A 'Great' Large Family: Understandings of Multiculturalism Among Newcomers to Canada

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[Canada is not] a melting pot in which the individuality of each element is destroyed in order to produce a new and totally different element. It is rather a garden into which have been transplanted the hardiest and brightest flowers from many lands, each retaining in its new environment the best of the qualities for which it was loved and prized in its native land.

> The Honourable John Diefenbaker,
> Former Canadian Prime Minister[2]

Introduction

Perhaps no other Canadian policy initiatives or legislation have greater potential relevance and significance for the lives of refugees and immigrants to Canada than do those surrounding multiculturalism. Yet despite the potential centrality and importance of multiculturalism to the lives of refugees and immigrants to Canada, little understanding of the self ascribed meanings and understandings that refugees and immigrants themselves have of multiculturalism and its associated policies and legislation has been developed. This paper employs information obtained in the Regina Refugee Research Project to increase an understanding of the awareness and conceptions of multiculturalism that refugees to Canada have and to evaluate the importance of those conceptions and awareness.

A considerable number of books and articles have been written in recent years about multiculturalism in Canada. As Amit-Talai notes, many of these have taken a personal or political position attacking or supporting multicultural policy or doing both (Amit-Talai, 1996: 90-93). In Amit-Talai's view, what has been lacking in the discussion is research concerning the "public policy of multiculturalism." (Ibid.: 90). This paper examines a few aspects of this public policy by examining the views of a number of individuals who arrived in Canada as refugees. We hope that this research will help contribute to a better understanding of how newcomers interpret and relate to multicultural policies in Canada.

This paper is a supplementary report to the Regina Refugee Research Project report, *Refugee Settlement and Integration in Regina: Removing the Barriers* (Gingrich, 1995). In the Project, fifty-five adults who had arrived in Regina as refugees were

interviewed. These individuals are referred to in this paper as **project participants**. The interview covered a wide range of topics such as English language acquisition, employment experiences, health and health care, and family, friends and community. The original report did not analyze the section of the interview that dealt with multiculturalism. Some of the results from this section of the interview are examined in this paper. Appendix I contains the list of pertinent questions asked of those interviewed and the transcribed responses of all of the project participants who answered the questions concerning multiculturalism. Some notes on methodology are provided Appendix II. The paper begins with a brief discussion of the meaning and history of multiculturalism.

A Sociological View of Multiculturalism

In order to situate the general awareness of and depth of understanding that refugees have of multiculturalism it is useful to briefly relate the conception of multiculturalism that informs this report. A sociological understanding of multiculturalism is as follows:

> Multiculturalism [is] the acknowledgment and promotion of cultural pluralism as a feature of many societies. In opposition to the tendency in modern societies to cultural unification and universalization, multiculturalism celebrates and seeks to protect cultural variety, for example, minority languages. At the same time it focuses on the often unequal relationship of minority to mainstream cultures. After decades of persecution, the prospects of indigenous or immigrant cultures are now helped somewhat by the support they receive from international public opinion and the international community, for example, the United Nations (Jary and Jary, 1991: 319).

There are two central features of this sociological understanding of multiculturalism: The first is that multiculturalism is a phenomenon which is held to stand in opposition to the proposition that there exists a "tendency in modern societies to cultural unification and universalization". Because multiculturalism is a process which is in some respects contested and under negotiation, a multiplicity of viewpoints on multiculturalism have developed. If we understand that multiculturalism itself is a concept which is contested at a basic ontological level then it becomes easy to see how it is that individuals come to have variable and in some ways disparate understandings of multiculturalism.

A second distinctive feature of a sociological understanding of multiculturalism is that it is one which realizes multiculturalism "focuses on the often unequal relationship of minority to mainstream cultures". That is, the discussion of multiculturalism entails consideration of the disparate and unequal power relationships between cultural groups within society. For the sociologist, multiculturalism is not an ethereal or merely platitudinous concept to be bandied about to carelessly forward ill conceived political agendas. Rather, the sociologist sees multiculturalism in both its conceptual and policy manifestations as having direct yet not always easily discernible consequences for the way in which people live their social lives and seek to realize their social aspirations.

Origins and Development of Multiculturalism in Canada

The history of the concept of multiculturalism is closely linked with and influenced by the social and political history of Canadian society. The concept does not appear to have been widely used before the late 1960s, although some sociologists and politicians have considered ethnic pluralism to be fundamental to the Canadian experience from the beginning. While the melting pot of the United States may have been more myth than reality, sociologists and politicians often argued that Canada differed from the United States in its approach to newcomers. Of course, the Canadian reality may have meant assimilation of newcomers into a dominant culture of British origin. In spite of this, many writers claimed that Canada was characterized by greater ethnic diversity than was the case in the United States, with more opportunities for newcomers to Canada to retain and express their own culture.[3]

Multiculturalism is a Canadian conception that came into widespread and popular usage during the national unity debates of the 1960s. In 1963, University of Alberta sociologist Charles Hobart noted of multiculturalism, "It is the contribution Canadians have to make to the world. The system of multiculturalism has now worked for almost 100 years and [Canadians] should be missionaries in this type of cause" (Canada, Department of the Secretary of State of Canada, 1987: 10). The historical antecedents of multiculturalism run deep into the history of the Canadian nation. The story of Canada is the story of a multiplicity of cultures. The aboriginal first peoples of the geographic region that is now Canada constituted unique and distinct cultures each in and of themselves. The twin European founding nations of the French and the British were themselves not entirely culturally homogeneous. And subsequent immigration to Canada from cultures spanning the globe has contributed to the unique and multifaceted heritage of the nation. In this way multiculturalism can be seen to have been a demographic fact and social reality since the beginnings of Canada.

It is perhaps not surprising that a nation as multicultural as Canada would give rise to a policy of multiculturalism. And just over 100 years after its inception as a nation Canada's multicultural reality was matched by an official national policy of multiculturalism. Developing out of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, appointed in 1963, the federal government moved toward a policy of "bilingualism and multiculturalism." (Burnet, 1988, Chapter 12). On October 8, 1971 Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau announced that government policy would officially be directed toward "preserving human rights, developing Canadian identity, strengthening citizenship participation, reinforcing Canadian unity and encouraging cultural diversification within a bilingual framework" (Canada, Department of the Secretary of State of Canada, 1987: 10). In 1977 legal safeguards against discrimination based on race, ethnic origin, or religion were made law as part of the Canadian Human Rights Act. When the Canadian Constitution was patriated in 1982 the Charter of Rights and Freedoms enshrined guarantees of equality and multiculturalism in Sections 15 and 27:

15. (1) Every individual is equal before and under the law and has the right to the equal protection and benefit of the law without discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability.

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

And perhaps most significantly, on July 21, 1988, Bill C-93, an Act for the preservation and enhancement of multiculturalism in Canada, or The Canadian Multiculturalism Act became law. The Act currently reads in part:

3. (1) It is hereby declared to be the policy of the Government of Canada to

(a) recognize and promote the understanding that multiculturalism reflects the cultural and racial diversity of Canadian society and acknowledges the freedom of all members of Canadian society to preserve, enhance and share their cultural heritage;

(b) recognize and promote the understanding that multiculturalism is a fundamental characteristic of the Canadian heritage and identity and that it provides an invaluable resource in the shaping of Canada's future;

(c) promote the full and equitable participation of individuals and communities of all origins in the continuing evolution and shaping of all aspects of Canadian society and assist them in the elimination of any barrier to such participation;

(d) recognize the existence of communities whose members share a common origin and their historic contribution to Canadian society, and enhance their development;

(e) ensure that all individuals receive equal treatment and equal protection under the law, while respecting and valuing their diversity;

(f) encourage and assist the social, cultural, economic and political institutions of Canada to be both respectful and inclusive of Canada's multicultural character;

(g) promote the understanding and creativity that arise from the interaction between individuals and communities of different origins;

(h) foster the recognition and appreciation of the diverse cultures of Canadian society and promote the reflection and the evolving expressions of those cultures;

(i) preserve and enhance the use of languages other than English and French, while strengthening the status and use of the official languages of Canada; and

(j) advance multiculturalism throughout Canada in harmony with the national commitment to the official languages of Canada.

(2) It is further declared to be the policy of the Government of Canada that all federal institutions shall

(a) ensure that Canadians of all origins have an equal opportunity to obtain employment and advancement in those institutions;

(b) promote policies, programs and practices that enhance the ability of individuals and communities of all origins to contribute to the continuing evolution of Canada;

(c) promote policies, programs and practices that enhance the understanding of and respect for the diversity of the members of Canadian society;

(d) collect statistical data in order to enable the development of policies, programs and practices that are sensitive and responsive to the multicultural reality of Canada;

(e) make use, as appropriate, of the language skills and cultural understanding of individuals of all origins; and

(f) generally, carry on their activities in a manner that is sensitive and responsive to the multicultural reality of Canada.

The Canadian Multiculturalism Act then realizes in law the multicultural reality that exists and has existed in Canada since the beginning of the nation. In so doing the Act provides legal support for the ideals of equality, freedom, participation, and cultural diversity and harmony. In short the Act can be seen to be an essential element in Canadian law that guarantees basic human and citizenship rights. As such, the Act and the official policy of multiculturalism it enshrines in Canadian law is fundamental to the lives of all residents of Canada, including those who arrive in Canada as refugees.

But how aware are these newcomers of the policy of multiculturalism and does this awareness entail understanding of the policy and the rights it assures that is close to the true spirit and intent of the legislation? It is to these questions that this report now turns
its focus. In the sections that follow, we discuss and analyze the responses of participants in the Regina Refugee Research Project.

Awareness of Multiculturalism and its Correlates

Project participants were classified into three groups, those who were unaware of multiculturalism, those who expressed a very limited awareness of it, and those who gave an indication that they were aware of the policy. The summary of responses based on this classification is given in Table 1. Six of the fifty-five project participants did not complete this section of the interview, so the sample size on which the following analysis is based is effectively forty-nine.

Table 1. Awareness of Multiculturalism

Level of Awareness	Number of Respondents	Per Cent of Responses
Unaware	15	31%
Little Awareness	10	20%
Aware	24	49%
No Response	6	--
Total	55	100%

Twenty-five of the project participants, about one-half of those who responded to the question, "Canada has a policy of multiculturalism. Are you aware of this policy?" were either unaware of the policy or said they were aware or had "heard" of multiculturalism but had little demonstrated awareness of it. Of these twenty-five

respondents, a total of ten fell into the later category saying that the policy means for example, "a lot", is "essential", is "good", or means "freedom" (see, for example, responses of ID 050, ID 054 and ID 144 in Appendix I). While it is admittedly possible that some of these ten respondents had a better awareness and understanding of the policy of multiculturalism than what was indicated by their comments during the interview, for the most part these responses seemed shallow or vague and fail to indicate much of understanding of the policy.

In contrast, many of the twenty-four project participants who demonstrated an awareness of multiculturalism gave interesting responses concerning its meaning. A few examples in Appendix I are the recognition of diversity and harmony (ID 034 and ID 036), learning from each other (ID 045) and government policy (ID 070 and ID 121). Some responses indicate ambivalence about the policy (ID 071), outright opposition to the policy (ID 043) or a misunderstanding of the policy (ID 037 and ID 142). A more detailed analysis of the responses is contained later in the paper. While individual responses emphasize different features of multiculturalism, a quick glance through the whole set of responses shows that collectively the various meanings of multiculturalism are mentioned.

In this sample, awareness of the policy of multiculturalism appears to be somewhat less than amongst the Canadian population in general. An August 1991 survey of Canadian awareness of and attitudes towards multiculturalism found that 25% of Canadian adults surveyed had no awareness of a policy of multiculturalism and 13% were uncertain about the existence of a policy (Angus Reid Group, 1991). Note though that different approaches to question wording and sample selection could account for some if not all of these differences.

Table 2. Awareness of Multiculturalism by Region of Origin

Region	Unaware	Little Awareness	Aware	Total
Central America	8	1	15	24
Southeast Asia	4	7	4	15
Eastern Europe	1	0	3	4
Middle East	2	2	2	6
Total	15	10	24	49

Table 2 provides a cross-classification of the respondents' awareness of multiculturalism by their region of origin. Of this study's sample, those project participants who came from Central America and Eastern Europe were most likely to develop an awareness of Canada's policy of multiculturalism. In addition, project participants from all regions demonstrated an awareness of the policy.

Cross-classification analysis of the project participants' responses reveals that there are several characteristics and sociological factors that appeared to play a role in and may influence the development of awareness of multicultural policy amongst refugees. Perhaps most important is that those project participants who were met and assisted by the Regina Open Door Society, Regina's nongovernmental settlement agency, tended to be more likely to have an awareness of multicultural policy than those who were not met or assisted by the settlement agency.

Table 3. Met By Settlement Agency By Awareness of Multiculturalism

Met by Open Door	Unaware	Little Awareness	Aware	Total
Yes	7	5	16	28
No	2	2	3	7
Total	9	7	19	35

Table 3 illustrates that nongovernmental refugee settlement agencies such as the Regina Open Door Society already play a role in the promotion of Canada's multicultural policy and there is reason to regard these agencies as resources that can be tapped to further awareness of multiculturalism among Canadians. In contrast, the study found that another possible resource in the promotion of multiculturalism, that of having a host family, is not fulfilling all of its potential. There was no particular relationship between newcomers having had a Canadian host family and their level of awareness of multiculturalism.

Time of Arrival.   Another characteristic that was especially important in predicting awareness of multiculturalism was year of arrival in Regina. Over 60 per cent of the thirty project participants who arrived less than five years before the study was conducted in 1992 indicated an awareness of multicultural policy. In contrast, only one-quarter of the nineteen who arrived more than five years before the study demonstrated a similar level of awareness. Part of the reason for this difference may relate to the improved and more systematic settlement services that have become available in the city in recent years. Several of those who arrived in the 1970s were mostly on their own from the time of their arrival. In contrast, all those newcomers who arrived in the city as refugees in the last ten years have been able to avail themselves of a basic set of settlement services, including language training and classes that provide an introduction to Canadian society. Another reason for the difference in responses may be that the policy was less actively promoted by the federal government in the period before the Act was passed in 1988.

Employment.   The study found a mixed relationship between both the employment history of project participants and their awareness of multiculturalism. In contrast to what might be expected, the holding of employment did not correspond to a greater likelihood of being aware of the policy. Part of the reason for this may have been the

limited employment experience of those who arrived more recently. This latter group generally was aware of multiculturalism but had not yet been as successful in finding jobs as had those who arrived earlier.

Education.   Even stranger, those newcomers who reported having had schooling in Canada were less likely to be aware of multicultural policy than those who had not. Clearly, Canada's educational institutions could play a greater role in informing students about Canada's policy of multiculturalism. Though, of those refugees who did report receiving some education either in their original countries or in Canada, those whom attained higher levels of education were more likely to report being aware of multicultural policy. The mean years of schooling for the aware group was 15.0 years as compared with a mean of 11.0 years for the less aware or unaware.[4] In addition, there does appear to be a relationship between the number of English language instruction classes the project participants reported having had taken and their awareness of multiculturalism. Sixteen of the twenty-eight (57%) who attended at least two classes were aware of the policy, while only five of sixteen (31%) who attended less than two English classes were aware of the policy.[5]

Well-Being.   When participants were interviewed during the project, they were asked to rate their perceptions of their own well-being. In the process of analyzing these data, it appeared that those who indicated a more positive level of well-being also were more aware of multicultural policy. It is not clear whether perceptions of well-being lead to a greater knowledge and appreciation of multiculturalism, or whether an understanding of the meaning and importance of multiculturalism is a factor that helps newcomers evaluate their situation more positively. Perhaps the two go together as part of the adjustment process that newcomers go through. If this is the case, integration into Canadian society may involve developing an understanding of the place of different cultures and peoples at the same time as developing a feeling of achieving a place in the society. Together these could lead to a reasonably positive self-evaluation and an understanding of the meaning of multicultural policy.

In order to examine this issue, an index of psychological and social functioning of project participants was constructed.[6] Project participants were asked a series of ten questions meant to help evaluate aspects of their current psychological well-being. They were asked to respond whether in the "last few weeks" they had, "often", "sometimes", or "never" experienced each of the following:

- Felt really great, on top of the world
- Felt very lonely or remote from other people
- Felt excited by or interested in something
- Felt you could decide things
- Felt that people do not get along with you
- Felt homesick for your native land
- Felt that you were playing a useful part in things
- Had nightmares or disturbing dreams
- Felt depressed or very unhappy
- Really enjoyed what you were doing

The responses to these questions were coded and tabulated to produce a "psychological well-being score" for each respondent who provided an answer to each of the ten questions. The scores could potentially range from -10, indicating a very negative evaluation of well-being, to +10, indicating a very positive evaluation of well-being. Appendix II contains a discussion of the construction of the index and the distribution of the index. In general, project participants rated their well-being positively, with large negative values on the index occurring for only three participants. Just over one-third of the forty-seven participants who responded to these questions had a score of +5 or more on the index. The relationship between the index of psychological well-being and knowledge of multicultural policy is provided in Table 4.

Table 4. Psychological Well-Being by Awareness of Multiculturalism

Value of Index of Psychological Well-Being	Unaware	Little Awareness	Aware	Total
-6 to -10	0	0	1	1
-1 to -5	3	2	2	7
0	4	0	3	7
+1 to +5	6	5	11	22
+6 to +10	0	2	7	9
Total	13	9	24	46
Mean of Index	0.85	3.11	3.92	2.89
Standard Deviation of Index	3.00	2.98	4.01	3.74

The results from Table 4 indicate that there is some correlation between the reported level of psychological well-being and awareness of multicultural policy for project participants. For instance, of the nine project participants who scored in the highest category of psychological well-being, seven or 78% are aware of multiculturalism. In constrast, less than one-half of those in the lowest three categories of psychological well-being were aware, and exactly one-half of the twenty-two in the +1 to +5 category were aware. These results must, of course, be treated with caution because of the small sample size and the exploratory nature of this analysis.

While it remains to be seen whether or not this supposition will pass the test of further research, it already passes the test of logical deduction. This study has noted that there are several positive influences and correlations associated with the potentialities, both realized and yet to be realized, of multicultural policy for the social lives and life chances of newcomers to Canada. It is not surprising that awareness of the potentialities contained in the policy which facilitate realization of these potential benefits for the social

lives and life chances of refugees is in some way connected to the psychological well-being of refugees.

Other Correlates. Cross-classification analysis also found evidence that awareness of multicultural policy may be related to some positive aspects of refugee social functioning. While there appeared to be no relationship between awareness of multiculturalism and the number of Canadian friends project participants had, those participants who reported having friends from an aboriginal background were more likely to be aware of multiculturalism. Eleven of the project participants who said they had an aboriginal friend reported being aware of multicultural policy (69%), as opposed to an awareness by only eight of nineteen participants who reported not having an aboriginal friend (42%).[7]

Unexpectedly however, no such correlation was found between awareness of multiculturalism and the likelihood of project participants having friends in other ethnic groups. Those respondents who did not have friends from other ethnic groups were about as likely to be aware of multicultural policy as those who did. The strangeness of this finding is compounded by the finding that those project participants who were aware of multiculturalism were more likely to respond that there are other ethnic groups they do not get along with.

One explanation for this might be that those respondents who were aware of multicultural policy were less likely to have an isolationist lifestyle and live in a cultural enclave and thereby had greater opportunity to meet others from different ethnic groups and form a negative opinion of them. This explanation does not hold up however in light of the finding that those who were aware of multiculturalism were found to be no more likely to have friends from other ethnic backgrounds than those unaware of the policy. This may be an instance of where multicultural policy objectives are not translating into realized social policy outcomes. If this is indeed the case it is possible more can be done to ensure that those newcomers aware of Canada's multicultural policy initiatives take the next step and act on those initiatives in their own lives.

On a more optimistic note regarding multicultural policy, the study found instances of where awareness of the policy seems to be related to the satisfaction newcomers have with aspects of their lives in Canada. A concrete example of this is the finding that those refugees who reported being "very happy" with medical services were more likely to be aware of multiculturalism.   On one of the truest indications of the satisfaction of newcomers with their life in Canada, when asked "Would you encourage friends from your native land to come to Canada?" just under 60% of those project participants who responded yes were aware of multiculturalism (twenty-two of thirty-nine responses in Table 5). In contrast, only seven participants said that they would not encourage friends to come to Canada, but these seven were generally less aware of multiculturalism. The statistical distribution for this cross-classification is provided in Table 5.

Table 5. Encourage Friends To Come To Canada By Awareness of Multiculturalism

Encourage Friends to Come to Canada	Unaware	Little Awareness	Aware	Total
Yes	11	6	22	39
No	3	2	2	7
Total	14	8	24	46

Table 6.   National Identification By Awareness of Multiculturalism

National Identification	Unaware	Little Awareness	Aware	Total
Canada	4	4	3	11
Own Country	5	1	5	11
Both	4	5	14	23
Neither	1	0	1	2
Total	14	10	23	47

A final indication that the policy of multiculturalism is achieving at least some of its social policy objectives is evidenced by the data in Table 6. The group of project participants that reported the greatest level of awareness of multiculturalism is those who said that they identify with both Canada and their country of origin (fourteen of twenty-three or 61%). In contrast, those who identify primarily with either Canada or their home country are less likely to report awareness of multiculturalism (eight of twenty-two or 36%).[8]   If encouraging all citizens of Canada to feel more Canadian by respecting the cultural uniqueness of all individual Canadians can be considered an objective of multicultural policy in Canada then by this measure the policy is working.

Depth of Understanding of Multiculturalism

Approximately one-half of all the project participants said they were aware of the policy of multiculturalism. These individuals generally demonstrated a considerable depth of understanding of the meaning of the policy. A full listing of the responses of all the project participants who gave a response to the question "What does multiculturalism mean to you?" is provided in Appendix I.

In order to study how the project participants who were aware of multiculturalism understand it, the responses of the participants are examined in two separate ways. This section sorts the responses into various groupings based on each participant's statement of the meaning of multiculturalism to them. The following section begins with the Canadian Multiculturalism Act and identifies five themes within the sections of the Act. The responses are then examined in order to determine the number of themes that each project participant identified.

Fifteen of the project participants provided definitions of multiculturalism that reflect the policy's commitment to "promote the full and equal participation of individuals and communities of all origins in the continuing evolution and shaping of all aspects of Canadian society." For example, one participant said multiculturalism is a policy in which "cultures contribute to [the] culture of Canada" and allows people to "sample of [the] best elements in every culture" (ID 019). Another said that multiculturalism "means we are people from different countries, but have the same responsibilities for our society" (ID 038). One individual referred to multiculturalism as "many people work together looking for better life" (ID 076). Others said multiculturalism means "share cultures" (ID 133), "bring cultures together" (ID 124), "mixed cultures" (ID 042), and "lots of cultures living together in harmony" (ID 036). Some of the responses appear to place an even greater emphasis on the notion of achieving Canadian cultural unity through mutual respect for diversity than does Canadian multicultural policy. Consider the following response as illustration: "Putting together people from different cultures to be unified in one idea and to learn each from the other and to live together" (ID 045).

Six of the responses reflected the commitment to equality embodied in clause 3(1)(e) of the Act: "ensure that all individuals receive equal treatment and equal protection under the law". One participant noted, "we are all equal, all Canadians were immigrants at one time" (ID 068). Another said that multiculturalism ensures "opportunities for all groups, cultures, or persons to develop or act within their community" (ID 070). One refugee provided a very concrete example of the equality rights that the policy of multiculturalism plays a role in guaranteeing: "Being able to participate in Canadian society. For example, having the right to vote" (ID 021). And another expressed multiculturalism succinctly as "equality, friendship, and respect between each other" (ID 058).

Six of the individuals interviewed replied in terms of rights or privileges they felt were guaranteed by the policy. One replied it means that the "government receives different people, different cultures and they promote it. There is not laws against it like in some countries. There is freedom of religion and culture" (ID 121). Another participant indicated that the policy of multiculturalism means the right to "exercise language and customs so long as it doesn't affect someone else" (ID 008). The latter response is an example of a theme expressed by several participants – that is, that the positive aspects of multicultural policy are in some ways lessened or moderated in the interest of allowing a greater sense of Canadian cultural unity to be developed. The rights to cultural diversity

of expression may be seen by some newcomers to be contingent upon "not affect[ing] someone else" (ID 008) or doing anything to jeopardize national cultural unity. If this is indeed the understanding that some newcomers to Canada have concerning multicultural policy, this may reflect the manner in which Canadian multicultural policy is implemented and administered.

A response that at first may appear to be an extension of the mandate of multiculturalism beyond what was intended by the legislation is as follows: "That people have freedom to speech, religion, culture, jobs, and education" (ID 028). While the first three mentioned freedoms clearly fit into those mandated by the policy there is a possibility confusion may surround the last two freedoms. The Project found issues of employment and educational opportunities to be a serious concern to those interviewed. For instance when asked "What aspects of life in Regina present the greatest problem for you?" and "Are there any changes in Regina that would make life a lot better for you here?" fourteen participants specifically directed their responses to the issues of employment difficulties. Given that employment and educational opportunities are central issues for newcomers, multicultural policy could have great relevance if it promotes such opportunities.

The question is whether the statement, "freedom to speech, religion, culture, jobs, and education," is true to the spirit and intent of the Act or not. Parts of the legislation do indeed support this interpretation: "the full and equitable participation of individuals and communities of all origins in the continuing evolution and shaping of all aspects of Canadian society," "encourage and assist the. . . economic. . . institutions of Canada to be both respectful and inclusive," "ensure that Canadians of all origins have an equal opportunity to obtain employment and advancement in those [government] institutions" and "make use, as appropriate, of the language skills and cultural understanding of individuals of all origins." The thrust of much of the Act though is to emphasize cultural diversity and maintenance of culture, rather than to promote rights for employment and educational opportunities.

Many critics have considered the promise entailed in multicultural policy and the Act as unfulfilled. A key element of a sociological understanding of multiculturalism relates to the power relationships between cultural minorities and the majority. To the extent that issues of power differences are not addressed and economic and social inequalities among ethnic groups exist, multicultural policy can be viewed as having failed to achieve its potential. This failure has direct and concrete effects on the lives and social realities of newcomers. One concrete manifestation of this is the inability of some members of such groups to gain educational and employment opportunities equal to those of other Canadians.

A final note relates to the project participants' evaluations of multicultural policy. Of the twenty-nine participants who expressed a view on the subject, twenty-four appeared to evaluate the policy in a positive manner. Only a few participants expressed mixed or negative views toward the policy.   One participant, apparently frustrated by the

unrealized potential of multicultural policy, referred to it as "A smoke screen for Canadians which does nothing for me" (ID 043). This is an indication that at least some newcomers are experiencing serious cynicism towards a policy that could do much more to facilitate improvements in their lives if the policy objectives were able to more directly translate into social policy outcomes.

Another set of responses illustrate clearly the conflictual nature that is at the heart of debates surrounding policies of multiculturalism: "Activities may help but doesn't help integration, but can help preserve culture" (ID 080). "[I] like it and hate it at the same time. We can live in our culture but we are called minority groups. Appears on job applications. You [as a cultural minority] are different. Never part of the total" (ID 071). Both responses provide practical illustrations of the inherent contradictions within multiculturalism. The successful implementation of multicultural policy must negotiate a thin line between encouraging unique and rewarding expressions of cultural diversity while not lending itself to the formation of cultural enclaves, be they either geographical or psychological. Such enclaves could alienate members of one cultural community from other communities or the larger society. A powerful statement of this tendency is provided by Peter Lamborn Wilson in his evaluation of the meaning and practice of multiculturalism in the United States. Wilson notes (Aronowitz et. al., 1996: 223-224):

> The new catchphrase "multiculturalism" simply hides a form of ethnic-cultural cleansing under a semantic mask of liberal pluralism. Multiculturalism is a means of *separating* one culture from another, for avoiding all possibility of cross-cultural synergy or mutuality or communicativeness. At best, multiculturalism provides the consensus with an excuse to commit a bit of cultural pillaging – "appropriation" – to add some sanitized version of otherness to its own dreary, uniform boredom, through tourism, or vapid academic curricula based on "respect and dignity." But the underlying deep structure of multiculturalism is *fear of penetration*, of infection, or mutation, of inextricable involvement with otherness – of becoming the other.

The responses of this study's participants indicate that while there may be some cause for both optimism and criticism of how successfully Canadian multicultural policy is striking this balance perhaps a more sensible and fruitful response is one of pragmatism. While the policy may result in unintended consequences such as fostering cultural isolationism in some instances it is also aiding in safeguarding basic tenets of democracy such as equality, freedom, and tolerance. The implementation of a policy of multiculturalism may in every instance require some form of this trade off.

The study provides evidence that the potential benefits of such a trade-off to the desires and aspirations of newcomers may make the trade-off worth while. In Table 7 it can be seen that the majority of those interviewed expressed a desire that both they and their family maintain aspects of their cultural heritage. With the exception of the "Marry in Own Group" category it is clear that those interviewed would like to maintain some parts of their original cultures, and it is those parts of the culture that multicultural policies have been most successful at supporting.

Table 7. Importance of Children Carrying on Various Customs

Importance that Children	No. of Respondents Saying this is			
	Very Important	Important	Not Important	Total
Speak own language	32	9	6	47
Speak own language regularly	26	13	7	46
Observe holidays	17	11	17	45
Practice religion	26	9	9	44
Marry in own group	5	7	30	42

The study also revealed a desire amongst project participants to establish the types of services for their ethnic communities that multicultural policies can in some cases help facilitate. These are outlined in Table 8. Note that some project participants mentioned several services, so the total number of services mentioned does not match the sample size. When these specific desires and aspirations, along with broader human social needs for things such as social success and security, equality, freedom, and justice are considered, the crucial and fundamental importance of multiculturalism for all members of Canadian society including newcomers to the nation becomes readily apparent.

Table 8.   Services that Should be Established for Ethnic Communities

Services that Should be Established in Regina	Number of Times Each Service was Mentioned
Meeting Place	12
Restaurants	6
Temple or Church	5
Language School	5
Sports/Recreation Facilities	3
Ethnic Association	3
Celebrate Holidays	2
Seniors' Centre	1
Other Social or Cultural	11

Table 9. Themes in the Canadian Multiculturalism Act

Diversity

- Cultural and racial diversity of Canada. 3: 1 (a)
- Preservation, enhancement and sharing of cultural heritage. 3: 1 (a)
- Respecting and valuing diversity. 3: 1 (e)
- Promote reflection and expression of culture. 3:1 (h)
- Languages 3:1 (i)

Equality

- Equal treatment and equal protection for all. 3: 1 (e)
- Full and equitable participation   3: 1 (c)
- Equal opportunity for employment and advancement in government. 3:2 (a)

Overcoming Barriers

- Elimination of any barriers to participation. 3: 1 (c)
- Institutions to be inclusive. 3:1 (f)

Harmony

- Respect, recognition and appreciation. 3:1 (f) and (h)
- Understanding 3:1 (g)
- Harmony 3:1 (j)

Resource

- Fundamental characteristic of Canadian heritage and identity. 3: 1 (b)
- Resource in shaping of Canada's future. 3: 1 (b)
- Creativity. 3:1 (g)
- Contribution to Canadian society. 3:1 (d)
- Make use of language skill and cultural understanding. 3:2 (e)
- Value diversity. 3:1 (e)

Note: The numbers and letters in the box refer to the sections or subsections of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act. Most of these sections are provided on pages 4 and 5 of this paper.

Themes in the Canadian Multiculturalism Act

The analysis in the last section began by examining the responses given by project participants to the questions concerning multiculturalism. An alternative approach developed here is to identify the major themes in the Canadian Multiculturalism Act and count the number of project participants who identify each of these themes in their responses. The major themes that we identified are shown in Table 9 and an analysis of responses by project participants based on these themes follows. A discussion of the methods used to identify themes and obtain the data for this section of the paper is contained in Appendix II. It should be noted that this section makes no attempt to consider the whole meaning of multiculturalism or the manner in which multiculturalism has been implemented and practiced in Canada. Rather, this section adopts a fairly specific approach, considering only the themes in the Act and investigating the extent to which project participants identified these themes.

The five major themes identified as being central to the Canadian Multiculturalism Act in Table 9 refer primarily to the clauses in Section 3:1 of the Act. Section 3.2 of the Act refers to the operation of the Act within the institutions of the federal government; for the most part these were not centrally relevant for this study.

The Act refers to **diversity** in several places, and the fact of Canadian cultural and racial diversity is central to multiculturalism; without such diversity there would be little need for the Act. Diversity refers to culture, race, language and heritage among individuals and groups in Canada, and in Canadian society as a whole. A sub-theme is that diversity is to be respected, although this is included within the harmony theme, as noted below. The sub-themes of protection and promotion of diversity are included under the resource theme.

Diversity is essential to multiculturalism, but without considering how such diversity is to be viewed or treated by Canadians, diversity alone has little meaning and could be associated with inequality or even antagonism amongst groups. Critics of multiculturalism have often argued that these latter characteristics are the reality of diversity in Canadian society (see, for example, Bibby, 1990). Regardless of what may be the reality, the Act states that **equality**, not inequality, is to be the rule. At several points, reference is made to equality in phrases such as "equitable participation" and "equal treatment and equal protection." These statements about equality sometimes refer to equality among individuals and sometimes to equality among groups.

A third theme is that of **overcoming barriers**, primarily expressed at the end of clause (c) of Section 3:1. This could be viewed as being identical with the previous theme of equality, and indeed these two themes may be difficult to distinguish from each other. It seems though that by explicitly mentioning practical barriers and noting that efforts should be devoted to overcoming these, the Act recognizes that equality may not always be the rule. Given that there is inequality of many forms in Canadian society, it is interesting to note that the framers of the Act did attempt to include reference to the need

to eliminate barriers in order that some forms of inequality might potentially be reduced. The specific forms that these barriers might take and exactly what practical efforts will be devoted to attempting to overcome these barriers are not discussed in the Act. A more detailed examination of these would have to make reference to various government programs, policies and legislation – but identifying which of these are integral to multiculturalism and which are aspects of other policy thrusts would be difficult. Note that earlier in the paper, discussion of the meaning of multiculturalism indicated that the issues of inequality and barriers to full participation and equality are problematic when discussing multiculturalism. Finally, note that clause (f) makes reference to assisting a variety of institutions to be inclusive. Implied in this clause is that some of these institutions may in practice not be inclusive, so that there are barriers to be overcome.

Harmony is the name given here to the theme dealing with issues such as respect, recognition, appreciation and understanding. Relationships among diverse groups and efforts to reduce barriers to full and equal participation may not be carried out harmoniously, but the Act does try to point in this direction. By indicating that Canadians should respect and appreciate various diverse cultures and traditions, a certain harmony is implied.

In a number of ways, the Act argues that multiculturalism and diversity can be a **resource** that is an integral part of Canadian heritage and identity and is important in helping to shape and build the Canada of the future. As a resource, it is argued that diversity is creative, skills are provided, understanding is increased and Canadian society is generally richer because of multicultural heritage.

These five themes provide a way of sorting through the range of issues and approaches covered in the Act. While other analysts and researchers might develop a somewhat different categorization of themes in the Act, for sorting through the responses of project participants, the themes identified here appear adequate. A summary of the number of themes project participants identified, cross-classified by the earlier categorization of level of awareness, is contained in Table 10.

Table 10. Number of Themes Identified By Awareness of Multiculturalism

Number of Themes Identified	Unaware	Little Awareness	Aware	Total
0	15	8	1	24
1	0	2	9	11
2	0	0	8	8
3	0	0	5	5
4	0	0	1	1
5	0	0	0	0
Total	15	10	24	49

From Table 10, it can be seen that no one identified all five themes, although six project participants identified three or more of the themes in the Act. As expected, those who were unaware of multiculturalism did not identify any themes, and those who were earlier categorized as having little awareness were generally unable to identify any of the themes. In contrast, those who were categorized as aware, were generally able to identify at least one theme, and often several of the themes.[9]

Table 11. Number of Responses Expressing Themes in the Canadian Multiculturalism Act, Aware Project Participants

Theme	Number of Responses Expressing Theme	Percentage of Those Aware
Diversity	18	75%
Equality	7	29%
Overcoming Barriers	3	12%
Harmony	10	42%
Resource	6	25%

Table 11 summarizes the responses of the twenty-four participants who are aware of multiculturalism. Most respondents identified the diversity theme, with just over 40% also making some reference to harmonious relationships. Approximately one-quarter of the aware respondents expressed some idea of equality or multiculturalism as a resource. Note though that only three responses provided some indication that they thought multiculturalism meant overcoming barriers. In fact, it was those who reacted negatively or with ambivalence to multiculturalism that sometimes considered the difficulty of overcoming barriers as one of the problems associated with multiculturalism.

An additional theme that several respondents suggested is that of **freedom**. Five of the project participants mentioned freedom or free (ID 020, ID 028, ID 037, ID 054 and ID 151). In two of these cases, the participants said "free for everyone" or simply "freedom." Given that this analysis of themes was restricted to the Act, freedom was not identified as a major theme. While the Act does mention "freedom of all members of Canadian society to preserve, enhance and share their cultural heritage" in Article 3 (1) (a), this does not appear to be a major theme in the Act. Rather, freedom can be considered to be a background condition, and one more clearly addressed in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Aspects of the Charter are often connected to a discussion of multiculturalism, and the Act and the Charter may be considered inseparable in some senses. In spite of this connection, freedom is a more general principle, one that applies to a much wider variety of activities in Canadian society than what are primarily issues related to multiculturalism. For purposes of this section, freedom is not considered to be a major theme in the Act.

If we adopt issues of equality and inequality, and social power imbalances as a central concern, as the sociological understanding informing this analysis guides us to, then several interrelated issues of interest emerge in examination of the above findings. First, and most obvious, is that of the five themes embedded in the Canadian Multiculturalism Act the theme of overcoming barriers is the theme least likely to find expression in the self ascribed understandings newcomers have of the policy. Overcoming barriers refers to the attempt of the legislation to ensure equal participation and life chances at a very practical level for all members of Canadian society regardless of their cultural heritage. The basic effects of insufficient knowledge of this dimension of the policy are also readily apparent. If newcomers to Canadian society are unaware of the practical guarantees to full and equal participation that Canadian legislation provides, then they are unlikely to seek redress when they encounter such barriers to their full and equal participation in Canadian society. The result may be that newcomers suffer the social consequences of such barriers to their participation in Canadian society in silence, unaware of the Canadian government's legislative commitment to removing such barriers. This is a key area, one in which educational programs and materials for newcomers would do well to address.

Related to this is the theme of multiculturalism as a resource for developing and shaping Canada's future. Only one-quarter of the project participants who demonstrated an awareness of Canada's multicultural policy indicated awareness of this theme. The conception of unique cultural characteristics as being valuable resources for Canada is potentially very relevant for the life chances of newcomers with varied cultural backgrounds. Because of this, from a social policy standpoint efforts should be made to increase the understanding that newcomers have of the Canadian government's approach to multiculturalism. Only by encouraging other Canadians and newcomers themselves to view their unique cultural attributes and skills as valuable to Canadian society can the whole of Canadian society begin to realize the potential benefits of the attributes and skills of both newcomers and all Canadians.

When describing the thematic breakdown of the Multiculturalism Act employed in this analysis we noted that an understanding of multiculturalism that is limited to merely recognizing diversity is indeed frightfully limited. History has taught us numerous times the danger associated with a too narrow conception of diversity that is not tampered with mutual understanding, respect, tolerance, equality, and harmony. This is the lesson of historical events such as the Holocaust and ethnic cleansing in Bosnia. Yet it is a lesson many today including many of the project participants in this study continue to fail to understand. The theme of diversity found expression in nearly three-quarters of the responses that demonstrated an awareness of Canada's policy of multiculturalism. Yet only about one-half (nine of nineteen) responses tempered the recognition of cultural diversity with the understanding that socially just diversity must be accompanied by equality and harmony. The theme of equality was expressed in the responses of only about one-third of the responses and the theme of harmony amongst diverse cultural groups found only slightly more expression at 40% of those who were aware of multicultural policy.

This part of the study's findings can again be regarded with both optimism in some respects and pessimism in others. It is necessary to highlight the fact that all of the five major legislative themes we identified in the Canadian Multiculturalism Act found at least some level of expression in the self ascribed understandings refugees to Canada have of the policy. The significance of this finding should not be overlooked: Legislation is often constructed in a nebulous manner which deliberately leaves it open to multiple interpretations and reinterpretations. Yet the fact remains that at the very concrete level of what people (in the case of this study, those who arrived in Canada as refugees) think multicultural policy means for their lives, these expectations give expression to at least some of the most readily identifiable themes of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act. This is cause for some degree of optimism. Yet this optimism must be mitigated with a cautionary note of pessimism. In no case did any one understanding the respondents had of multicultural policy manage to encompass all five of the major themes of the Multiculturalism Act that we identified. It is not surprising that newcomers fail to demonstrate this high degree of awareness of most of the features of the policy. Indeed it is doubtful longtime Canadian citizens in general would demonstrate such an astute degree of awareness. But because multicultural policy is so potentially relevant to the lives of newcomers, it does seem that efforts that could aid in the development of clearer understandings of multicultural policy could pay off in concrete benefits for the social lives and life chances of newcomers to the country.

Conclusion - Multiculturalism and Integration

This paper has provided a discussion and analysis of the responses of a few newcomers to Canada concerning multiculturalism. Hopefully this has been a useful exercise in moving research in the direction in which Amit-Talai points.[10] At the same time, as authors of this paper we would like to make a few statements that illustrate our own views concerning multiculturalism.

In English-speaking Canada, integration used to mean assimilation into a British model of society. There were obvious exceptions to this and assimilation was often incomplete, but it seems to be generally agreed that this provides a reasonable description of English-speaking Canada for the first hundred years after Confederation. More recently, there have been a number of changes in the composition of the population, in the structure of Canadian society and in official policy and practice. Assimilation is no longer an acceptable means of integrating newcomers, so that we now talk about integration in a multicultural context. But the recent recognition of ethnic and cultural diversity may represent little more than an overdue attempt to make Canada a more liberal society. At the same time as there have been attempts to provide forms of equality for some cultural differences, great differences in the inequality of incomes and opportunities remain structured into the operation of the Canadian economy, society and polity. These lead to dramatic differences in life experiences for individuals from different cultural backgrounds. These differences have not been eliminated and the inherent contradictions

in the meaning of integration and multiculturalism will persist as long as these inequalities remain.

Perhaps too much has been made of multiculturalism, and there may be fewer changes in the structure of Canadian society over the last thirty years than is commonly thought. In the future, though, there will undoubtedly be a greater need to recognize the ethnic and cultural reality of the contemporary era, not only in Canada, but in many other parts of the world. For some, this raises questions concerning the meaning of being Canadian (see, for example, Bibby, 1990). For the authors of this paper, the ideals in the Act and in the Charter are positive and represent a beginning towards recognizing and respecting difference and diversity in all its aspects. But Canadians should move beyond recognition and acceptance of only some of the cultural differences. For Canadian society to move forward, principles such as equality and harmony must be applied in a much wider context, with policies and actions aimed at reducing and overcoming inequalities in areas such as income, social opportunities, and in access to services in health and education.

With respect to cultural aspects of Canadian society, we are optimistic about the future. Multicultural principles have themselves become a large part of the Canadian identity and will continue to assist in the development of Canadian culture and identity. The future will involve, as has the past, welcoming many individuals and groups from different geographic regions and having different cultural histories and experiences. It is the specific quality and nature of this welcome that remains to be seen. Will the social intolerance and injustice that often characterized the past be repeated, or can Canadian society find new and vibrant cultural solutions? Indeed, new cultural traditions and experiences will be created within Canada, leading to new groups and identities. But we agree with Kymlicka that newcomers "typically wish to integrate into the larger society, and to be accepted as full members of it." (Kymlicka, 1995: 10-11). We also agree with his view that many of the rights such newcomers may push for "promote integration into the larger society." (Kymlicka, 1995: 31). The participants in this project, whose views we have analyzed, appear to have generally accepted and adopted this approach – and being refugees originally, Canada would not necessarily have been their first choice of where to live their lives.

Part of the reason why some may look on ethnic diversity and multiculturalism as divisive is that there is a misunderstanding of culture, especially of ethnic culture. Misunderstanding of such a basic sociological concept has created considerable confusion in the analysis of ethnic culture. While ethnic culture is often considered to be fixed and unchanging and a product of long historical development, much ethnic culture changes quite rapidly and is a product of conditions that members of an ethnic group encounter. As Li (1990) argues,

> capitalism has transformed ethnicity in the core and peripheral regions, … In both instances, an ethnic group can no longer be treated simplistically as a cultural entity. (33)

the development of ethnicity is more related to the structural conditions of the cities and economic opportunities available to each ethnic group than the primordial culture brought with them from their country of origin. (36)

As a result, ethnic cultures cannot be seen as fixed and unchanging, but must be considered to be a product of various historical experiences, new situations (both positive and negative) and new strategies for dealing with these situations.

As a general principle, we look on culture as being flexible and subject to considerable change, adaptable and adapting, able to both borrow and lend, often creating new cultures and new identities by using aspects of other cultures, past cultures and perhaps even future cultures. The argument that we have found most convincing in this respect comes from the philosopher Paul Feyerabend. In his autobiography, Feyerabend concludes his review of his own work *Against Method*, by arguing:

But cultures interact, they change, they have resources that go beyond their stable and objective ingredients or, rather, beyond those ingredients which at least some anthropologists have condensed into inexorable cultural rules and laws. Considering how much cultures have learned from each other and how ingeniously they have transformed the material thus assembled, I have come to the conclusion that *every culture is potentially all cultures* and that special cultural features are changeable manifestations of *a single human nature*. (Feyerabend, 1995: 151-152).[11]

This is a new way for social scientists to view the analytical concept of culture. As such it represents a challenge to long established sociological orthodoxy because it prods the social scientist into a critical examination of an analytical tool which is often used unreflectively.   It seems to us that examination of the issues surrounding ethnic cultural diversity, cultural integration and multiculturalism lead to rethinking what the social theorist and researcher typically consider culture to be. At the very least, we have been encouraged to grapple with our own commonsense understandings of culture and cultures in this analysis.

An illustration of how this might work in the Canadian context is one that comes from the United States. The jazz critic and writer Stanley Crouch argues that the American identity is really an amalgam of the multitude of influences and experiences that form the American experience. Crouch notes:

On this side of the world, we are still arguing over immigration, trade, race relations, gender politics, sexual preferences, the environment, and national debt, but we have a common identity and a common set of conflicts resulting from relationships so intertwined we couldn't recognize ourselves if we were to somehow awake from sleep in a "pure" state. It is because of our miscegenated presence in the Americas that the ideas of the Enlightenment were so thoroughly enriched, so inclusively stretched beyond the idea that all Europeans had a human commonality precluding language, religion, and national boundaries. The indigenous Indian, the Spanish and Indian mixture that became Hispanic, the African who became the Negro-American slave and also added another strain to the Hispanic, the Asians who arrived to help build the transcontinental railroad of the United States, and every other variant of human ancestry pushed the democratic ideal further and further away from provincialism. In the Western Hemisphere, the nations of the world are present in the bloodstreams of people who

supplied – through their countless achievements in every arena of endeavor – all necessary proof of infinite human possibility. That proof became the debating mortar of definition which holds together the increasingly different mixtures of bricks that form the entire cultural edifice of the Americas. (Crouch, 1995: 244-245).

Perhaps the Canadian identity has already emerged and will continue to be built and rebuilt in the same manner. One way of understanding the meaning of integration is to consider it as the manner in which this process of cultural contact, adaptation and change occurs.

Appendix I

The interview schedule for the Regina Refugee Research Project contained the questions in part A of this appendix. Forty-nine of the project participants answered the first part of J13 and thirty-four gave some response to the second part of J13. Transcriptions of the responses of those project participants who volunteered some meaning for multiculturalism are given in part B of this appendix.

A. Interview Schedule for Section J: Plans for the Future

J. <u>Plans for the Future</u>

J.13. Canada has a policy of multiculturalism. Are you aware of this policy? Yes or no.

If yes, what does multiculturalism mean to you?

B. Responses Concerning Multiculturalism

ID 008: "exercise language and customs so long as it doesn't affect someone else"

ID 019: "cultures contribute to [the] culture of Canada" and allows one to "sample of [the] best elements in every culture"

ID 020: "practice your own culture"

ID 021: "being able to participate in Canadian society, for example, having the right to vote"

ID 023: "Society which is just, where equal participation can take place"

ID 028: "That people have freedom to speech, religion, culture, jobs, and education"

ID 034: "different heritage, different culture, and different language are considered a good thing"

ID 036: "lots of cultures living together in harmony"

ID 037: "free for everyone"

ID 038: "means we are people from different countries, but have the same responsibilities for our society"

ID 042: "mixed culture"

ID 043: "A smoke screen for Canadians [which does] nothing for me"

ID 045: "putting together people from different cultures to be unified in one idea and to learn each from the other and to live together"

ID 047: "different cultures, different people"

ID 050: "essential"

ID 054: "freedom"

ID 058: "equality, friendship, and respect between each other"

ID 063: "the door is open for all people, any culture"

ID 065: "a mix of cultures, each has respect for the other. . . appreciate, learn, share from / with each other"

ID 068: "we are all equal, all Canadians were immigrants at one time"

ID 069: "learning about other countries [and] their cultures"

ID 070: "Opportunities for all groups, cultures, or persons to develop or act within their community. The governments try to treat everybody as part of a 'great' large family"

ID 071: "[I] like and hate it at the same time. We can live in our culture but we are called minority groups. Appears on job applications. You are different. Never be part of the total"

ID 076: "many people work together looking for better life"

ID 079: "Can't understand the full idea"

ID 080: "activities may help but doesn't help integration, but can help preserve culture"

ID 083: "Good. Needed to help educate Vietnamese people to stay culturally strong and give children a chance to learn Vietnamese culture and language."

ID 107: "doesn't remember"

ID 121: "government receives different people, different cultures and they promote it. There is not laws against it like in some countries. There is freedom of religion and culture"

ID 124: "one culture and another come together, bring cultures together"

ID 133: "share cultures"

ID 142: "They do everything, I just follow."

ID 144: "a lot"

Appendix II. Methodology

A summary of the manner in which the Regina Refugee Research Project was undertaken is contained in Part A of this Appendix. Appendix II also provides a sketch of the manner in which the index of psychological well-being was constructed (Part B) and the manner in which the multicultural themes were constructed and counted (Part C).

A. Regina Refugee Research Project

The Regina Refugee Research Project was funded by the Saskatchewan Association of Immigrant Settlement and Integration Agencies (SAISIA). This is an umbrella group of four settlement agencies in Regina, Saskatoon, Moose Jaw and Prince Albert. The funds to carry out the project initially came from the Department of the Secretary of State of Canada. These funds were divided equally between Regina and Saskatoon and there was a parallel project in Saskatoon. The Regina project was carried out at the University of Regina with a preliminary report given to SAISIA in September, 1993 and a final report published in December, 1995 (Gingrich, 1995).

The staff of the University of Regina that were involved in the project were Paul Gingrich and Doug Scott, with student assistants Eugenia Valenzuela, Stephen Hidasi, Heather Lissel, Jiaming Liu, Mike Sosteric, Gail Bryanton and Christopher J. Fries.

The project was initially titled "Refugee Settlement and Integration: Removing the Barriers," and it was designed to explore two areas of concern. The first goal of the study was to examine settlement programs and integration into Regina, and the second was to determine what successful settlement meant, and to provide some indication of how well newcomers had integrated into the city.

The project began with the aim of finding many of the eight hundred to nine hundred refugees who had been welcomed by the Regina Open Door Society between 1988 and 1991. This represented about two hundred families, many of whom had moved out of Regina. The number of potential respondents was further reduced by some families choosing not to participate in the study. With help from community members and the Regina Open Door Society we also contacted several Regina residents who had been refugees from Southeast Asia, and arrived in Regina prior to 1988. In total, fifty-five households agreed to participate and interviews were conducted with one adult member of each household.

The procedure we followed was to initiate contact with the potential respondent by sending a letter to the family or individual, followed by a telephone call requesting an interview. In most cases either the husband or the wife was reasonably proficient in English, and in some instances a teenager or an older child was present to help translate difficult questions or ideas. Due to the length of the interview schedule and some language problems, the interviews took anywhere from one to four hours. The shorter interviews served to develop a portrait of the respondent, but did not capture the feelings

of the individual as well as the longer interviews. Once the interviews were completed, the project director coded the information obtained in the interview, and wrote a brief profile of the respondent based on the interviewer's supplemental notes.

The final report represented the last stage of the project. Each of the project participants was sent a copy of the report and was invited to an open forum where they were asked to comment on the report and make suggestions for improving settlement services in Regina. This forum took place in December, 1995.

A few statistics describing the project participants are given here.

Sex: 39 males and 16 females were interviewed.

Age in 1993: 6 aged 20-29, 23 aged 30-39, 17 aged 40-49 and 9 aged 50 plus.

Age at Time of Arrival: 2 under 20, 15 aged 20-29, 27 aged 30-39, 6 aged 40-49 and 5 aged 50 or more.

Year of Arrival: 11 in 1979-1982, 12 in 1985-1988. 32 in 1989-1992.

Country of Origin: 5 from Cambodia, 21 from El Salvador, 5 from Eritrea, 4 from Iran, 7 from Laos, 5 from Vietnam, 2 from each of Guatemala, Poland and Romania, and 1 from each of Ethiopia and Nicaragua.

Household Structure: 35 husband-wife with children, 4 husband-wife without children, 9 husband-wife with children and others, 4 single males and 3 single females.

Household Size: 3 with one person, 6 with two persons, 3 with three persons, 15 with four persons, 13 with 5 persons, 8 with six persons and 7 with seven or more persons.

Main Activity: 33 employed, 12 unemployed, 3 in the home and 7 at school.

Family Types: 7 single individuals; 4 husband-wife (H-W), no children; 8 H-W children under age 6, no children aged 6-17; 18 H-W, children under 6 and children 6-17; 8 H-W, no children under 6, children aged 6-17; 10 H-W, no children under 6, children 6-17 and others.

Note on Sampling Error. While the project sample constitutes a reasonably cross-section of the population of adult Regina residents who arrived as refugees over the 1977-1991 period, the sample was not random and was not selected using the principles of probability. As a result, sampling errors and the significance levels reported for any statistical tests are only roughly approximate. At the same time, the patterns identified in the paper and the differences that emerge from the analysis have considerable consistency.

B. Index of Psychological Well-being

The construction of the index of psychological well-being began with the responses to the ten questions shown in Table A1. Most of the project participants answered these questions so that construction of such an index was feasible.

The response to each of the ten questions was scored as either +1, 0 or -1 depending upon whether they were judged to represent a positive (+1), neutral (0), or negative (-1) indication of psychological well-being. Five of the ten questions represented positive feeling and five represented negative feelings. The order in which these ten questions were asked is the same order given in Table A1. The scoring for the ten questions is given in Table A1.

Table A1. Scoring of Questions Used to Construct Psychological Well-Being Index

Question	Often	Sometimes	Never
Felt really great, on top of the world	+1	0	-1
Felt very lonely or remote from other people	-1	0	+1
Felt excited by or interested in something	+1	0	-1
Felt you could decide things	+1	0	-1
Felt that people do not get along with you	-1	0	+1
Felt homesick for your native land	-1	0	+1
Felt that you were playing a useful part in things	+1	0	-1
Had nightmares or disturbing dreams	-1	0	+1
Felt depressed or very unhappy	-1	0	+1
Really enjoyed what you were doing	+1	0	-1

Most of the project participants who answered this section of the interview completed all the questions. There were seven participants who answered most but not all of the ten questions. For these seven participants, we examined the other responses they had made, and on the basis of the answers to the positive and negative questions, we extrapolated their score on questions answered to all ten questions. In no case did we include a participant who answered less than seven of the questions in Table A1. The extrapolation method that we used did not change the value of the index by more than one point on the index for any of these seven participants.

Once the responses of each project participant had been assigned a score for each question, the scores were then summed to arrive at an overall "psychological well-being score" for that participant. The potential range for the index of psychological well-being scores is from +10, representing a score of exceptionally good psychological well-being to -10 representing exceptionally poor psychological well-being. The bar chart in Figure 1 illustrates the distribution of index for the forty-six project participants who answered this section of the interview.

Figure 1.   Distribution of Psychological Well-Being Scores of Project Participants
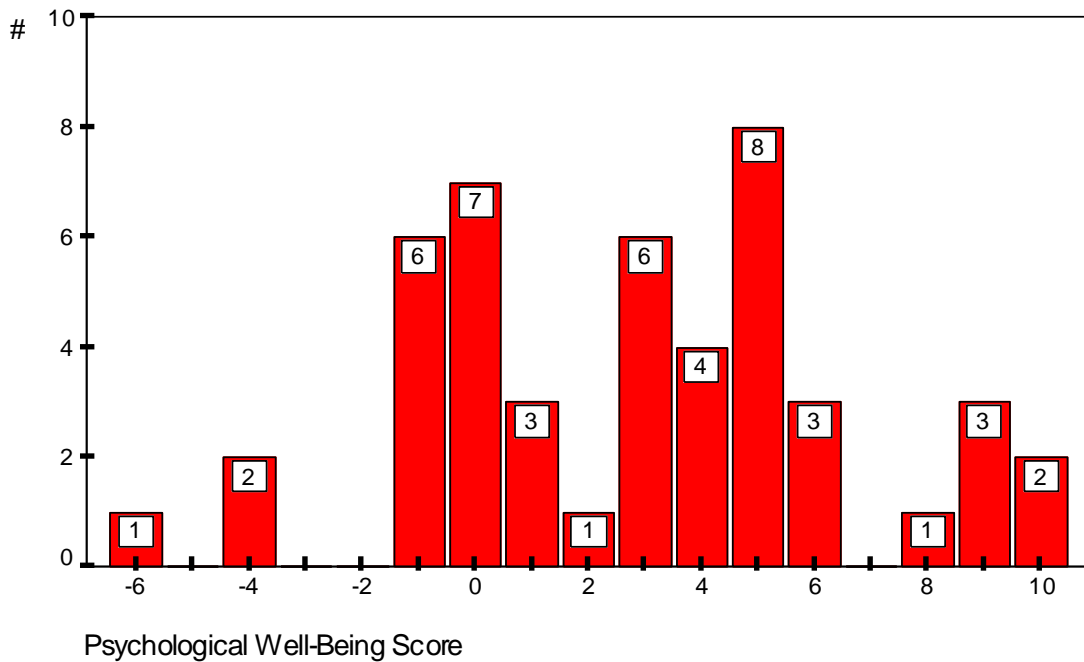
Examination of the distribution of the index in Figure 1 shows that the psychological well-being of the project participants can be considered to be quite good, with only nine project participants having a negative score, and with only three having a quite poor score of -4 or less. In contrast, two of the participants had the highest possible score of +10, and nine of the participants had scores of +6 or more.

From this sample, there appear to be four groupings of responses, poor (-4 or less), neutral (-1 to +1), moderately positive (+2 to +6) and very positive (+8 to +10). We do not have comparable information from other surveys to determine whether this particular grouping is characteristic of other populations or represents only this sample.

C. Multicultural Themes

The five themes identified in Table 9 are the themes that we identified as being the major themes within the Canadian Multiculturalism Act. While other researchers might sort the sections of the Act to produce different groupings and names than those in Table 9, we felt that these five themes and the titles that we gave to these provide a reasonable summary of what appears in the Act. We each read through the Act several times and began to list the themes such as diversity, equality, etc. While we did not have a systematic procedure to reduce the number of themes, after several trials and errors, it appeared that we would need at least five categories. Within these we feel that we were able to include all of what appears to be the intent of the Act. It might be noted that the titles and ideas for the themes are similar to those that are often raised in other discussions of multiculturalism. However, we were not able to conduct a thorough review of other writings on multiculturalism, to check these five themes with themes identified by other writers. Also note that the five themes refer only to statements in the Act, and not to statements in other government documents or policies.

Once the five themes, along with the subthemes and references to sections of the Act, had been identified, each of us and Jane Gingrich read the responses in Appendix I. Independently of each other, we noted which themes were identified in each of the responses. For example, in Appendix I we considered the project participant with ID 008 to have recognized one theme, that of diversity. The response of the participant with ID 019 was considered to have identified three themes – diversity, harmony and resource. Once each of us had identified the themes mentioned by each response, we checked the three sets of identifications against each other. For the most part, the three sets of identifications agreed. Where there were any discrepancies, the authors reread the response and the themes and after some discussion mutually agreed on which themes had been identified in each response. It should be noted that there were only one or two responses that required extended discussion, and in the end we felt comfortable with the identifications provided. We would also like to note that it was useful to have three separate and independent identifications. In the case of a few responses, two of the identifications agreed but the third disagreed, but it was the third which noticed recognition of a theme in the response that the other two had missed.

In terms of future research in this area, we note that earlier surveys related to multiculturalism often ask people to evaluate the policy and concept, but have not attempted to investigate what people understand by multiculturalism. It seems likely that different people have quite different perceptions of and experiences with multiculturalism. Given this variety of understandings, it is not clear to us that surveys which ask people whether they support or oppose the policy are very meaningful. We encourage other researchers to ask similar questions to those that we have asked to a variety of potential respondents. For example, it would be useful to compare these results with a more representative cross-section of immigrants and of native-born Canadians.

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Endnotes

[2] As quoted in Canada, Department of the Secretary of State, 1987: 9.

[3] Berry et. al. note that "A third ideology, that of 'cultural pluralism,' developed during the 1930's and became identified by the catchword 'mosaic.'" (Berry, 1976: 11).

[4] For the aware group, n=24, the mean years of schooling was 15.0 with a standard deviation of 4.0, and for the less aware and unaware group, n=25, the mean was 11.0 with a standard deviation of 4.7. This produces a t-value of 3.16 with a one-tailed significance of less than 0.002. As noted in Appendix II though, the project sample was not a random sample, so reported significance levels may not be very precise.

[5] The difference of proportions (0.57 and 0.31) produces a Z value of 1.65, significant at the 0.05 level for a one-tailed test.

[6] The idea for construction of this index came from earlier work by one of the authors. An index of ideology for students who completed the *Survey of University Students' Psychosocial Functioning and Attitudes* was constructed in Fries, 1996.

[7] The difference of two proportions (0.69 and 0.42) produces a Z-value of 1.58, significant at a level of just under 0.06, for a one-tailed test.

[8] The difference of two proportions (0.61 and 0.36) produces a Z-value of 1.65, significant at a level of 0.05, for a one-tailed test

[9] While we do not wish to make too much of the connection between identification of themes and psychological well-being, it is worth noting that among forty-seven participants who answered most of the questions, there is a moderately sized positive Pearson correlation coefficient of 0.353 between the number of themes identified and the index of psychological well-being. This is significant at the 0.01 level for a one-tailed test. In addition, the mean value of well-being for the twenty-two participants who identified no themes was +1.5, for the nineteen who identified one theme was +3.3 and for the six who identified two or more themes the index averaged +6.0. These numbers support the earlier analysis concerning awareness and well-being.

[10] See the second paragraph of the paper.

[11] This quotation came to our attention in the review by Edgley (1996: 157).