

Multiculturalism as Transformative?

Paul Gingrich

Department of Sociology and Social Studies

University of Regina



Acknowledgements to

- Seven hundred plus University of Regina students + instructors and assistants
- Multiculturalism Branch, Department of Canadian Heritage, Government of Canada
- Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, Office of Research Services, Faculty of Arts, Department of Sociology and Social Studies of the University of Regina

Multiculturalism as Transformative?

- “Multiculturalism is the story of our search for and hopes about social justice.” Cecil Foster, 2005, xi.
- Blending cultures and learning to live together by learning from each other.
- A web of many cultures formed to create a whole society.

Statements of two students about the meaning of multiculturalism

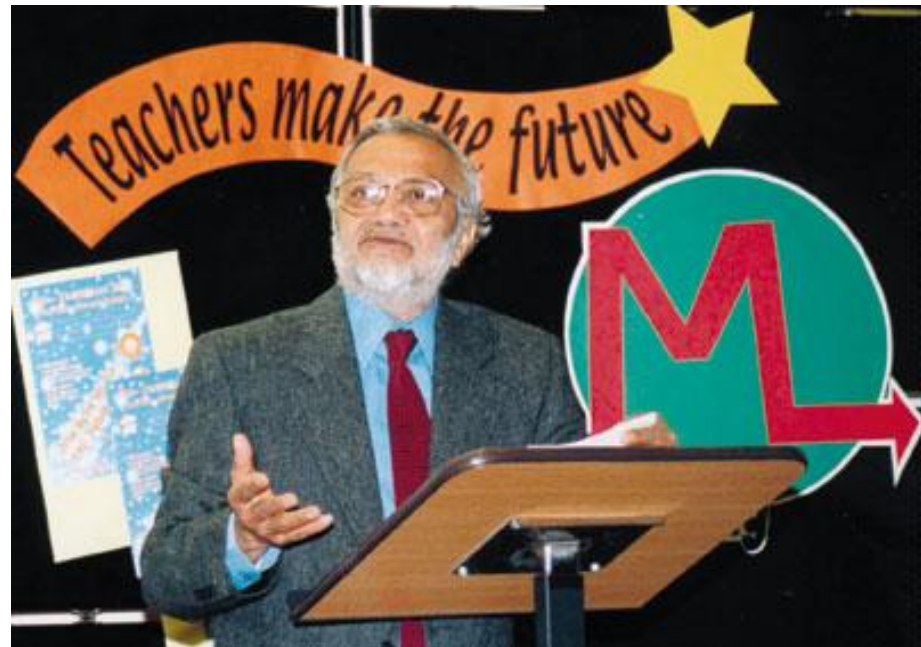
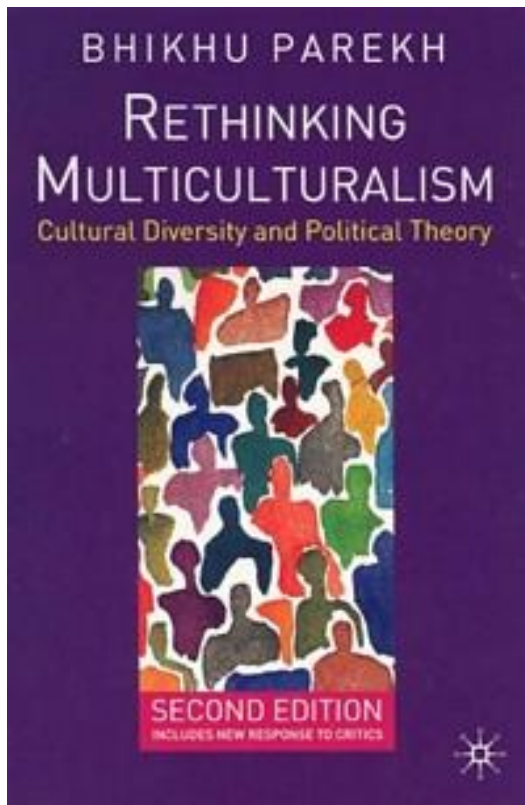
Multiculturalism as

- Preservation of cultures
- Emphasize difference
- Separation of people

OR

- Reduce barriers to participation
- End discrimination
- Lead to fuller participation in social life





Bhikhu Parekh

Multicultural = diversity

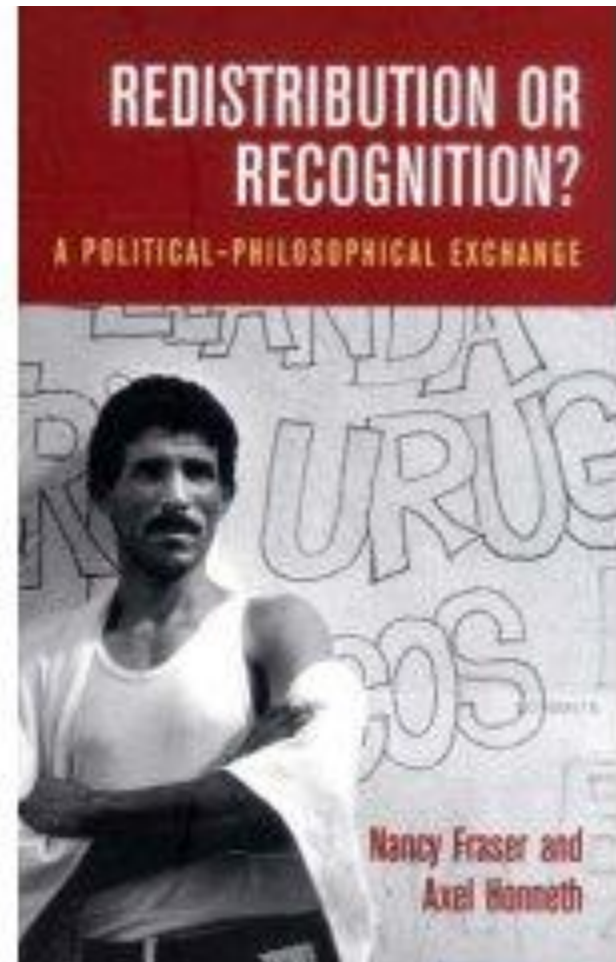
Multiculturalism or multicultural society is a normative response to diversity

Plan of presentation

- Nancy Fraser
 - Redistribution and recognition
 - Social justice
 - Participatory parity – full partners in interaction
- Foster
 - *Where Race Does not Matter: the New Spirit of Modernity* (2005)
 - “All members can share Canada’s culture of sharing” (p. 173).
- Four issues emerge – affirmation of difference, deconstruction of difference, participation, and possibility of transformation

How do students, respondents in national surveys, and federal government view multiculturalism?

- Affirmation of difference is a commonly understood meaning of multiculturalism.
- Fraser and Foster argue for deconstruction of socially constructed differences. Some perceive multiculturalism in this way.
- Participation – Many view this as one goal of multiculturalism.
- Transformation – Many students suggested ways that multiculturalism can transform.



Nancy Fraser
The New School for Social Research
New York City



Misrecognition of gender, race, religion, ethnicity, and sexuality has resulted in “*institutionalized patterns of cultural values...*that prevent one from participating as a peer in social life.”

Fraser and Honneth, p. 29

Two dimensions to social justice

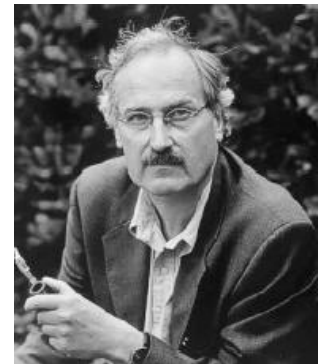
Material sphere – distribution

Exploitation, marginalization,
deprivation

Cultural symbolic sphere – recognition

cultural domination, disrespect

Maldistribution emerges from misrecognition



Social Justice – Material Sphere

Order or sphere	Form of subordination	Remedy for injustice
Class structure Economy	Objective subordination Maldistribution of resources Inequality and exploitation	Redistribution of resources End economic subordination

Social Justice – Symbolic Sphere

Order or sphere	Form of subordination	Remedy for injustice
Social status Cultural or symbolic order Institutionalized patterns of cultural values affect relative standing	Intersubjective subordination <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Inferior• Wholly other• Invisible• Exclude• Discrimination	Recognition End status subordination Reciprocal recognition and status equality

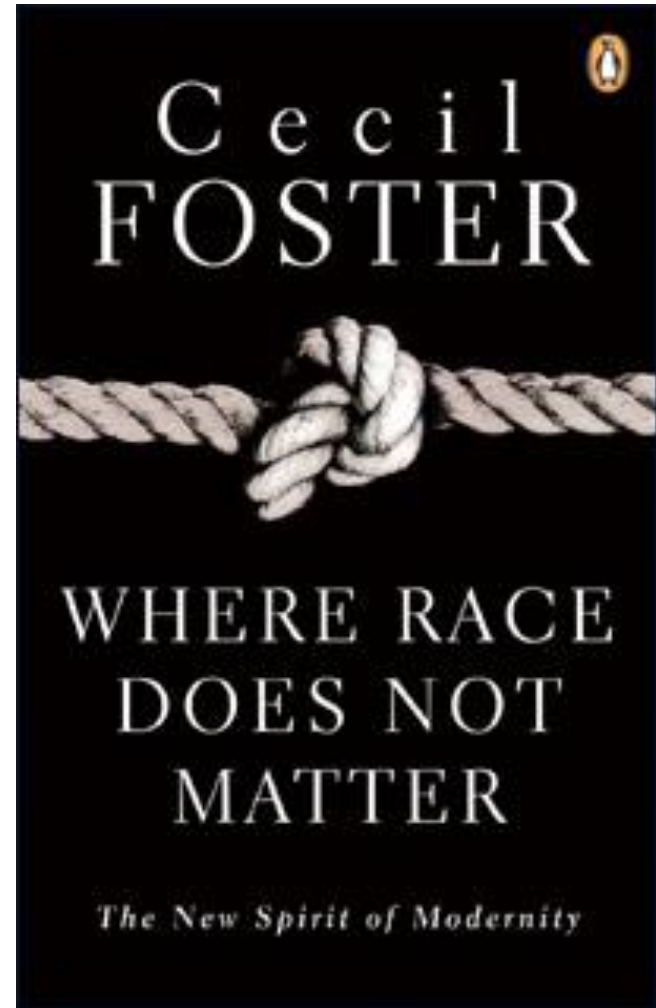
Aspects of Social Justice

	Affirmation	Transformation
M A T E R I A L	<p>Liberal welfare state</p> <p>Reallocation of existing goods and services</p>	<p>Socialism</p> <p>Restructure relations of production and distribution</p>
S Y M B O L I C	<p>Mainstream multiculturalism</p> <p>Reallocation of respect to existing identities</p>	<p>Deconstruction of difference and symbolic oppositions</p> <p>Restructure relations of recognition and identities</p>

Participatory parity to produce equal worth

Sphere	Condition	Result
Class structure Economy Distribution	Objective	Independence/“Voice” Means to interact with others as peers
Social status Cultural/symbolic Recognition	Subjective Inter-subjective	Equal respect, equal opportunity to achieve social esteem and status equality/reciprocal recognition Full partners in interaction

- Fraser argues that multiculturalism is primarily affirmative
 - Mainstream multiculturalism
 - Reallocation of respect to existing identities
- But some aspects of multiculturalism can also be considered transformative in Fraser's sense
 - Deconstruction of difference – reduce discrimination/racism
 - Inclusive social institutions
 - Restructure social relations with mutual recognition



Cecil Foster, Dept. of Sociology, University of Guelph

Cecil Foster



- Deconstruct race, racism, racializing thought
- Radical equality
- Dignity of difference in nation building
- “Multiculturalism is an attempt to overcome and transcend whiteness in our times and through human effort.” (p. 187)



- Constitution of Haiti, 1805
 - Include all who had been excluded
 - Welcome to all who were not masters over others
- Trudeau's vision of diversity
 - Uniformity neither desirable nor possible
 - No model or ideal Canadian
- Views of new generation
- Real multiculturalism means all must negotiate

Multiculturalism is understood in many different ways

Examples of some of these ways of interpreting multiculturalism are presented in the following slides.

Data sources are:

- Undergraduate students at the U of Regina
- National surveys
- Federal government statements

Issues and Findings

- Affirmation – “mainstream multiculturalism”
 - Strong support
- Deconstruction of socially constructed identities
 - Limited recognition of this principle
- Participatory parity and inclusion
 - Widely understood as an important principle
- Transformation and reconstruction
 - Many envision these possibilities

Sociology students ways of expressing mainstream multiculturalism

- Equality
- Same/human rights
- Participation
- Learn
- Tolerance
- Acceptance
- Respect
- Harmony
- Interaction
- Cooperation
- Practice own culture/traditions
- Maintain own identity
- Encouragement of cultures
- Different cultures fostered and valued

Sociology students – multiculturalism as a way of expressing social relations

- Integrated/merging of cultures
- Work/come together
- Interact
- Blending
- Cohesion/unity
- Accommodates all ethnic groups
- Amalgamate into a larger culture
- Share/integrated/merging of culture

Sociology students also point out problems of multiculturalism

- Divides society/segregates
- Hurts visible minorities
- Racism and prejudice increase
- Conflicts can develop
- Racism and hostility
- Equality a myth
- Unequal treatment
- Polemics

What does multiculturalism mean to you?

Question asked of 700+ U. of R
undergraduates – some of responses
organized around the four issues.



What does multiculturalism mean to you?

Affirmation

- The celebration of diverse cultures and heritage.
- ...More knowledge and acceptance of other cultures.
- Being objective and fair-minded to the traditions of different cultures.
- Many cultures in my community - being aware of who they are - having respect for cultures and custom.
- A diverse country of different races.
- Living in an integrated society with distinct cultures.

What does multiculturalism mean to you?

Deconstruction

- Including self-definition of culture. Deconstructing current rigid definitions/categories of what "cultural" is.
- Canada being full of every race and hopefully, not seeing one another as a colour.
- A land of equal opportunity for all minorities. This equality should be real and not just a lie.

Latter two consistent with Foster's approach.

What does multiculturalism mean to you?

Deconstruction

- A culture created by many backgrounds. There are individuals, traditions and behaviours from many other cultures which create a new distinct culture.
- Several different cultures coming together, each sharing aspects of their culture until their cultures merge or unite.
- A whole bunch of cultures thrown together that form a bond between them.
- Several cultural groups blending together.

What does multiculturalism mean to you?

Participation

- Equal participation in Canadian mosaic.
Contributing to Canada's diversity.
- A country or society that has many different cultures participating in it.
- Inclusion of many different people from different races and backgrounds.
- Interaction of all cultures and socialization of everyone with no exclusions.
- ...Includes equal opportunity for all.

What does multiculturalism mean to you?

Participation

- People of different backgrounds treated equally.
- Complete equality, free expression of cultural roots.

What does multiculturalism mean to you?

Recognition – but not intersubjectivity

- Recognizing and allowing all cultures to practice their beliefs within Canada's laws.
- Recognition/respect for all.
- Diversity. Positive recognition.
- Multiculturalism means that our country contains many different cultures and we recognize and accept these cultures.

What does multiculturalism mean to you?

Transformation

- All the different cultures to combine [and] work together.
- All different cultures, interacting together and sharing but not assimilating.
- A joining together of different cultures.
- Multiple cultures that live and interact together.
- Many cultures working together as a whole. no discrimination.
- Blending cultures together to create a new culture – working together.

What does multiculturalism mean to you?

Transformation

- A web of many cultures formed to create a whole society.
- Incorporating aspects of various cultures into everyday life; open-mindedness.
- Uniting persons of various ethnic/cultural backgrounds, races, creeds, etc.
- A combination of many cultures into one.
- Many cultures coming together as a united group.
- Multiculturalism is the union and interaction between many cultures.
- People of different ethnic backgrounds combining to make a new "multiculture."

- A culture created by many backgrounds. There are individuals, traditions and behaviours from many other cultures which create a new distinct culture.
- The structural integrity of multiple systems of distinct cultural values and performative acts. (Student responses, SSAE98).
- “Communities are open and interactive and cannot be frozen, and ... public institutions and policies should recognize and cherish their evolving identities and nurture a community of communities” (Parekh, 340-341).

Conclusion to student responses

- Affirmative aspects such as respect, harmony, understanding commonly expressed.
- Many understand multiculturalism as an active social process.
- Means of expressing social relationships.
- Dynamic, possibly transformative aspects
 - Interaction
 - Sharing
 - Working together
 - Creating a new culture

Data from National Surveys

- MAS91 – Multiculturalism and Canadians Attitude Study, Angus Reid, 1991
- NC – CRIC New Canada/Globe and Mail
- DS – Diversity Survey, CRIC
- EDS – Ethnic Diversity Survey, StatsCan
- ACS – Association for Canadian Studies
- SSAE98 – University of Regina Students, 1998
- Ipsos – Ipsos Reid

Deconstruction?

Seventy -six per cent of respondents said multiculturalism refers to “Canadians of every ancestry.”

Seventy-three per cent also said it applied to “immigrants, regardless of colour”

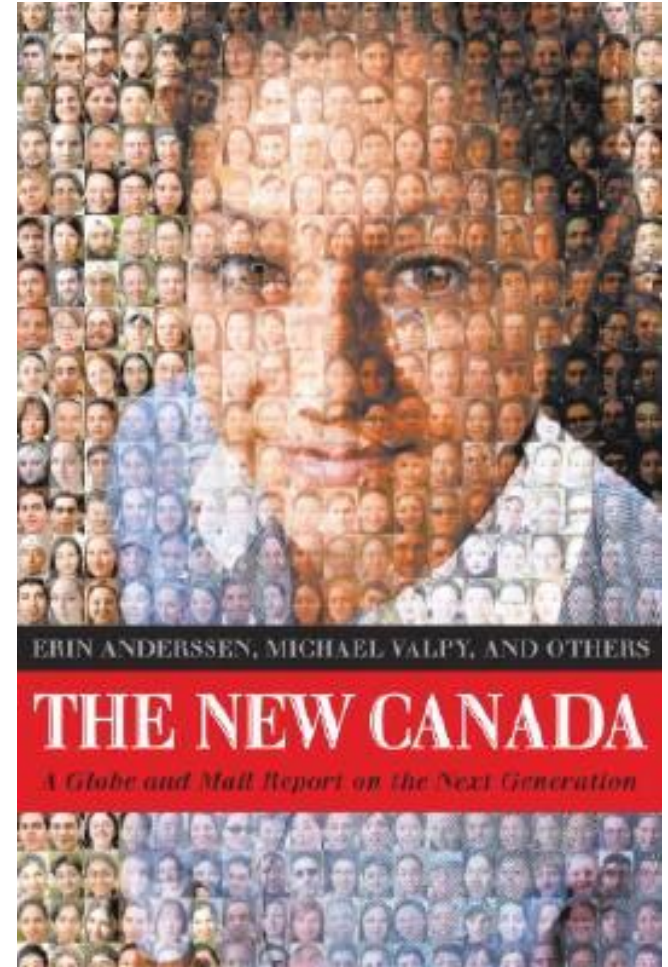
Only one-half of respondents said “When I hear people talking about multiculturalism, I think they are referring to non-white immigrants.”

MAS91 (Q4)

Factor important to personal Identity – New Canada survey

percentage stating important

Nation	84%
Language	75%
Region/ province	67%
Gender	65%
Ethnicity/race	58%
Religion	52%



Mean strength of sense of belonging – EDS

Family	4.65
Canada	4.29
North America	3.71
Province	3.83
Municipality	3.59
Ethnic/cultural group	3.39

1 = not strong to 5 = very strong

Circles of friendship – EDS

Percentage with same 1st ancestry friends

	Until age 15	Current
All of them	27	11
Most of them	20	24
About half	12	15
A few of them	26	34
None of them	15	16

% Felt uncomfortable – EDS

Non-visible minority and visible minority

	Non-visible minority	Visible minority
All of the time	<1	1
Most of the time	1	3
Some of the time	7	20
Rarely	11	21
Never	81	55

Centre for Research and
Information on Canada



Centre de recherche et
d'information sur le Canada

Marriage and diversity – NC

Most to least important – mean response

Attitudes to family/children	1.39
Moral values	1.47
Attitudes to work/leisure	1.88
Sense of humour	1.91
Religion	2.62
Educational background	2.63
Class (economic, income)	2.80
Political views	2.83
Ethnic background	2.95

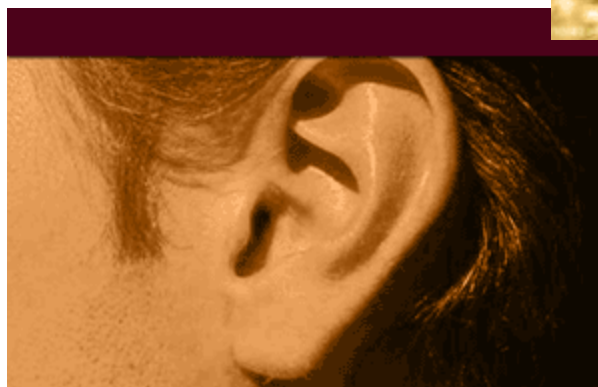
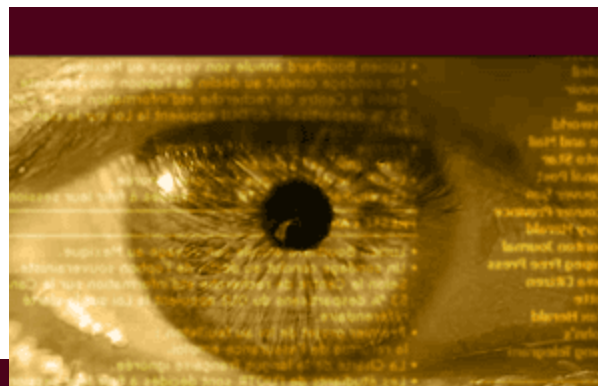
1 = very important to 4 = not at all important

Diverse ancestry – SSAE98

Percentage with each number of ethnic ancestries

1	37%
2	37%
3	17%
4	7%
5+	2%

sondages



polls

Learning – CRIC Diversity Survey

Percentage – Learning and adopting practices of:

	Immigrant	Aboriginal	French speaking	English speaking
More open	38	48	37	33
Same	38	34	43	54
Less open	22	15	16	9

MAS91

- 66% agree that a society that has a variety of ethnic and cultural groups is more able to tackle new problems as they occur.
- 89% agree that multiculturalism means that working together we are better.
- 78% agree that enriching Canada's culture could happen as a result of Canadian multiculturalism.

Equality and participation

- 90% agree that Canadian institutions should provide equal access. (SSAE98)
- 74% agree that Canadian multiculturalism could provide greater equality of opportunity. (MAS91)
- 90% said it is believable that multiculturalism means working together we can stop racism. (MAS91)
- 67% agreed that affirmative action and equity create a fairer Canada. (ACS, 2004)

Mean support for possible elements of federal multiculturalism policy – MAS91

Promote equality	6.42
Ensure equal access	6.39
Eliminate discrimination	6.29
Eliminate racism	6.28
Help deal with diversity	6.04
Ensure institutions reflect diversity	5.79
Fund festivals	4.70
Help preserve heritages	4.69

1 = totally oppose to 7 = totally support

Summary of survey data

- Strong support for
 - Equality and participation
 - Ending racism and discrimination
 - Diversity as resource with positive effects
- Ethnicity not central in marriage and friends
- Need more data on how Canadians construct difference and categorize people into races, ethnicities, and other.

Federal Government statements about multiculturalism

Four documents

Mostly affirmative-type but some envision
possibilities for transformation of social relations

CMA

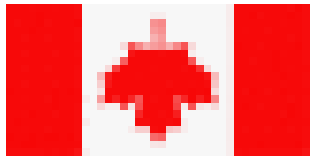


Annual Report on the Operation of
**The Canadian
Multiculturalism
Act**

Renewed Multiculturalism Program Comes into Force

OTTAWA, April 15, 1997 -- The Honorable Hedy Fry, Secretary of State (Multiculturalism) (Status of Women), today released the renewed Multiculturalism Program.

Program objectives are linked to three policy goals - social justice, civic participation, and identity - announced last fall.



Contact Us

Canadian
Heritage

Patrimoine
canadien

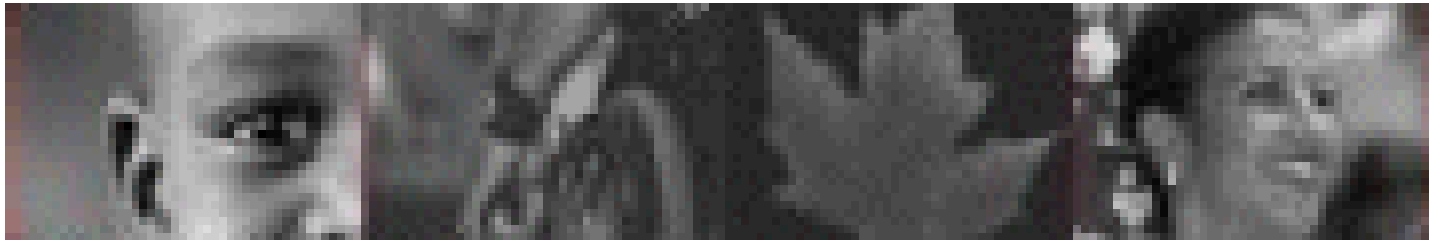
Search

Help

Canada Site

Canada

Multiculturalism



Multiculturalism



respect



equality



diversity

Français

Inclusive Citizenship



A Canada for all

CMA

Diversity

- A: Cultural and racial diversity, multicultural reality; preserve, enhance, share heritage; appreciation; value diversity
- T: Promote reflection and evolving aspects of culture

Equality

- A: Equal treatment and protection under law; equal opportunity in federal institutions
- T: Full & equitable participation; equal opportunity to make life



CMA

Harmony

- A: Respect, appreciation, understanding, exchanges, interaction
- T: Recognition, cooperation, sharing

Overcoming barriers

- A: Eliminate barriers to participation, overcome discriminatory barriers
- T: Encourage institutions to be inclusive



CMA



Resource

- A: Fundamental to Canadian heritage and identity; historic contribution; value diversity
- T: Creativity; evolution and shaping of Canadian society

Renewed Program

- Identity – Recognition, respect, diversity, belonging, attachment to Canada
- Civic participation – Active citizens, opportunity and capacity to participate in shaping communities and country
- Social justice – Fair and equitable treatment, respect dignity, accommodates all

Some mention of transformative aspects

Inclusive Citizenship

- Respect – Acceptance, common attitudes; security; self-confidence; harmony, understanding
- Equality – Equality before law; equality of opportunity; basic freedoms, citizens, responsibilities, individual rights protected, participate, integrated and inclusive citizenship
- Diversity – National asset; keep identities; pride in ancestry; sense of belonging

Mostly affirmative approaches

A Canada for all



Anti-racism/no discrimination

A: Shared task, responsibilities, benefits; break down barriers to opportunity and participation; provide knowledge and expertise to combat racism

T: free from racism, eliminate racism, full and equal enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

A Canada for all



Real equality

A: equality of opportunity, strengthen social cohesion, human rights, assist victims

T: equality of outcome, close gap in socio-economic outcomes

A Canada for All



A Canada for All

A: Promote diversity, partnerships between government and civil society, every Canadian

T: Participation, inclusion, taking action together, forward-looking approaches

Conclusion

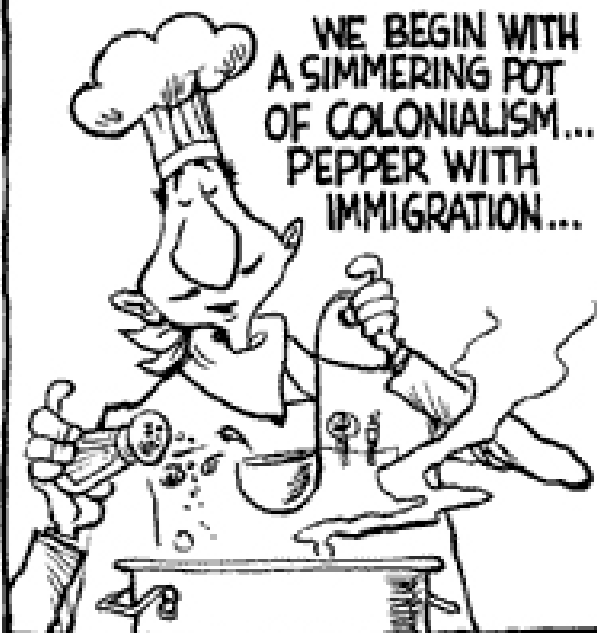
- Continue emphasis on affirmative approaches
- Deconstruct socially constructed differences impairing participatory parity
- Transformation of culture, society, social relations
- Social justice requires attention to distribution as well as recognition

IT'S TIME FOR ANOTHER EPISODE OF

Chef Français

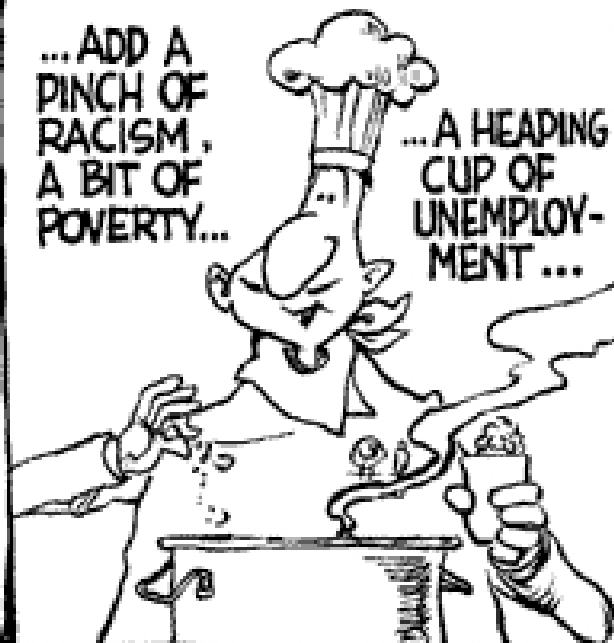


WE BEGIN WITH
A SIMMERING POT
OF COLONIALISM...
PEPPER WITH
IMMIGRATION...



...ADD A
PINCH OF
RACISM,
A BIT OF
POVERTY...

...A HEADING
CUP OF
UNEMPLOY-
MENT...



...STIR IN A DOLLOP OF
INDIFFERENCE AND, OF COURSE,
PLENTY OF CULTURAL
SNOBBERY...



...THEN PLACE IN A CROWDED
TENEMENT AND NEGLECT
FOR HALF A CENTURY...



ET
VOILÀ!
"FLAMBE"!



Thank you

Send me an email if you wish a copy of the full paper.

paul.gingrich@uregina.ca

Presented at CSAA Annual Meeting
York University, Toronto, May 30, 2006