communities (Bissoondath 1994; Sean and Bolaria 2007).

¹³ It is worth noting that gender is still important among these factors, impacting not only upon transitions to skilled employment but also to permanent employment (cf. Fang and McPhail 2008). Among the sectors in which immigrant women are concentrated is the service economy, characterized by insecure and low-waged employment (Boyd and Pikkov 2008, 37).

¹⁴ Oreopoulos and Dechief (2011) have recently conducted a study in Toronto in which applications sent out to potential employers were identical except for the name of the applicant. Résumés with non-Western names received far fewer calls for interviews than applications with English or French names.

Conclusion: Canada Between Multiculturalism and Neoliberalism

It is for good reasons that Canada is seen today as a country with some of the most advanced immigration policies and as a champion of multiculturalism. In terms of recruiting and integrating newcomers this country has undergone a profound transformation from a British-French settler society to one that is socially and politically defined by migration in a vital way. In this respect it has left behind the (European) tradition of nation-building as the guiding principle for managing migration. The introduction of a point system targeting migrants from around the world irrespective of their country of origin and of multicultural policies in the late 1960s established a state-monitored system of regulating migration that is exceptional in the scope of recruiting newcomers and in providing them with equitable access to educational and professional opportunities in Canadian society. The reasons for the transformation of the 1960s and 1970s are not fundamentally different from what considerable parts of Europe have to face: demographic challenges that require the sustained influx of large numbers of migrants and the normative pressure to address the socio-economic marginalization of large parts of its migrant population (often reproduced well into the second generation).

Yet, in spite of a continuously high influx of migrants, some of the key pillars and normative doctrines of Canadian multiculturalism have come under considerable pressure. Most importantly, it is evident that the neoliberal agenda of the 1990s and 2000s has noticeably transformed the role of the state in managing the economy and, related to this, the relations between societal groups. As a result, the commitment of the state to achieving equality of opportunities for immigrants and to establishing state-financed programs (Settlement, Employment, Equity Programs) to integrate

them into Canadian society have been scaled back to a considerable degree. In this context multiculturalism, as a concept once strongly equipped with a normative vision of what modern Canada should look like, has become a far more utilitarian, economy-driven issue. Particularly with regard to the current conservative government of Stephen Harper, these shifting priorities have substantially altered the official political discourse vis-à-vis immigration: Over the past years migrants have increasingly been portrayed as a burden to Canadian society in general and to the Canadian tax payers in particular.¹⁵ There have been veritable campaigns against migrants as potential security threats, squanderers of welfare state resources, and (allegedly) bogus asylum seekers. This shift in the political discourse of the governing party is likely to change the public perception of immigrants and produce its own exclusionary effects.

This public discourse has also decisively changed the environment for policy making: Migrants from whom an immediate economic return is expected are favoured, while those desiring to reside in Canada for family or humanitarian reasons have to face mounting challenges to qualify for immigrant status. The massive expansion of the temporary workers class as an easily “disposable” work force follows this logic closely. One of Canada’s utmost qualities as an immigrant society, namely the commitment to swift access to full citizenship status and full inclusion into the fabric of Canadian society, is in danger of gradual erosion. From a wider societal perspective one could interpret this development also in terms

¹⁵ In this respect it is also instructive to see the series of studies produced by The Fraser Institute, a conservative think tank (www.fraserinstitute.org): Their concerns regarding the viability of immigration to Canada, related costs, and decreasing benefits to Canada reflects the conservative agenda well.

of the legacy that Canada's history as a white settler society has left behind even in contemporary society. The much acclaimed multicultural ideal is at times far from social reality: in particular, recent immigrants and visible minorities face veritable challenges in finding fair and equitable access to educational and professional opportunities. Canadian society is not immune to forms of racial exclusion. Also the very concept of multiculturalism is being questioned: ironically it is a concept originally developed and implement-

ed by a society with a commonly shared understanding of what the dominant culture is. Yet, given the fast, migration-driven demographic change of Canadian society, this common reference point in promoting integration will gradually wither away. Will a growing fragmentation of Canadian society into ethno-cultural communities facilitate or rather hamper the advancement of an inclusive and fair society? In many respects, Canadian multiculturalism is still very much a project in the making.

References

- Abu-Laban, Y. and C. Gabriel (2002). *Selling Diversity. Immigration, Multiculturalism, Employment Equity, and Globalization*. Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press.
- Arat-Koc, S. (1999). Neo-Liberalism, State Restructuring, and Immigration: Changes in Canadian Policies in the 1990s. *Journal of Canadian Studies* 34 (2): 31-56.
- Aydemir, A. and G. Borjas (2007). A Comparative Analysis of the Labor Market Impact of International Migration: Canada, Mexico, and the United States. *Journal of the European Economic Association* 5 (4): 663-708.
- Aydemir, A. and M. Skuterud (2005). Explaining the Deteriorating Entry Earnings of Canada's Immigrant Cohorts: 1966-2000. *Canadian Journal of Economics* 38 (2): 641-71.
- Badgley, K. (1998). "As long as He is an Immigrant from the United Kingdom": Deception, Ethnic Bias and Milestone Commemoration in the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, 1953-1965. *Journal of Canadian Studies* 33 (3): 130-44.
- Banting, K. (1999). Social Citizenship and the Multicultural Welfare State. In: A.C. Cairns, ed., *Citizenship, Diversity and Pluralism*, 108-136. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Basran, G., and Zong, L. (1998). Devaluation of foreign credentials as perceived by visible minority professional immigrants. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 30 (3), 6-18.
- Bauder, Harald. 2003. "Brain Abuse," or the Devaluation of Immigrant Labour in Canada. *Antipode* 35 (4): 699-717.
- Belanger, A. (2005). Population projections of visible minority groups, Canada, provinces and regions, 2001-2017. Ottawa: Statistics Canada.
- Bissoondath, N. (1994). *Selling Illusions: The Cult of Multiculturalism in Canada*. Toronto: Penguin.
- Bloemraad, I. (2002). The North American Naturalization Gap: An Institutional Approach to Citizenship Acquisition in the United States and Canada. *International Migration Review* 36 (1): 193-228.
- Bloemraad, I. (2006). Becoming a Citizen in the United States and Canada: Structured Mobilization and Immigrant Political Incorporation. *Social Forces* 85 (2): 667-95.
- Bradford, N. (2004). Place Matters and Multi-Level Governance: Perspectives on a New Urban Policy Paradigm. *Policy Options*. February, 39-45.
- Brubaker, R. (1992). *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Boyd, M. (2008). Variations of Socioeconomic Outcomes of Second Generation Young Adults. *Canadian Diversity* 6 (2): 20-24.
- Boyd, M. (2009). Social Origins and the Educational and Occupational Achievements of the 1.5 and Second Generations. *Canadian Review of Sociology* 46 (4): 339-369.
- Boyd, M. and D. Pikkov (2008). Finding a Place in Stratified Structures. Migrant Women in North America. In: N. Piper, ed., *New Perspectives on Gender and Migration. Livelihood, Rights and Entitlements*, 19-58. London: Routledge.
- Canadian Heritage. 2001. Annual Report on the Operation of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act 1999-2000. Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada.
- Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC). (2000). Trends in International Labour Flows. Ottawa:

- CIC.
- Day, R. (2000). *Multiculturalism and the History of Canadian Diversity*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Dolin, B.R. and M. Young (2004). Canada's Immigration Program [Background Paper]. Rev. ed. Ottawa: Parliamentary Information and Research Service, Library of Parliament.
- Falge, C., Ruzza, C. and Schmidtke, O. (2012). *Giving New Subjects a Voice. Political and Institutional Responses to Cultural Diversity in the Health Care System*. Alderhot: Ashgate.
- Fang, T. and F. McPhail (2008). Transitions from Temporary to Permanent Work in Canada: Who makes the Transition and Why? *Social Indicators Research* 88 (1): 51-74.
- Gera, S. and T. Songsakul (2007). Benchmarking Canada's Performance in the Global Competition for Mobile Talent. *Canadian Public Policy* 33 (1): 63-84.
- Gerber, L. (2004). The Visible Minority, Immigrant, and Bilingual Composition of Ridings and Party Support in the Canadian Federal Election of 2004. *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 38 (1): 65-82.
- Green, A. and D. Green (2004). The goals of Canada's immigration policy: a historical perspective. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research* 13 (1): 102-39.
- Harles, J.C. (1997). Integration before Assimilation: Immigration, Multiculturalism and the Canadian Polity. *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 30: 711-36.
- Hennebry, J. (2009). Mobile Vulnerabilities, Transnational Risks: Temporary Agricultural Migrants in Ontario. *International Settlement Canada* 22: 10-15.
- Henry, F. and C. Tator (2002). *Discourses of Domination: Racial Bias in the Canadian English-Language Press*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Hiebert, D. and K. Sherrell (2009). The integration and inclusion of newcomers in British Columbia. Metropolis BC Working Paper No. 2009-11.
- Hier, Sean P., and S. Bolaria, eds. (2007). *Race and Racism in the 21st-Century Canada: Continuity, Complexity and Change*. Peterborough: Broadview Press.
- Inglis, C. (1996). Multiculturalism: New Policy Responses to Diversity. Paris: UNESCO MOST Policy Papers No. 4.
- Javdani, M., Jacks, D. and K. Pendakur (2012). Immigrants and the Canadian Economy. Metropolis BC Working Paper Series, No. 12-09.
- Jenson, J. and S. Phillips (1996). Regime Shift: New Citizenship Practices in Canada. *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 14: 111-35.
- Kazemipur, A. and S. Halli (2001). The changing colour of poverty. *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 38 (2): 217-238.
- Kymlicka, W. (1995). *Multicultural Citizenship*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ley, D. (2003). Seeking Homo Economicus: The Canadian State and the Strange Story of the Business Immigration Program. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 93: 426-441.
- Ley, D. (2005). Post-Multiculturalism? Metropolis BC working paper, 5-18.
- Li, P. (2003). The multiculturalism debate. In: P.Li (ed.), *Race and Ethnic Relations in Canada*, 148-77. Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press.
- Macklin, A. (2003). Dancing Across Borders: Exotic Dancers, Trafficking, and Canadian Immigration Policy. *International Migration Review* 37: 464-500.
- Magsino, R., Long, J. and R. Théberge (2000). Canadian Pluralism, the Charter, and Citizenship Education. *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 32 (1): 89-110.
- Nieguth, T. (1999). Privilege or Recognition: The Myth of State Neutrality. *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 2 (2): 112-31.
- Nohl, A., Schittenhelm, K., Schmidtke, O., and Weiss, A. (2012). *Cultural Capital in Migration. The Labour Market Integration of Highly Skilled Migrants*. University of Toronto Press, in press.
- Oreopoulos, P. and D. Dechief (2011). Why do Some Employers Prefer to Interview Matthew, but not Samir? Metropolis BC Working Paper No. 11-23.
- Pendakur, R. and K. Pendakur (2011). Colour By Numbers: Minority Earnings in Canada 1996-2006. Metropolis Working Paper No. 11-5.
- Picot, G., F. Hou, and S. Coulombe (2009). Poverty Dynamics among Recent Immigrants to Canada. *International Migration Review* 42 (2): 393-424.
- Picot, G., and F. Hou. 2009. Immigrant Characteristics, the IT Bust and Their Effect on Entry Earnings of Immigrants. Analytical Studies Branch Research Paper 315. Ottawa: Statistics Canada.
- Reitz, J. (2004). Canada: Immigration and Nation-Building in the Transition to a Knowledge Economy. In: W. Cornelius, T. Tsuda, P. Martin, and J. Hollifield (eds.), *Controlling Immigration*, 97-133. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Reitz, J. (2007). Immigrant Employment Success in Canada, Part II, Understanding the Decline. *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 8 (1): 37-62.
- Reitz, J. and R. Banerjee (2007). Racial Inequality, Social Cohesion and Policy Issues in Canada. In: K. Banting, T.J. Courchene and F. Leslie Seidle (eds.), *Belonging? Diversity, Recognition and Shared Citizenship in Canada*. Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy.
- Satzewich, V. (1998, ed.). *Racism and Inequality in Canada*. Toronto: Thompson.
- Schmidtke, O. (2008). Kanadischer Interkulturalismus. *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik* 8: 20-25.
- Schmidtke, O. (2010). Einwanderer als Ware. *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik* 10: 51-57.
- Schmidtke, O. (2012). Commodifying migration: excluding migrants in Europe's emerging social model. *The British Journal of Sociology* 2012, Vol. 63, 31-38.

- Soroka, S. and S. Robertson (2010). A literature review of Public Opinion Research on Canadian attitudes towards multiculturalism and immigration, 2006-2009. Citizenship and Immigration Canada.
- Stasiulis, D. (2008) Revisiting the Permanent-Temporary Labour Migration Dichotomy. In: C. Gabriel and H. Pellerin, eds., *Governing International Labour Migration, Current Issues, Challenges and Dilemmas*. Oxon, Canada: Routledge/Ripe Studies in Global Political Economy.
- Stasiulis, D. and R. Jhappan (1995). The Fractious Politics of a Settler-Society: Canada. In: D. Stasiulis and N. Yuval-Davis, eds., *Unsettling Settler Societies: Articulations of Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Class*, 106-116. London: Sage.
- Sweetman, A., and C. Warman. (2010). Canada's Temporary Foreign Workers Programs. *Canadian Issues/Thèmes Canadiens* Spring: 19-24.
- Triadafilopoulos, T. (2012). *Becoming Multicultural. Immigration and the Politics of Membership in Canada and Germany*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Whitaker, R. (1987). *Double Standard: The Secret History of Immigration*. Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys.
- Whitaker, R. (1991). *Canadian Immigration Policy*. Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association.
- Worswick, C. (2010). *Canadian Issues* (Thematic focus: Temporary Workers). Metropolis.

Related Studies

Displaced, Unequal, and Criminalized Fighting for the Rights of Migrants in the United States

By David Bacon, November 2011.

Alabama's Shame HB 56 and the War on Immigrants

By Mary Bauer, February 2012.