A Statistical Analysis of the Immigrant and Visible Minority Experience in Canada's cities and smaller communities: Understanding the factors that impact Social Cohesion

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Abstract:

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Over the last three decades Canadian society has become increasingly diverse – welcoming immigrant and visible minority populations from around the world. With this, many communities, in particular those found in Canada's three largest cities, have witnessed an incredible demographic and cultural transformation. In response to this phenomenon, the Canadian government has, since 1968, encouraged the establishment of policies and initiatives aimed at recognizing the benefits of diversity and multiculturalism. Nevertheless, in spite of this reality, researchers have found that immigrant and visible minority populations tend to encounter greater hardship, reporting lower incomes and higher perceptions of inequality. Indeed, some such as Jeffrey Reitz and Rupa Banerjee, have gone on to suggest that perceptions and experiences of inequality play a fundamental role in undermining social cohesion within Canadian society at large. This research attempts to further explore this contention, focusing on the perceptions and experiences of immigrant and visible minority respondents according to the communities in which they live. More specifically, we look at economic experience, perceptions of discrimination and discomfort, as well as indicators of social integration as general measures of social cohesion. Results suggest that visible minority populations, regardless of their immigrant or generational status, are more likely to encounter difficulty. Moreover, we find that in cities where there is greater immigrant and visible minority heterogeneity, minority populations are more prone to report negative experiences and face greater hardship. We follow the results with a discussion on heterogeneity within the context of existing governmental policies.

Keywords:

Discrimination, Discomfort, Social Integration, Social Cohesion, Immigrant, Visible Minority

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Introduction

Throughout its history, Canada has consistently relied upon the arrival of new immigrants in order to secure and encourage its growth. From "the timid beginning with Samuel de Champlain's New France, to the migration of the Loyalists after the American War of Independence, to the greatest migration of all... the settlement of Canada's West around the turn of the twentieth century;... Canada's development has been spurred by waves of immigrants" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2001: 1). Indeed, to understand Canada, one must comprehend the importance of immigration with respect to the early development of critical infrastructure, and more recently, the struggle against the hardships associated with demographic decline. Nevertheless, while Canada has consistently relied upon the inflow of immigrants, the source countries of these new arrivals have changed dramatically over the last decades. Where earlier generations of immigrants were predominantly European, "of the 1.8 million immigrants who arrived between 1991 and 2001, 58% were from Asia, including the Middle East; 20% from Europe; 11% from the Caribbean, Central and South America; 8% from Africa; and 3% from the United States" (Statistics Canada, 2003a: 6).

This reality has been most present within Canada's cities since the vast majority of immigrants have chosen to settle within urban centres, particularly Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver. Indeed, the demographic makeup of these cities has been altered profoundly resulting in a situation whereby many Canadian cities are becoming increasingly diverse with respect to culture, ethnicity, language, and perhaps most notably, the presence of visible minority populations. In response to these phenomena, Canada has, since 1968, strived to become a truly multicultural state in which the value of difference is recognized and respected in order to foster a cohesive and accepting

society where all Canadians, immigrant or otherwise, can live in peace. Indeed, throughout the world Canada is recognized for its multicultural stance, its recognition and encouragement of diversity.

Nevertheless, in spite of this reality, we must ask ourselves whether the aims and goals of Canada's Multiculturalism Policy and Act are being met throughout Canada, and with equal vigour in its many communities. While stating that we are a multicultural country is most certainly admirable, we must ascertain and establish that this is in fact the case. As communities become more diverse, are they maintaining social cohesion? Moreover, recognizing that the extent and nature of ethnic, linguistic, cultural and religious diversity varies according to community, it is imperative that we better understand the effects of such realities. In short we must ask ourselves, does the increased presence and recognition of heterogeneity make us a more cohesive society nationally, and perhaps more importantly, at the level of the region. Indeed, many theorists such as Robert D. Putnam have suggested that increased heterogeneity leads to a breakdown in social cohesion, particularly within urban communities which tend to be more demographically diverse (Putnam, 2007).

These questions are therefore essential in light of the reality that communities throughout Canada are becoming increasingly diverse. Where Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver have traditionally been the predominant destination for immigrant and visible minority newcomers, today such groups are settling in communities throughout Canada. Moreover, government initiatives have set out to encourage the dispersion of immigrant and visible minority populations away from Canada's three largest cities spurring growth in many smaller communities in provinces such as Quebec, Manitoba, and British Columbia.

Over the course of the following chapters, this thesis will set out to address the above. In reviewing the literature, studying existing data and proceeding with different statistical analyses using Statistic Canada's 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey, we will attempt to better understand whether in fact the increased presence of immigrant and visible minority populations impacts social cohesion. More specifically, we will focus on measuring immigrant and visible minority experiences associated with income, perceived discrimination and discomfort, as well as general integration within society. In short, this thesis will argue that it is imperative that we strive to better understand immigrant and visible minority experiences at present in order to gauge the degree of cohesion within our society and, consequently better adapt to possible issues in the near and distant future.

Chapter 1

Increasing Diversity throughout Canada: Making the case for a Regional Analysis of Immigrant and Visible Minority Perceptions and Experiences

Today, many communities throughout Canada face the hardships and troubles associated with demographic decline. With this, a record number of immigrants have been brought into Canada over the last decades. Indeed, while "Canada welcomed more than 13.4 million immigrants during the past century, the largest number... arrived during the 1990s..." leading to a situation where in 2006 19.8% of the population was born outside Canada, the highest proportion in 70 years (Statistics Canada, 2003: 1). Moreover, it has been more recently suggested that "roughly two-thirds of Canada's population growth now comes from net international migration" (Kattachal and Mackenzie, 2006: 7).

Working within the above context, this chapter will elaborate upon the geographical locations in which immigrants and visible minority populations live. It will establish that while the majority of immigrants are indeed clustered around Canada's three largest cities, there are an increasing number who are choosing to live in communities outside of these first-tier urban centres. In the end this chapter will be essential for the overall thesis, since providing statistics supporting the above reality shows that while there is definitely value in gaining a sense of immigrant and visible minority experiences and perceptions at the national level, we must establish that the region in which an individual has chosen to settle might very well have a profound effect on these experiences and perceptions regarding the society that surrounds them

According to the 2006 Canadian census the majority of immigrants and visible minority populations chose to live in Canada's three largest cities, a trend which had been building over the last several decades. In "1981, about 58% of immigrants who had come to Canada in the previous 10 years lived in Toronto, Vancouver, and Montréal (Hou, 2005c: 3); by 2006 this number had increased to 63%. As such, Canada's first tier cities

have emerged as the most likely home for recent and past immigrants alike, not to mention the majority of Canada's visible minority population.

In Toronto, immigrants and visible minorities have dramatically affected the demographic makeup of the city (cf. Table 1-1). In fact, as of 2006 immigrants accounted for nearly 50% of the city's entire population continuing the trend of the 1991-2001 period, the immigrant shared of Toronto's population continued increasing in the five years prior to 2006 to reach 46%. Moreover, it has been argued that "although immigrants are not yet the majority share of Toronto's population, in many other ways they have already achieved that remarkable milestone... (since they represent) the majority of the adult population and... are present in the majority of families and households" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2005e: 2). Thus, over the last fifty years Toronto has risen to become one of the premiere destinations for immigrants arriving in Canada, a trend which remained strong in 2006 with the census reporting that "...there were 1,168,115 recent immigrants (defined as those who landed in Canada after 1991) living in Toronto, representing 23% of Toronto's total population.

Table 1-1: Proportion of Immigrants and Visible Minority Populations Living within Canada's First-Tier Cities, Canada, 2001 and 2006 (percent)

	% Immigrants (2006)	% Visible minorities (2001)[1]
Toronto	45.7	36.8
Vancouver	39.6	37
Montreal	20.6	13.6
First-tier combined	35.3	29.1

Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 and 2006 Canadian Census'

[1] Note: 2006 Canadian Census data for visible minority populations was not yet available at the time this chapter was written.

Along with a substantial immigrant population, Toronto has, in recent years, become increasingly defined by a growing percentage of visible minority groups. In 2001

they "comprised 36.8% of Toronto's total population, up from 31.6% in 1996 and 25.8% in 1991" (Statistics Canada, 2003: 29). In short, Toronto is quickly becoming an urban centre largely characterized by ever expanding diversity, a reality which is only expected to continue in the years to come. In fact, according to Statistics Canada projections, it is likely that in ten years time the majority of Torontonians will be immigrants while "under four of the five scenarios considered...(,) more than half of the population of the Toronto census metropolitan area would belong to a visible minority group" (Statistics Canada, 2005b: 26).

The growth of immigrant and visible minority populations has also been profound in the cities of Vancouver and Montreal where these groups have become increasingly large. In the city of Vancouver the immigrant population has increased at an incredible rate outpacing the city's natural growth more than three to one. Indeed, according to research based on the 2001 census "over the period of 1986 to 2001, the number of immigrants living in Vancouver increased by 346,700 or 88%..., (while by) comparison, Vancouver's Canadian-born population increased by 229,200 or 24%" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2005f: 1). Moreover, continuing the trend of the 1991- 2000 period, the immigrant share of Vancouver's population continued increasing in the five years following 2001 to reach 40% in 2006. In addition to a large number of immigrants, Vancouver also had a substantial visible minority population. In 2001 "about 37%, or 725,700 people, belonged to a visible minority group, up from 31% in 1996 and 24% in 1991" (Statistics Canada, 2003: 35). Furthermore, "the census metropolitan area of Vancouver had the highest proportion of visible minorities of all such urban areas in Canada, according to the 2001 Census" (Statistics Canada, 2003: 35). It is predicted that the immigrant visible minority populations will only increase over the next decade with

projections suggesting that in 2017 "there would be between 1,111,000 and 1,533,000 visible minority persons in the Vancouver CMA, 47% to 53% of its population" (Statistics Canada, 2005b: 26).

In the city of Montreal, the second largest census metropolitan area in Canada, the demographic changes associated with immigrant and visible minority populations have so far been less substantial than in Toronto and Vancouver. According to the 2006 Canadian census immigrants accounted for approximately 21% of Montreal's Census Metropolitan Area population. With respect to visible minorities, according to the 2001 census they represented approximately "14% of Montréal's population of nearly 3.4 million, almost on par with the national average (13% in 2001)" (Statistics Canada, 2003:22).

While Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal continue to draw the majority of Canada's immigrant and visible minority populations, many communities outside of these first-tier cities are also experiencing similar realities on a smaller scale. In fact, according to the 2006 census approximately one-fifth of the populations of Hamilton, Windsor, Kitchener, Abbotsford, Calgary, London, Victoria, Montréal, Edmonton, St. Catherines-Niagara, Ottawa-Hull, Winnipeg and Oshawa were accounted for by the immigrant population.

Table 1-2: Proportion of Immigrants and Visible Minority Populations Living within Canada's Second-Tier Cities, Canada, 2001 and 2006 (percent)

	% Immigrants (2006)	% Visible minorities (2001)[1]
Hamilton	24.4	10
Calgary	23.6	17.5
Edmonton	18.5	15
Ottawa-Hull	18.1	14
Winnipeg	17.7	12.5

Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 and 2006 Canadian Census'

[1] Note: 2006 Canadian Census data for visible minority populations was not yet available at the time this chapter was written.

Indeed, immigrant and visible minority populations are quickly becoming common place in many cities throughout the country. Communities that were once characterized by the fact that they were predominantly white are now witnessing the presence of visible minority groups from around the world. In following family and friends, as well as pursuing employment opportunities, immigrants are establishing themselves throughout Canada in a range of different sized communities, from Squamish British Columbia, to Canada's national capital, Ottawa-Gatineau. Throughout the remainder of this chapter, we will focus on these communities outside of Canada's three major cities, examining their demographic situation with respect to the rise of immigrant and visible minority populations.

Beginning with second-tier cities, we see that the changes have been profound. The demographic makeup of cities such as Hamilton, Calgary, Edmonton, Ottawa and Winnipeg, have faced the early stages of a transformation resulting from immigration and the rise of visible minority populations.

In Hamilton, "nearly one-quarter of the population in the census metropolitan area was foreign born, the third highest proportion among such urban areas, according to the 2001 Census" (Statistics Canada, 2003a: 23). Nevertheless, despite this reality, the demographic situation in Hamilton has not changed dramatically over the last two decades since "the proportion of Hamilton's population comprised of immigrants has remained stable since 1986 at 24%" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2005c: 2).

By comparison to the situation in Hamilton, over the last decades the city of Calgary has witnessed an increase in the number of immigrants and visible minorities living within the metropolitan area. According to the 2006 census 252,770 residents of

Calgary were foreign-born, accounting for almost 24% of its total population. Added to this, is the reality that Calgary had the third highest proportion of new immigrants in its total population in 2006 after Toronto and Vancouver. Looking at these numbers alone, it becomes clear that Calgary's demographic situation is most certainly dynamic with respect to the arrival of immigrants over the last twenty years. Indeed, according to research based on the 2001 census, "Calgary's immigrant population (was growing) at a faster pace than the immigrant population in Alberta and Canada" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2005a: 1).

Nevertheless, despite this reality, the development of Calgary's immigrant population has been uneven over time. Indeed, "Calgary's share of Canada's immigrants (has) varied according to the period of immigration with a smaller share of immigrants who landed before the 1970s and a larger share of immigrants who landed during the 1970s and early 1980s" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2005a: 2). Today, Calgary's total immigrant population is more or less evenly split between those who landed in Canada prior to 1991, and those who arrived over the course of the 15 years leading up to 2006.

Over the last two decades, Calgary's population has very much diversified in terms of the proportion of individuals who identify themselves as visible minorities. This reality has primarily been driven by a shift in the birth countries of Calgary's immigrants. Indeed, while most of immigrants arriving during the 1960s and 70s were from Europe, by 2006 the vast majority of Calgary's recent immigrants had come from Asian countries. Indeed, according to published research based on the 2001 census "...17.5% or 164,900 people (in Calgary), were visible minorities, up from 15.6% in 1996 and 13.7% in 1991

(making it the city with) the fourth highest proportion of visible minorities in Canada, behind Vancouver, Toronto and Abbotsford" (Statistics Canada 2003a: 32).

Edmonton is another city that has experienced a demographic transition associated with the arrival of immigrants and, to a greater extent, the growth of visible minority populations According to the 2006 census, the proportion of immigrants living in Edmonton has not grown over the last fifteen years as the proportion of immigrants living in Edmonton was roughly 18% in 2006, the same share as in 1991.

Nevertheless, the proportion of visible minorities living within the city of Edmonton increased quite substantially over the last decades. In reference to research based on the 2001 census, "of the 44,900 immigrants who arrived in Canada in the 1990s and who settled in Edmonton, 71% were visible minorities" (Statistics Canada, 2003d: 33). Indeed, while some immigrants arriving in Edmonton originated from western countries, "Asian nations made up the top five birthplaces of immigrants who arrived during the 1990s and who were living in Edmonton in 2001" (Statistics Canada, 2003a: 34). With this, by 2001 "Edmonton had the fifth highest proportion of visible minorities among census metropolitan areas, behind Vancouver, Toronto, Abbotsford and Calgary" (Statistics Canada, 2003a: 33). Moreover, according to the 2001 census, "visible minorities accounted for 15% of its 927,000 residents, up from 14% in 1996 and 13% in 1991.., (moreover) the proportion in 2001 was above the national level of 13% and the provincial level of 11%" (Statistics Canada, 2003a: 33).

While the proportion of immigrants living within Edmonton has remained fairly constant over the last twenty years, the same cannot be said of the situation in Ottawa-Hull. Indeed as of 2006 its immigrant population had increased substantially since 1991 and had grown at a considerably faster pace than the Canadian-born population.

According to the 2006 census approximately 18 percent of Ottawa-Hull's total population were immigrants. Of these, a great number were recent immigrants approximately 50% of Ottawa's immigrants - 95,090 people - landed in Canada in the 15 years prior to the 2006 Census, an impressive number considering that by comparison, less than one-half of Ontario and Canada's immigrants landed during the same period.

Ottawa has certainly witnessed an incredible demographic diversification over the last two decades of the twentieth century, one characterized by an increase in immigration and a shift in the birth-countries of newcomers. While previous generations of immigrants had originated primarily from European countries, according to the 2006 census the ten most common countries of birth, accounting for 42% of recent immigrants, were China, Lebanon, India, the Philippines, the United States, Somalia, Iran, Haiti, the United Kingdom, and the Russia Federation.

With the arrival of immigrants from around the world, there has been an increase in the number of visible minorities living within the city of Ottawa. The 2001 Canadian census found that "Ottawa–Hull had 148,700 visible minorities in 2001, accounting for 14% of its total population of 1,050,800 ... (while) the city of Ottawa (alone) had an even higher proportion (18%) than did the surrounding municipalities" (Statistics Canada 2003a: 27). Thus, Ottawa is becoming increasingly diverse with respect to the number of immigrants living within the city, as well as the growing proportion of Ottawans who identify themselves as visible minorities.

Much like Hamilton, Calgary, Edmonton and Ottawa, Winnipeg is another second-tier city with a sizeable immigrant population. Indeed, there were 121,250 immigrants living in Winnipeg, nearly 20% of its total population Moreover, according to research based on the 2001 census, Winnipeg has become home to a growing number

of visible minorities. In 2001 they represented "12.5% of its population, up slightly from 11% in both 1996 and 1991" (Statistics Canada 2003a: 30). Overall, when "compared with other Prairie metropolitan areas, Winnipeg's proportion of visible minorities ranked behind Calgary (17%) and Edmonton (15%), but ahead of Regina (5%) and Saskatoon (6%)" in 2001 (Statistics Canada, 2003a: 30). Winnipeg has therefore diversified as a result of immigration and the growth of visible minority populations.

The presence of a growing proportion of immigrant and visible minority populations is not unique to first and second-tier cities. Over the last decades many smaller urban centres, as well as some rural communities, have witnessed a growth in the percentage of immigrant and visible minorities living within their general populations.

In the last ten years there are several third-tier centres that have witnessed an incredible demographic shift associated with a growth in immigrant and visible minority populations. These include the cities of Abbottsford, Kitchener, and Windsor, to name a few. Indeed, in many of these communities, the immigrant population has exceeded 20% while the proportion of visible minorities has reached similar heights (cf. Table 1-3).

Table 1-3: Proportion of Immigrants and Visible Minority Populations Living within Canada's Third-Tier Cities, Canada, 2001 and 2006 (percent)

	% Immigrants (2006)	% Visible minorities (2001)[1]
Abbottsford	23.7	18
Windsor	23.3	13
Kitchener	23.1	11
Victoria	19.1	9
London	19.3	9
St. Catherines-Niagara	18.3	4.5
Oshawa	16.4	7

Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 and 2006 Canadian Census'

[1] Note: 2006 Canadian Census data for visible minority populations was not yet available at the time this chapter was written.

In Abbottsford, the proportion of immigrants has grown considerably since the 1980s. According to the 2006 census 23% of Abbotsford residents were born outside of Canada, up from 20% in 1991. Moreover, of these individuals a large number were recent immigrants since approximately 43% of Abbotsford's total immigrant population arrived in Canada between 1991 and 2006.

In addition to supporting a large proportion of immigrants, Abbottsford also has one of the largest and fastest growing visible minority populations of any Canadian city.

As of 2001, "a total of 25,800 residents, or 18% of Abbotsford's population, were visible minorities in 2001 (compared to) five years earlier... (where) they accounted for 13% (of the population) and in 1991, just 11%" (Statistics Canada, 2003a: 35). The majority of these visible minorities were of Asian descent. In 2001 "Abbotsford was home to the largest proportion of South Asians of any census metropolitan area... (with) nearly three-quarters (72%) of the visible minority population (being) comprised of South Asians" (Statistics Canada, 2003a: 35). It is expected in the years to come that this rapidly growing visible minority population will show no sign of weakening. Statistics Canada projections suggest that by the year 2017, "Abbotsford might not have more than 43,000 visible minority persons, but those persons would make up more than a quarter of the CMA's population" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2005b: 26).

Another third-tier city with considerable immigrant and visible minority populations is Windsor Ontario. In 2006, the census enumerated 74,770 foreign-born persons in Windsor, representing 24% of its total population, well above the national average of 18%, but below the average for Ontario of 28%. In addition to having a substantial immigrant population in 2006, many of Windsor's newcomers had only arrived in the city recently. Indeed, the 2006 census reported that 8% of Windsor's

population, had lived in the country for 10 years or less, the third highest proportion after Toronto and Vancouver.

In addition to having a sizeable immigrant population in 2006, there was also a fairly large number of visible minorities living in Windsor, by comparison to other cities of the same size. According to research based on the 2001 census, "Windsor had 39,300 visible minorities in 2001, representing 13% of its total population, the same as the national average and up from 9% in 1991" (Statistics Canada, 2003a: 30). Nevertheless, unlike most other Canadian cities where Asian populations represent the most common visible minority, Windsor differed, in that "the.. most common visible minority group... in Windsor (was) Arabs followed by West Asians, Blacks, and South Asians" in 2001 (Statistics Canada, 2003a: 30).

Other third-tier cities are also in the process of experiencing similar realities. In 2006, the city of Kitchener Ontario was home to a great many immigrants as more than one-fifth of its population was born outside Canada. According to the 2006 census Kitchener was home to 103,060 people who were foreign-born, representing 23% of its total population, the fourth largest proportion of immigrants among census metropolitan areas throughout Canada. Finally, based on figures compiled from the 2001 census "a total of 43,800 Kitchener residents belonged to a visible minority group in 2001, which accounted for 11% of the population in 2001, up from 9% in 1996 and 8% in 1991" (Statistics Canada 2003a: 25).

In Victoria British Columbia the immigrant share of the city's population has remained stable at 19% of the population since 1996.With respect to the number of visible minorities living in Victoria, in reference to research based on the 2001 census "in total, 9% of (Victoria's) 307,000 residents... identified themselves as visible minorities

in 2001, up from about 8% in 1996 and 7% in 1991" (Statistics Canada, 2003a:37). This growth has been primarily attributed to the arrival of Asian immigrants over the last decade.

In the city of London Ontario, the demographic figures are very similar. According to the 2006 census, immigrants represented approximately 19% of London's total population, the majority of whom had been settled within the community for many decades. Indeed, "compared with other major urban areas in Ontario, London's foreign-born population was comprised of a relatively high proportion of immigrants who have lived in Canada for quite some time" (Statistics Canada, 2003a: 25). Nevertheless, over the last decades there has been a growth in the percentage of individuals who identify themselves as visible minorities. According to the 2001 census "38,300 London residents were members of a visible minority group... (comprising) 9% of the population, up from 7% in both 1996 and 1991" (Statistics Canada, 2003a: 25). It is likely that over the coming years this trend may very well continue as "more and more of London's foreign-born are coming from countries in Eastern Europe, Asia or the Middle East..." (Statistics Canada, 2003a:25).

In St.Catherines-Niagara, the 2006 Census enumerated 66,000 foreign-born individuals living within the city, 18% of its total population. The majority of these immigrants, including those who had arrived more recently, were from European countries. In fact, according to the 2006 census, in contrast to the national trend new immigrants were more likely to be from European nations than Asian. This reality has meant that there are far fewer visible minorities living in St.Catherines-Niagara than in other cities of a similar size. As of 2001, there were "16,800 visible minorities (living) in

St. Catharines–Niagara in 2001, 4.5% of the population, up from 3.3% in 1991" (Statistics Canada, 2003a: 27).

In the city of Oshawa, 16% of the total population were immigrants in 2006. With respect to the countries from which newcomers had arrived, the situation was somewhat similar to the one in St.Catherines-Niagara as a substantial proportion of newcomers were born in Europe. Finally, according to research based on the 2001 census, "close to 20,700 people identified themselves as visible minorities (in 2001, representing) 7% of Oshawa's total population, up from 6% in 1991" (Statistics Canada, 2003a: 26).

While not traditionally associated with immigrants and visible minorities, there are some rural communities in Canada that have recently come to welcome these populations. In fact, when compared to larger urban centers, many of these communities have a similar proportion of immigrants and visible minorities living within their total population. These communities include places such as Leamington and Guelph in Ontario, as well as Kitimat, Squamish, Nanaimo, and Penticton in British Columbia (cf. Table 1-4).

Table 1-4: Proportion of Immigrants and Visible Minority Populations Living within selected communities outside of Canada's tier-cities, Canada, 2001 (percent)

	% Immigrants (2006)	% Visible minorities (2001)
Kitimat (B.C.)	22.1	7
Leamington (Ont.)	21.4	5
Squamish	20.7	17
Guelph	20.4	11
Penticton	16.2	5
Nanaimo	15.3	6

Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 and 2006 Canadian Census'

[1] Note: 2006 Canadian Census data for visible minority populations was not yet available at the time this chapter was written.

In Leamington Ontario, immigrants represented approximately 21% of the total population according to the 2006 Census. Of these, approximately 30% had settled in Leamington between 1991 and 2006, while the remainder had arrived earlier. While nearly one quarter of the residents of Leamington were immigrants, a much smaller percentage were visible minorities. According to the 2001 census, approximately 5% of those living in Leamington identified themselves as members of a visible minority.

The situation was similar in Guelph Ontario where immigrants represented approximately 20% of the total population in 2006. Of these, 38% had settled in Guelph between 1991 and 2006, while the remainder had arrived earlier. With respect to visible minorities, according to the 2001 census, an estimated 11% of Guelph's total population identified themselves as members of a visible minority group.

Moving west to British Columbia, in 2006 little had changed since 2001 as immigrants represented approximately 22% of the total population of Kitimat, the vast majority of whom arrived prior to 1991. With this, it's not surprising that the proportion of visible minorities was relatively low, with 810 individuals identifying themselves as members of a visible minority group in 2001, approximately 7% of the total population.

In Squamish British Columbia, the census found that immigrants represented roughly 21% of the total population. Of these, 42% had settled in Squamish between 1991 and 2006. With respect to visible minorities living in Squamish, according to the 2001 census they represented 17% of the total population, a fairly high number when compared to other similar sized communities.

In 2006 immigrants represented approximately 15% of the total population of Nanaimo British Columbia, the vast majority of whom arrived prior to 1991. Visible minorities represented 6% of the total population of Nanaimo in 2001. Similarly, in the

community of Penticton, immigrants represented approximately 16% of the total population, the majority of whom arrived prior to 1991. Moreover, as was the case in the Nanaimo, data from the 2001 census showed that visible minorities accounted for a small percentage of the total population, 5% in 2001.

While the above communities had the largest proportion of immigrant and visible minority populations in 2006 and 2001, it is worth noting that there a number of rural communities across Canada that are seeking to attract immigrants through policy initiatives lead by municipal, federal and provincial governments. For instance, in Manitoba, the province has been identifying towns with some industry and a demand for labour than cannot be met locally, "involving (in particular) three communities in its immigration process: Steinbach (population 9,000), Winkler (pop. 8,000) and Arborg (pop. 1,000)" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2001: 49).

As a result of these programs, "in the year 2000, Steinbach welcomed 186 immigrants, Winkler 214, and Arborg 39....; remarkably high (numbers) for communities of this size (considering that) by comparison; Winnipeg attracted 538 provincial nominees, but also has the lion's share of other immigrants" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2001: 49).

Similarly other provinces have shown an interest in bringing immigrants into smaller rural communities that face the hardship of demographic decline. In Quebec, for example, "since the 1990s, the (provincial government) has made efforts to make immigrants settle outside Montreal..., (and while) we do not know what the result of the policy has been to date, ...the government of Quebec (is) apparently... of the view that the groundwork has been laid for a major increase in settlement of immigrants outside Montreal" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2001: 46). In New Brunswick, the

provincial government has shown interest in similar initiatives since 1999 when "the province signed an agreement with Citizenship and Immigration Canada to take more active steps to select and recruit an additional 200 immigrants each year for a five year period" (Clews, 2004: 282).

Indeed, it is quite possible that in the years to come many rural communities will slowly become acquainted with the realities of increased immigration and the growth of visible minority populations, realities which have come to fruition in most of Canada's major cities as well as a number of its smaller communities.

In conclusion, this chapter has identified the geographical locations in which immigrants and visible minority populations live. In particular, the aim of this chapter has been to provide statistical and demographic information in order to show that there are immigrant populations throughout Canada that can and must be studied in order to promote a healthy demographic, social, and economic future. Indeed, if we are to understand the immigrant and visible minority experience in Canada within the context of social cohesion, then we must recognize that immigrants live throughout the country in many different communities characterized by a full range of differing societal realities.

Having identified the extent to which immigrant and visible minorities are established geographically, the next chapter will attempt to build the foundation for the thesis' methodology through a general review of the literature dealing with the research of immigrant and visible minority experiences in Canada and abroad.

Chapter 2

Understanding Immigrant and Visible Minority Experience and Perceptions: An Exploration of the Literature and the Theoretical Concepts

In this chapter we will focus on conceptualizing and elaborating upon some of the critical ideas that define social cohesion as well as the immigrant and visible minority experience. As such, the bulk of this chapter will consist of a literature review followed by a statement of our research questions and finally a discussion of the essential concepts that will underpin these questions.

In reviewing the literature focusing on the economic and social experience of immigrant and visible minority populations within the context of social cohesion, we note that the focus of the many works can be broadly placed within three general areas. First, we find that there are those authors who predominantly focus on economic experience as measure of social integration. Second, we see that others focus on social and economic experience as a wider measure of social integration and more fundamentally as a gauge for social cohesion. Finally, we note that in recognizing these various approaches, there are those authors who choose to focus on the relationship between diversity and social cohesion. More specifically these researchers commonly maintain that immigrant, ethnic, and visible minority diversity has eroded social cohesion. With this in mind some authors have gone on to suggest that as a result of diversity having eroded social cohesion, Canada's multiculturalism policy is perhaps a weak, if not failed initiative.

Beginning with those works that utilize economic experience as a measure of integration, the majority of researchers have drawn similar conclusions with respect to the economic realities encountered by immigrant and visible minority populations living in Canada. In particular, most have found that there are specific groups that seem to face greater difficulty when compared to the experience of others. Among them are recent and visible minority immigrants, as well as visible minority groups in general.

In their research publication entitled "Experiencing Low Income for Several Years", Réné Morisette and Xuelin Zhang (2001:8) found that "persons who immigrated to Canada after 1976, many of whom are members of visible minorities, had a high risk of experiencing low income". Moreover, they reported that of these individuals "at least 20% experienced low income for four years or more, compared with 7% of the Canadian born population... (while by) comparison, only 6% of persons who arrived in 1976 or before experienced low income for four years or more" (Morisette and Zhang, 2001: 8). Through their census data research it is most evident that over the last decades these groups have encountered much difficulty and hardship in relation to the general population as well as previous generations of immigrant arrivals.

In addition, Morisette and Zhang found that Canadian born (non-immigrant) visible minority groups have also faced economic difficulties over the last decades. Data from Statistics Canada's Survey of Income and Labour Dynamics showed that between 1993 and 1996 "the high risk of having low income (for at least one year) found for visible minorities does not apply to those who are Canadian-born (non-visible minorities) (since) among the latter, only 17% were in low income for at least one year, much less than the 39% for Canadian-born visible minorities" (Morisette and Zhang, 2001: 8). Other authors have also come to similar conclusions regarding recent and visible minority immigrants as well as visible minority groups in general.

In a recent collaborative article, Garnett Picot, Feng Hou and Simon Coulombe (2007) note that, when compared to previous cohorts from the last decade, new immigrants have continued to face increasing economic hardship in recent years. Their analysis using data from Statistics Canada's Longitudinal Administrative Survey and the Longitudinal immigration database found that "for immigrants entering (Canada) after

2000 low-income rates during their early years… were higher than for those entering around or before 2000" (Picot, Hou, & Coulombe, 2007: 6). Moreover "the *relative* low-income rates of entering immigrants (relative to the Canadian born),… were particularly high during the early 2000s, as compared to the 1990s" (Picot, Hou, & Coulombe, 2007: 6). Thus, they found that, over the last decade the economic gap between recent immigrants and the remainder of the population has grown thereby forcing difficult circumstances onto Canada's recent arrivals. Despite this however, they argue that the situation is not all bad, for while "the probability of entry to the first low-income spell is very high during the first year in Canada (34% to 46%, depending upon the cohort), (it) falls dramatically to around 10% in the second year, (and) lower in subsequent years" (Picot, Hou, & Coulombe, 2007: 7).

Nevertheless their findings do portray a troubling economic scenario for new immigrants arriving in Canada. In short, for recent immigrants, it is becoming increasingly difficult to avoid financial hardship during the first years after arrival. In fact, Picot, Hou and Coulombe found that regardless of circumstantial variables, "the likelihood of entering low income was significantly higher among the 2003 cohort than for the 2000 cohort, although aggregate economic conditions had changed little, and demographic differences among the cohorts were controlled for" (Picot, Hou, & Coulombe, 2007: 7). Moreover, they reported that factors such as education appeared to have little influence on the growing economic plight faced by recent immigrants. Indeed, they found that "although immigrants in the 2000 entering cohort had much higher education levels and were more likely to be in the skilled class than the 1992 cohort, these changes had only a small positive effect on the chronic low-income rate" (Picot, Hou, & Coulombe, 2007: 8).

Among other researchers reporting similar findings were Abdurrahman Aydemir and Mikal Skuterud (2005b). In their article entitled "The Immigrant Wage Differential Within and Across Establishments", they found that within immigrant cohorts there appears to be a gender difference with respect to the likelihood of earning low wages. In particular they found that wages seem to be lower for immigrant men than for immigrant women. Indeed, Aydemir and Skuterud noted that "according to the 2001 Canadian Census, immigrant men in Canada have wages that are on average 13 percent lower than similarly aged native-born men with equal levels of schooling (while) among immigrant women, the comparable wage differential is roughly 8 percent" (Aydemir & Skuterud, 2005b: 2).

In general, their article showed that immigrants, both men and women, are most often underemployed in Canada. While many arrive in the country with developed skills and high educational credentials, they end up in low income jobs where for all intents and purposes they are most commonly over-educated by comparison to native born Canadians in the same employment position. Aydemir and Skuterud note that while "immigrant men are (certainly), on average, more educated and have more labour market experience than native-born men doing similar jobs in the same establishments, …once we distinguish human capital obtained abroad from that obtained in Canada, this apparent human capital advantage implies neither a wage advantage or disadvantage" (Aydemir & Skuterud, 2005b: 22). In essence, immigrants, and in particular immigrant men, encounter hardship as the value of their work credentials and experience are not the same in Canada as they were in their country of origin. Thus, as was found in the aforementioned works, recent immigrants tend to encounter much financial difficulty upon their arrival in Canada.

Aydemir and Skuterud (2005a). continue to explore such realities in another collaborative work entitled "Explaining the Deteriorating Entry Earnings of Canada's Immigrant Cohorts, 1966-2000" Using data from the 1981 through 2001 Canadian census', they attempt to trace those factors which have historically influenced the worsening economic reality encountered by immigrant cohorts over the last decades. Through OLS regression analyses they found that "...the 1980–4 and 1985–9 (immigrant) cohorts... had entry earnings that were 10% and 18% (men) and 14% and 13% (women) lower than the 1965–9 cohort, respectively" (Aydemir & Skuterud, 2005a: 643). Worse still they reported that a decade later "immigrant men who arrived between 1995 and 1999 had full-year, full-time entry earnings that were 27% lower than immigrant men from the 1965–9 arrival cohort with similar amounts of foreign labour market experience and years of schooling" (Aydemir & Skuterud, 2005a: 643).

In order to better explain the driving forces behind these statistics Aydemir and Skuterud proceed with statistical analysis. Their results suggested that "roughly one-third of the long-term decline in the entry earnings of Canadian immigrant men and women can be explained by compositional shifts in language abilities and region of birth... (in particular) the shift away from European (immigrants) with an English mother tongue (essentially Great Britain) to immigrants from Asia with a foreign mother tongue" (Aydemir & Skuterud, 2005a: 656). With respect to the remaining variables that might affect the wage difference between different generations they reported that their results were unfortunately unclear. They did, however, suggest that the overall condition of the economy had very little impact on the economic experience encountered by new immigrants showing through regression analysis that there was no "clear evidence that immigrants' earnings are more sensitive to entry macro conditions" (Aydemir &

Skuterud, 2005a: 663). Indeed, Aydemir and Skuterud speculate that the dominant forces driving wage disparity among immigrant cohorts over the last decades were most likely to include "differences in the quality of foreign labour market experience and schooling, familiarity with Canadian labour markets, access to effective social networks, and discrimination" (Aydemir & Skuterud, 2005a: 656).

In confronting such findings Aydemir and Skuterud maintain that there are sufficient grounds for serious concern as the more recent generations of immigrant arrivals are clearly encountering much harder economic circumstances than those faced by previous immigrant cohorts. They state that "these findings are of concern to Canadian policymakers because they imply that, despite an upward trend in the educational attainment of Canada's new immigrants over this period, more recent arrivals are, if anything, facing greater challenges competing in Canada's labour markets" (Aydemir & Skuterud, 2005a: 642).

While recent immigrants have encountered much difficulty with respect to economic hardship, other groups have also faced similar realities. Here we refer primarily to visible minority populations as was briefly touched upon in the article by Morisette and Zhang. Indeed, many researchers have found that over the last decades the rate of poverty among visible minority populations in Canada has increased dramatically. In his article entitled "Poverty and Racism", Alan Jackson explores this reality.

Throughout his article Jackson argues that "poverty rates among visible minority persons in Canada, particularly recent visible minority immigrants, are unacceptably high - greater than 50% for some groups, such as recent black immigrants" (Jackson, 2001: 6). Jackson focuses on census data relating to the last two decades which indicate that over this period "for visible minority persons - about seven in 10 of whom were foreign born -

the poverty rate was 38% (while) for people who immigrated prior to 1986, the poverty rate was less than 20%; it was 35% for those who arrived between 1986 and 1990, and it rose to 52% for immigrants who arrived from 1991 to 1996" (Jackson, 2001: 6). His data suggest that there exist fundamental hurdles with respect to economic well-being among many visible minority populations.

In particular Jackson has argued that "the major causes (behind such) poverty include barriers to equal participation in the job market and lack of access to permanent, skilled, and reasonably well-paying jobs (while) racism also seems to be a significant cause of poverty among these groups" (Jackson, 2001: 6). With this in mind, he notes that among immigrant visible minority groups, the last decades have been particularly difficult with respect to securing basic economic stability. Indeed, he found that even among "immigrants selected for their economic skills, (individuals who) used to quickly earn the average income or higher..., earnings fell to 15% below average in the 1990s" (Jackson, 2001: 7). Moreover, Jackson reported that "family class immigrants, refugees and other types of immigrants now earn less than half the Canadian average one year after landing, thus slipping further below their already low position in the 1980s" (Jackson, 2001: 7). Indeed, these statistics represent a troubling scenario for visible minority groups many of whom are recent immigrants.

In addition to Jackson, other researchers have focused upon the economic plight encountered by Canada's visible minority populations. One such researcher is Michael Ornstein. In his article entitled "Ethnoracial Inequality in Metropolitan Toronto: Analysis of the 1996 Census", he chose to highlight the difficulties encountered by visible minority groups living within Canada's largest city. Through his data he found that specific visible minority groups seem to face the greatest amount of adversity and

hardship with respect to achieving economic security. In particular, Ornstein's reported that in 1996 in the city of Toronto the percentage of families below the LICO was as follows "...14.4 percent of all the European groups, 29.6 percent for the East and Southeast Asians and Pacific Islanders, 32.1 percent of Aboriginals, 34.6 percent for South Asians, 41.4 percent for Latin Americans, 44.6 percent of Africans, Blacks and Caribbeans, and 45.2 percent of Arabs and West Asians" (Ornstein, 2000: 97).

Thus, through his results Ornstein was very clearly able to conclude that in the mid 1990's specific visible minority groups were far more at risk of encountering instances of poverty, where in particular "the most severe disadvantage in our community affects the African ethno-racial groups: Ethiopians, Ghanaians, Somalis and the combined category for 'other African nations' (as) they suffer extremely high levels of poverty" (Ornstein, 2000: i). Furthermore, while these groups were considered most likely to experience poverty, Ornstein found that when "combining all the non-European groups, the family poverty rate is 34.3 percent, more than twice the figure for the Europeans and Canadians" (Ornstein, 2000: 97). Moreover he found that "non-European families make up 36.9 percent of all families, but account for 58.9 percent of all poor families" (Ornstein, 2000: 97). According to Ornstein's article, it is therefore clear that visible minority groups in Toronto were far more likely to experience poverty when compared to the general population.

While the majority of researchers seem to come to the conclusion that immigrant and visible minority groups are most likely to experience economic hardship while establishing themselves in Canada, the same cannot be said with respect to the realities encountered by the children of immigrants. Here we might refer to the work of Monica Boyd. In an article entitled "Triumphant Transitions: Socioeconomic Achievements of

the Social Generation in Canada", she maintains that second-generation Canadians are experiencing much financial success when compared to their parents and the Canadian population at large. In reference to data from the 1990s Boyd found that "the second-generation with two foreign-born parents on average has higher levels of education and occupational status than do other generational groups" (Boyd, 1998: 864). Indeed "for each year of schooling, the second-generation with two foreign-born parents receives a higher increment in occupational achievement than do other groups" (Boyd, 1998: 868). Moreover, Boyd found that "even if the first, second and third plus generation groups had identical distributions for age, family origin characteristics, and education, second generation groups in Canada would still do as well or better than the third generation" (Boyd, 1998: 870).

Nevertheless, it should be noted that while her results are indeed encouraging Boyd is cautious in stating conclusions since, in her study (which made use of the 1994 General Social Survey) "the birthplace of (the second-generation's) parents overwhelmingly were either North American, or European; (and thus) to a considerable extent, these second-generation Canadians do represent populations considered by American scholars to be most at risk for second generation decline and for segmented assimilation" (Boyd, 1998: 871). It is therefore clear that more contemporary research is needed with respect to gauging the relative success of the second-generation with respect to their parents and the Canadian population at large.

While many researchers regard economic experience as a preferred measure of societal integration, there are those who focus on social and economic experience as a wider measure of social integration and more fundamentally as a gauge for social cohesion. Here we refer to a chapter written by Jeffrey Reitz and Rupa Banerjee entitled

"Racial Inequality, Social Cohesion and Policy Issues in Canada". In utilizing data from Statistic Canada's 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey, they attempt to trace the manner in which the economic experience and subjective perceptions of immigrant and visible minority populations relate to social integration within the broader context of social cohesion. Through their analysis Reitz and Banerjee note that many individuals within the immigrant and visible minority populations report having to face a great number of difficulties including perceptions of discrimination, vulnerability and financial hardship.

With respect to economic difficulty, they found that "among the various ethnic groups in Canada, racial minorities have the lowest incomes and highest rates of poverty, and many members of these groups believe they have experienced discrimination based on their minority racial origins" (Reitz & Banerjee, 2007: 506). Moreover they maintain that these hardships are only worsened within the political and social climate of the last thirty years. More specifically Reitz and Banerjee argue that the economic hardships faced by many racial minorities are exacerbated by the fact that "official policies on multiculturalism and human rights are seen as sufficient to maintain what most Canadians would describe as a favourable environment for immigrants and minority groups, particularly by international standards" (Reitz & Banerjee, 2007: 500). As such they maintain that from an economic perspective specific immigrant and visible minority groups face dire straits while living in Canada.

Turning to the social experiences of immigrant and visible minority Canadians, Reitz and Banerjee focus upon perceptions of discrimination and vulnerability, as well as seven measures of social integration: sense of belonging, trust in others, Canadian identity, citizenship, life satisfaction, volunteering, and voting in a Federal elections. With this, their findings regarding the immigrant and visible minority experience are

indeed vast. For instance, regarding sense of Canadian identity (an indicator of social integration) Reitz and Banerjee found that recent immigrants were considerably less likely to identify themselves as 'Canadian' when compared to earlier immigrants and previous generations. Despite these figures however, Reitz and Banerjee found that a lack of Canadian identity didn't necessarily impact sense of belonging to Canada noting that it "...is higher for all visible minority groups than for Whites, (and that) generational analysis shows that this higher rate is most pronounced for immigrants, particularly recent immigrants" (Reitz & Banerjee, 2007: 512).

Regarding some of the other indicators of social integration, Reitz and Banerjee found that according to the 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey the rate of voting was quite high among first generation Canadians regardless of their visible minority status. Nevertheless they found that within the second generation visible minority status certainly seemed to influence the voting rate since "among racial minorities, the rate of voting is 64.3 percent, and the racial gap in voting in the second generation is about 20 percentage points" (Reitz & Banerjee, 2007: 512).]

Turning to life satisfaction, Reitz and Banerjee measured general happiness using a variable in the Ethnic Diversity Survey that asked respondents to generally assert the degree of satisfaction they felt with respect to their lives using a scale of one to five. Overall Reitz and Banerjee found that second generation visible minority Canadians tended to report lower degrees of life satisfaction when compared to the first generation and the Canadian population at large. Indeed they note that "in comparing the three categories..., levels of satisfaction become less, relative to Whites, when one moves from recent immigrants to earlier immigrants to the second generation" (Reitz & Banerjee, 2007: 512). As such Reitz and Banerjee found that among the first generation the period

of arrival as well as ones racial identity did not appear to influence happiness maintaining that "regarding life satisfaction, the overall racial difference is not really a function of recent arrival, since recent visible minority immigrants are not less satisfied than Whites" (Reitz & Banerjee, 2007: 512).

With respect to trust, Reitz and Banerjee proceeded with crosstabulation and regression analyses using the Ethnic Diversity Survey's 'trust in others' variable as their dependent.[1] In undertaking these analyses, Reitz and Banerjee found that trust in others was lowest among visible minority groups and the second generation. Indeed they found that the level of trust in others decreased according to the amount of time a visible minority immigrant had lived in Canada. As such, Reitz and Banerjee were able to note that "in the case of trust, the effect of visible minority status is negative for recent immigrants, and then more strongly negative for earlier immigrants" (Reitz & Banerjee, 2007: 517).

While all of the above analysis is certainly interesting and valuable, it takes on a whole new dimension when linked with perceived discrimination and vulnerability as expressed by immigrant and visible minority populations. In their chapter, Reitz and Banerjee attempted to gauge the effects of 'perceived discrimination[2]' and 'perceived vulnerability[3]' within a series of regression models using sense of identity, sense of belonging, life satisfaction, trust in others, volunteering, citizenship and voting as their dependent variables. Moreover, Reitz and Banerjee ran additional regression models

[1] The 'trust in others' variable asked respondents to identify whether they felt 'people can be trusted' versus 'you cannot be too careful with other people'.

[2] Perceived discrimination was measured by using a variable within the Ethnic Diversity Survey that respondents whether they ever felt discriminated against on the basis of their language, race, ethnicity or religion.

[3] Perceived vulnerability was measured by using two variables within the Ethnic Diversity Survey. The first asked respondents whether they ever felt uncomfortable on the basis of their language, race, ethnicity or religion, The second variable asked respondents whether they felt they had ever been the victim of a hate crime.

which sought to gauge the effect of visible minority identification (a respondent's visible minority group) on these same dependent variables.

In proceeding with these analyses, Reitz and Banerjee found that among immigrant populations "experiences of discrimination are a more important influence on life satisfaction, trust and sense of belonging, while perceived vulnerability is a more important influence on life satisfaction, trust in others and Canadian identity" (Reitz & Banerjee, 2007: 520). Indeed Reitz and Banerjee noted that "of the members of visible minorities who responded to this survey, 35.9 percent reported experiences of discrimination, compared with 10.6 percent of Whites" (Reitz & Banerjee, 2007: 497). Moreover they discovered "the highest rate is for Blacks, at 49.6 percent, but there are substantial rates also for the other visible minority groups, including Chinese, at 33.2 percent, and South Asians, at 33.1 percent, (while) among most White groups, experiences of discrimination are reported by fewer than 15 percent" (Reitz & Banerjee, 2007: 498). Reitz and Banerjee also noted that the earlier a visible minority immigrant had arrived in Canada, the more likely they were to report instances of perceived discrimination as well as feelings of vulnerability. Moreover, they found that "...among racial minority immigrants who arrived earlier, perceptions of discrimination are, if anything, more common, at 35.5 percent; and among the children of racial minority immigrants, the percentage experiencing discrimination is still greater, at 42.2 %" (Reitz & Banerjee, 2007: 498). Thus, in essence they found that "greater experience in Canada seems to lead to a larger racial gap in the perception of discrimination (and that) this widening racial gap is (mostly) observed among Chinese, South Asians, Blacks and other visible minority groups (where) the percentage of those born in Canada who report experiences of discrimination varies between 34.5 percent for Chinese, 43.4 percent for

South Asians and 60.9 percent for Blacks, compared with 10.9 percent for the children of immigrants of European origin" (Reitz & Banerjee, 2007: 498).

Overall, Reitz and Banerjee's work provides a good descriptive of the immigrant and visible minority experience, as well as useful analytical piece with respect to the determinants of social integration and social cohesion more broadly. Through their work they suggest that two general conclusions emerge. First they argue that "...the rapidly growing racial minority populations in Canada experience much greater inequality than do traditional European-origin immigrant groups, and discrimination is a widespread concern for racial minorities" (Reitz & Banerjee, 2007: 527). Second, Reitz and Banerjee suggest that "...social integration into Canadian society for racial minorities is slower than it is for immigrants of European origin, partly as a result of their sense of exclusion, represented by perceived discrimination (Reitz & Banerjee, 2007: 527). With this in mind they conclude by adding that "it is striking that indications of lack of integration into Canadian society are so significant for second-generation minorities, since they are regarded as the harbinger of the future.

These findings provide us with a fascinating perspective on the immigrant and visible minority experience in Canada. In short, according to Reitz and Banerjee, perceptions of discrimination and vulnerability impact one's level of trust in others, satisfaction or happiness, participation in society, not to mention sense of belonging and personal identity. Moreover such sentiments seem to linger within the second generation leading to a reality where many children of immigrants are more likely to feel withdrawn from Canadian society at large. Perhaps most importantly though, in exploring the financial and social experiences encountered by immigrant and visible minority Canadians, Reitz and Banerjee provide essential insight into some of the substantial

factors that impact and influence social cohesion. Many others have also focused on the interplay between diversity, social integration and social cohesion. Indeed, several of these authors suggest that ethnic, immigrant and visible minority diversity has in fact emerged as a substantial societal challenge.

While the work of Jeffrey Reitz and Rupa Banerjee presents a new and contemporary understanding of the effects of diversity on social integration and social cohesion, similar arguments have been put forward by other researchers. Many of these authors have focused on analyzing the relationship between diversity and social cohesion, as opposed to the specific experiences encountered by immigrant and visible minority populations.

One such author is Robert D. Putnam who maintains that while there are theories that suggest that diversity improves social cohesion, "it is fair to say that most (though not all) empirical studies have tended instead to support the so-called 'conflict theory', which suggests that, for various reasons – but above all, contention over limited resources – diversity fosters out-group distrust and in-group solidarity" (Putnam, 2007: 142). Putnam and others believe that diversity actually erodes cultural and communal solidarity for it "seems to trigger not in-group/out-group division, but anomie or social isolation... (since) people living in ethnically diverse settings appear to 'hunker down' – that is, to pull in like a turtle" (Putnam, 2007: 149).

Putnam further contends that in addition to its effect on societies at large, ethnic and racial diversity erodes cohesion within specific groups since "...inhabitants of diverse communities tend to withdraw from collective life, to distrust their neighbours, regardless of the colour of their skin, to withdraw even from close friends, to expect the worst from their community and its leaders, to volunteer less, give less to charity and

work on community projects less often, to register to vote less, to agitate for social reform more , but have less faith that they can actually make a difference, and to huddle unhappily in front of the television" (Putnam, 2007: 150).

Other researchers have also suggested that ethnic diversity leads to a breakdown of social cohesion whereby perceptions of discrimination for instance, might become more common. Among them, Amanda Aizlewood and Ravi Pendakur argue that within large ethnically diverse communities such as Canada's first-tier cities, the potential for a breakdown of social cohesion is significant as specific groups join together, excluding others from within the community at large. In short they maintain that "in ethnically diverse settings such as urban areas, broader community cohesion may be threatened if individuals from both majority and minority populations bond on ethnic terms to the exclusion of others, thereby creating socially isolated communities that do not trust or co-operate with each other" (Aizlewood and Pendakur, 2005: 79).

Aizlewood and Pendakur put forward the idea that "broad social capital is easier to build in ethnically homogeneous communities and is more difficult to sustain in ethnically diverse settings (as) individuals are more disposed to trust others like themselves, and less likely to trust those they perceive to be different" (Aizlewood and Pendakur, 2005: 79). Indeed, they maintain that as cities become larger and more diverse, they tend to produce ethnic enclaves, and social isolation that in turn leads to increased feelings of distrust, discomfort etc... Aizlewood and Pendakur support this contention through their research results which show that "in three of the five models – participation, interpersonal trust, and seeing friends – the larger the city of residence, the less likely people are to participate, trust, and socialize" (Aizlewood and Pendakur, 2005: 97). In the end they suggest that their findings "may be accounted for by the effect of living in a city

– the constant presence of strangers and having social networks based on individual interest more than local attachments" (Aizlewood and Pendakur, 2005: 97).

While the so called 'conflict theory' of diversity certainly provides some intriguing explanations for why (among visible minority and immigrant respondents) perceived discrimination for instance, might be higher within Canada's three largest cities, it also explains why earnings are often lower within these same urban centres. In reviewing the work of others we find that often times within diverse ethnic communities in which different groups tend to avoid each other and cluster among themselves, financial earnings can sometimes suffer. Indeed, many argue that increased heterogeneity of immigrant and visible minority groups produces larger homogeneous ethnic enclaves in which many individuals become financially trapped as "visible minority neighbourhoods tend to have higher unemployment rates and low income rates (when compared to) other census tracts" (Statistics Canada, 2003d: 16).

In their work entitled "Visible Minority Neighbourhood Enclaves and Labour Market Outcomes of Immigrants", authors Feng Hou and Garnett Picot illustrate this reality noting that "in Toronto (for example), even though the proportion of the neighbourhood population with university degrees is quite constant across all neighbourhoods, as one moves from those with a minor presence of Chinese to those with a dominant presence, the unemployment rate rises from 8.9% to 11.2% (as of June 1996), and the low-income rate increases from 19.6% to 28.4%" (Statistics Canada, 2003d: 16). Moreover they find that similarly "the Black neighbourhoods in Montreal display a particularly high low-income and unemployment rate in 1996 (since) the one census tract with a "dominant" Black presence registers unemployment of 36%, and a low-income rate of 76%" (Statistics Canada, 2003d: 16). Indeed, along with issues related to the

recognition of human capital, Hou and Picot note that "since recent immigrants tend to cluster in minority communities more than other immigrants, and their economic outcomes are inferior, this too will affect the socio-economic conditions in minority neighbourhoods" (Statistics Canada, 2003d: 16). In their work Reitz and Banerjee come to similar conclusions suggesting that among the factors that might explain why immigrants living within large cities encounter financial difficulty, "possible reasons for employment difficulties (might) include isolation in minority occupational enclaves and the fact that minority group social networks lack the linkages necessary to find good jobs" (Reitz and Banerjee, 2007: 495). Thus, we see how it might be argued that larger urban centres tend to breed conditions under which visible minority and immigrant populations encounter greater financial hardship reporting lower incomes and higher rates of unemployment. Indeed, it is not surprising that "the spatial concentration of visible minorities, Aboriginals and recent immigrants is cited as one of a number of potential factors underpinning the growth of concentrated urban poverty" (Walks and Bourne, 2006: 274).

In considering all of the works discussed thus far we are presented with considerable evidence supporting the idea that the relationship between diversity and social cohesion may present many challenges for today's multicultural Canada. With the above in mind, many have gone on to elaborate on these challenges.

In their chapter entitled "Immigration and the Canadian Ethnic Mosaic" Jean-Leonard Elliot and Augie Fleras argue that "while Canada as a whole has benefited from the immigration, the gains have not been equally realized by all regions and ethnic groups" (Elliot & Fleras, 1990: 51). They maintain that discrimination has likely emerged as a bi-product of immigration and the demographic diversification of Canadian society.

Authors Sheila Van Wyck and Ian Donaldson make similar assertions stating that "since the 1967 Centennial..., there have been some significant incidents of violence, discrimination, and social upheaval in Canada, emerging from contending diversities and national visions" (Van Wyck & Donaldson, 2006: 141) .With respect to such incidents, they cite the examples of the forced removal of the historic Afro-Canadian community of Africville by the city of Hallifax in 1967, the Air India flight 182 bombing of 1985, and the protest driven cancellation of Israeli Prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu's speech at Concordia University in 2002. Van Wyck and Donaldson maintain that in light of such events, the very foundations of Canada's multicultural society require dramatic transformations in order to move forward in the future. Indeed, they go so far as to argue that "Canada's prosperity, security, and social cohesion in (the next decade) will depend, at least in part, on revitalizing the concept of Canadian citizenship for the 21st century" (Elliot & Fleras, 2006: 141).

Others have also maintained that discrimination and issues of identity in Canada have emerged as troublesome realities over the last decade, and a real challenge to Canadian concept of multiculturalism. Among these individuals is Will Kymlicka, a political scientist who, until very recently, had defended Canada's history of multiculturalism and diversity. In a recent article entitled "The Uncertain Future of Multiculturalism", he maintains that in recent years difficulties have emerged for certain immigrant and visible minority populations, groups that have increasingly been identified as carriers of illiberal policies. More specifically Kymlicka asserts that the greatest hurdles are being encountered by immigrant and visible minority populations associated with the Muslim faith, for "Muslims are not only seen as potentially bringing with them illiberal practices, but also as having a strong religious commitment to them, and hence as

more likely to try to use the ideology of multiculturalism as a vehicle for maintaining these practices" (Kymlicka, 2005: 83). Indeed, Kymlicka argues that within the current context, we will most certainly face difficulties associated with the transformation of Canadian multiculturalism in the years to come.

As it was originally conceived in 1971 Canada's multiculturalism policy sought to create a society in which "....cultural differences are endorsed as integral components of a national 'mosaic', a reflection of the Canadian ideal, and a source of enrichment and strength" (Elliot & Fleras, 1990: 63). By the 1980's however "... various government bodies documented the experiences of visible minorities in Canada, and concluded that they encountered differential treatments and unequal opportunities based on the perceived racial characteristics" (Li, 1996: 145). As a result, Canada attempted to further strengthen and elaborate upon the role of multiculturalism, enshrining it as a federal act in 1988.

Today, multiculturalism remains a critical element of Canadian identity, as well as an essential governmental position "directed towards the 'preservation and enhancement of Canadian society', (as well as the) promotion of cultures, reduction of discrimination, and acceleration of institutional change to reflect Canada's multicultural character" (Elliot & Fleras, 1990: 65). Yet in spite of this reality, many have argued that multiculturalism is ineffective maintaining that while there may be perceptions of equality within Canadian society, this does not necessarily mean that there is tangible, experienced equality for all Canadians. Authors such as Neil Bissoondath and Roxana Ng suggest that multiculturalism is fundamentally flawed as it "never addresses the question of the nature of a multicultural society, what such a society is and – beyond a kind of vague notion of respect from human differences – what it means for the nation at large and the individual who compose it" (Bissoondath, 1994: 43). Roxana Ng argues that

multiculturalism is nothing more than an ideology who's "...purpose is to contain the competing claims of different groups (namely French and English Canadians) which emerged at a particular time in Canadian history" (Ng, 1995: 36). Thus, in considering the above it becomes clear that as diversity has increased, multiculturalism has become an increasingly contentious topic.

In concluding this chapter we note two main observations. First, from a descriptive and analytical point of view we find that immigrant and visible minority populations living in Canada encounter much hardship with respect to economic and social experience that seems to negatively impact social integration, and consequently, social cohesion. Second, from a theoretical point of view, we see that several authors have drawn a connection between increased diversity and a breakdown of social cohesion, a reality which many feel poses a serious challenge to Canadian society and the ideal of multiculturalism. Nevertheless, in spite of the utility of these observations, we note that the literature is lacking with respect to geographical breakdown. Indeed, none of the works look at issues of immigrant and visible minority experience, nor social integration or social cohesion at the level of the city, community, or region. We believe that while the social cohesion of a country, as informed by the day to day experience of individuals, is of the utmost importance, we must strive to better understand the circumstances occurring within individual communities, an argument which was briefly touched upon in the first chapter.

Considering all of the literature, the analysis to be conducted and discussed throughout the remainder of this thesis will resemble that undertaken by Reitz and Banerjee in their chapter entitled "Racial Inequality, Social Cohesion and Policy Issues in Canada". It will make use of the Ethnic Diversity Survey, while establishing similar

definitions with respect to the concepts of societal integration, as well as experience and perception. That being said, there will be one important point of distinction. Where Reitz and Banerjee focus exclusively on an analysis related to the national picture, the research undertaken in this thesis will also examine regional differences. Recognizing this reality, we will focus on seven regional areas, Canada as a whole, Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver; these three first-tier cities combined; other cities outside of Canada's three largest metropolitan areas; and finally Canada's non-metropolitan areas.

Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver will be included based on their placement within an Index of Qualitative Variation. In proceeding with this simple statistical test, we were able to ascertain that all three cities were quite diverse with respect to immigrant and non immigrant visible minority heterogeneity. Indeed, according to the IQV, the scores for Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver ranged from 0.80 to 0.92 on a scale of 0 to 1.

We've also chosen to include "Other Census Metropolitan Areas" given the constraints of the 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey public use microdata file. More specifically, due to a risk of disclosure associated with respondent identity, Statistics Canada ensured that we are unable to focus on individual census metropolitan areas apart from Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver.

Finally, 'non-CMA's' are included for the same reason; measures undertaken by Statistics Canada made it impossible to process the results for any one specific community. We should note that 'other CMA's' and 'non-CMA's' are also included as they allow for an interesting comparison with respect to the larger cities of Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver. Indeed, in using the Index of Qualitative Variation we found that the 'other CMA's' had a moderate diversity score of 0.73, while 'non-CMA's' had a

low score of 0.34. We believe that if we are to better understand and interpret the experiences and perceptions of immigrant and visible minorities, we must look at communities of all shapes and sizes, areas that have different levels of immigrant visible minority diversity.

Given that most of the literature supports the claim that the experiences and perceptions of immigrant and visible minority populations tend to be more negative by comparison to those reported by the general Canadian population, and that the rate of community integration and social participation is most commonly deemed to be lower among these minority populations, this thesis will seek to address the following questions:

1. What is the economic experience encountered by immigrant and visible minority populations and, how does it differ according to CMA status?
2. What is the social experience of immigrant and visible minority populations with respect to perceptions of discrimination and discomfort and, how do they differ according to CMA status?
3. How do immigrant and visible minority populations fare with respect to certain indicators of integration and social participation, and how do these results differ according to CMA status?
4. Considering the above we finally ask:
    a) What factors most impact or influence perceptions discrimination and discomfort, and, how does the strength of these factors vary according to CMA status?
    b) What factors most impact or influence certain indicators of integration and social participation, and, how does the strength of these factors vary according to CMA status?

It should be noted that, as is clearly established in each of the questions, this thesis will focus on differences according to CMA status in order to fill a void in the

literature and gain a better sense of how such experiences might differ according to the city or town in which a respondent has chosen to live. In addition, we will also focus on differences according to generational status, since the literature seems to suggest that one's generation (particularly among visible minority populations) may impact their economic situation, and more specifically, their perceptions of discrimination and discomfort. Ultimately, we believe that while these questions appear to be simple enough, they serve as a general gauge of social cohesion within Canada, and perhaps more importantly, its cities and smaller communities.

Noting the above questions, we must recognize that there are many theoretical concepts upon which they rely. In the following section we will define these concepts with the aim of further clarifying the general research questions.

In beginning, perhaps the most important concepts are 'social cohesion', 'societal integration', 'economic experience', 'perceived discrimination', 'perceived discomfort' and 'multiculturalism'. These terms are critical pillars that support the questions that will guide the research in this thesis. Below, we will provide theoretical and technical definitions that underline the manner in which these essential concepts will be understood and used in this thesis.

As the title suggests, perhaps one of the most important concepts within this thesis is social cohesion. In order to define this concept, we referred to the work of Jeffrey Reitz and Rupa Banerjee. Reitz and Banerjee suggest that social cohesion can be understood as a "sense of fairness and inclusion among groups..., (a) commonality of values, commitments and social relations among individuals and groups, (as well a) capacity to cooperate in the pursuit of common objectives" (Reitz & Banerjee, 2007: 491). Citing the theories of other researchers including Robert D. Putnam, they go on to maintain that

social cohesion "refers to the capacity of a society to set and implement collective goals" (Reitz & Banerjee, 2007: 506). Finally, citing "instances of civil disorder involving immigrants or minorities in other countries – most recently France and the United Kingdom" Reitz and Banerjee argue that social cohesion is of the utmost importance as a "lack of cohesion may be reflected in conflict, sometimes violent conflict" (Reitz and Banerjee, 2007: 506). In considering the above, we intend to approach the notion of 'social cohesion' in the same manner as Reitz and Banerjee.

Focusing on the definition of 'social integration', we suggest that it is actually a part of the wider processes that make up 'social cohesion'. In order to have a functional and cohesive society in which individuals feel that they face equal opportunities, treatment etc..., there must be social integration. Reitz and Banerjee view social integration in a similar manner arguing that it "refers to the extent to which individual members of a group form relationships outside the group – relationships that help them to achieve individual economic, social or cultural goals" (Reitz & Banerjee, 2007: 507). Furthermore, they suggest that "social integration, in this sense, is relevant to the broader question of social cohesion: groups whose members look to the broader society as a means to private ends are more likely to become engaged in common objectives; similarly groups that are well integrated into society become resources for the constructive resolution of conflicts" (Reitz & Banerjee, 2007: 507). We will approach 'social integration' in the same way. With respect to measuring social integration we further refer to the work of Reitz and Banerjee, using the following indicators (which are defined below): sense of belonging, level of trust in others, volunteering record, life satisfaction, voting history, and citizenship status.

Within the context of material well-being, the economic experience concept will be more objective in nature, referring to the financial realities encountered by respondents at the level of the individual, and at the level of the household. It is important to note however that throughout this thesis, economic experience will be examined by group, in particular 'immigrants', 'non-immigrants' according to their visible minority status. With respect to measuring economic experience, we will refer to the median income reported by respondents, as well as the percentage of respondents living in households below the low-income cut off (this term is further elaborated upon below).

Perceived discrimination and discomfort can both be regarded as subjective measures of experience. Indeed, "perceived discrimination may be referred to as a minority group members' subjective perception of unfair treatment of racial ethnic groups or members of the groups, based on racial prejudice and ethnocentrism, which may be manifest at individual, cultural, or institutional levels" (Jackson et al.,1998: 104). We suggest that perceived discomfort on the basis of ethnicity, culture, race, skin colour, language, accent or religion, can be understood in a similar manner. Finally, we note that details regarding the operationalization of these terms can be found below within the technical definitions.

While there is no direct mention of multiculturalism in the analytical portions of this thesis, it is nonetheless an essential concept within the context of social integration and social cohesion. Within this thesis, we will refer to the concept of multiculturalism in the same manner as Jean-Leonard Elliot and Augie Fleras who "...define (it) as a political doctrine that officially promotes cultural differences as an intrinsic component of the social, political, and moral order (in Canada)" (Elliot & Fleras, 1990: 63). Moreover, they add that "defined in this manner, multiculturalism involves the

establishment of a novel working relationship between the government and ethnic immigrants" (Elliot & Fleras, 1990: 63).

Overall, this chapter has attempted to provide a general review of the literature and an elaboration on some of the main theoretical pillars upon which the bulk of this thesis will sit. In the next chapter, we will focus on the methodological issues behind the thesis, namely the technical terms, data sources, and statistical methods that underpin our analysis.

Chapter 3

Methodology

In the previous chapter we discussed the literature as well as the main theoretical concepts that serve as a foundation for our analysis. In the following chapter we will elaborate upon some of the more technical details behind the work, in particular the technical terms, data sources, and statistical methods that drive the analytical components of this thesis.

In dealing with the questions and theoretical concepts discussed in the previous chapter, we recognize that there are a host of technical, analytical terms that will emerge throughout the analysis. As such, they are defined below:

1. Low-income cut-off: This term refers to the minimum economic family, or unattached individual income that is required to be over the poverty line. It is adjusted according to the year, size of the economic family and the region of residence, as well as data regarding average annual household expenditures (Statistics Canada, 2001: 166). It is important to note that economic family is "broader than that of a census family, in that an economic family consists of all persons living together and related by blood, marriage, common-law or adoption" (Statistics Canada, 2001: 166). Unattached individual refers to "persons either living alone or living in a household where they are not related to another person" (Statistics Canada, 2001: 166).

2. Perceived discomfort: This term refers discomfort based on ethnicity, culture, race, skin colour, language, accent or religion, as reported by the respondent at the time the survey was conducted, in this case, 2002. It is measured by asking a respondent "How often do you feel uncomfortable or out of place in Canada now because of your ethnicity, culture, race, skin colour, language, accent or religion?, is it... all of the time, most of the time, some of the time, rarely or never" (Statistics Canada, 2003d: 61). For the purpose of

this thesis, we focus on the categories all of the time, most of the time, and some of the time, as this is the manner in which Reitz and Banerjee proceeded in their analysis.

3. Perceived discrimination: This term refers to reported experiences of discrimination based on ethnicity, culture, race, skin colour, language, accent or religion, as reported by the respondent at the time the survey was conducted, in this case, 2002. It is measured by asking a respondent "In the past five years, or since you arrived in Canada, how often do you feel you have experienced discrimination or unfair treatment in Canada? Was it or is it.... often, sometimes, or rarely" (Statistics Canada, 2003d: 61). For the purpose of this thesis, we focus on the categories 'often' and 'sometimes', since this is the manner in which Reitz and Banerjee proceeded in their analysis.

4. Generational status: First generation refers to those respondents who, along with their parents, were not born in Canada. Second generation refers to those respondents who, unlike at least one of their parents, were born in Canada. Finally, third generation and greater refers to those respondents who, along with both of their parents, were born in Canada.

5. Immigrant status: This term is used to categorize respondents according to whether or not they, along with their parents, were born in Canada. There are therefore two categories:

i. Immigrant: This refers to those individuals, who, along with their parents, were born in Canada.
ii. Non-immigrant: This term refers to those respondents who were born in Canada.

6. Period of immigration: This term is used to categorize immigrant respondents according to the period they arrived in Canada. We use this term as it is widely employed

throughout the existing literature dealing with immigrant issues in Canada. As such, there are two categories which were determined by Statistics Canada:

i. Recent immigrant: This term refers to those respondents who identified themselves as an immigrant having arrived in Canada after 1991 and before 2000.

ii. Earlier immigrant: This term refers to those immigrants who identified themselves as having arrived in Canada before 1991.

7. Visible minority: This term refers to individuals who identify themselves as being Chinese, South Asian, Black or of an other visible minority. We add that it is important to note that while some of these categories are based on nationality or region (i.e. Chinese), they are not imposed on the respondent, rather it is up to them to decide which category best describes their racial status. If a respondent feels that they do not identify with any of the categories including those that are 'nationality or regional based', they can identify themselves as an 'other visible minority'.

8. Census metropolitan area status: This term is used to place respondents into one of two categories denoting the type of community or municipality in which they live:

i. Census metropolitan area: (CMA): Developed by Statistics Canada, this term refers to "an area consisting of one or more adjacent municipalities situated around a major urban core. To form a census metropolitan area, the urban core must have a population of at least 100,000"(Statistics Canada, 2001: 7). For the purpose of our analysis CMA's will be further divided into:

- Other census metropolitan area: Developed by Statistics Canada for a host of different surveys including the 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey, this term refers to those census metropolitan areas outside of Montreal, Toronto, or Vancouver.

- First-tier combined: This term refers to the combined census metropolitan areas of Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver

ii. Non-census metropolitan area (Non-CMA): Developed by Statistics Canada, this term refers to an area that is not adjacent to at least one major urban core consisting of a population of at least 100,000 (Statistics Canada, 2001: 7)..

9. Belonging: This term is based on the Ethnic Diversity Survey's sense of belonging to Canada variable. Specifically, the survey asks respondents "Some people have a stronger sense of belonging to some things than others, using a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is not strong at all and 5 is very strong, how strong is your sense of belonging to Canada?" (Statistics Canada, 2003d: 66). For the purpose of this thesis, we focus on the categories '4' and '5 – very strong', since this is the manner in which Reitz and Banerjee proceeded with their analysis.

10. Trust: This term is based on the Ethnic Diversity Survey's trust in others variable. Specifically, the survey asks respondents "Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you cannot be too careful in dealing with people" (Statistics Canada, 2003c: 69).

11. Volunteering: This term is based on the Ethnic Diversity Survey's volunteering variable. Specifically, the survey asked respondents "At any time in the last 12 months, did you volunteer your time to help with the activities of your organization?" (Statistics Canada, 2003c: 58). We note that there were organizations in which respondent was a member or in whose activities the respondent had taken part, these include sports clubs, religious groups, hobby clubs, charitable groups and the like. Moreover, we point out that interviewers were instructed that only unpaid work, and not financial contribution could be contributed (Statistics Canada, 2003c: 58). .

12. Life Satisfaction: This term is based on the Ethnic Diversity Survey's life satisfaction variable. Specifically, the survey asked respondents. "All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?, Using of 1 to 5 where 1 means not satisfied at all, and 5 means very satisfied" (Statistics Canada, 2003c: 69). We note that while this question is quite general, it suites our needs as we seek to gain a sense for overall life satisfaction that may indeed be affected by different realities such as employment, health, recreation, work life balance etc...). Finally, for the purpose of this thesis, we focus on the categories '4' and '5 – very satisfied', since this is the manner in which Reitz and Banerjee proceeded with their analysis.

13. Citizenship: This term is based on the Ethnic Diversity Survey's citizenship variable. Specifically, the survey asked respondents "Specifying up to three countries given the current boundaries at the time of the survey, of what countries or country have you been a citizen" (Statistics Canada, 2003c: 9). For the purpose of this thesis, we use the 'citcans' variable which is a summary of the general citizenship variable. This variable focuses on those respondents who identified their citizenship as Canadian by birth or naturalization. It was used by Reitz and Banerjee in their analysis.

14. Voted: This term is based on one of three of the Ethnic Diversity Survey's voting variable. Specifically, we use the survey question that asked respondents "Did you vote in the last federal election?" (Statistics Canada, 2003c: 58). For the purpose of this thesis, we focus on federal elections, since this is the manner in which Reitz and Banerjee proceeded with their analysis noting that "respondents were also asked about provincial and municipal elections (but) the responses were highly correlated" (Reitz & Banerjee, 2007: 540).

15. Official Language Status: This term is based several of the Ethnic Diversity Survey's many language variables. Specifically, we use a variable within the Ethnic Diversity PUMF file that combines the responses of many survey questions dealing with language in order to ascertain whether the respondent is able to carry on a conversation in "English only, French only, a non-official language only, English and French, English and a non-official language, French and a non-official language. For the purpose of this thesis, and the regression analysis specifically, we focus on those who speak a non-official language only, or English and a non-official language only.

With respect to methodology and analysis, this thesis will make use of a quantitative methodology using statistical analysis as its method. More specifically, we will work with data from the 2001 Canadian census as well as 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey (Catalogue no. 89M0019XCB). In the following sections we will briefly discuss the nature of each of these surveys as well the specific types of statistical analyses that will be used in order to produce results. With respect to the specific survey details, they are as follows:

1. The 2001 Canadian Census:

The 2001 census will be used to produce data tables dealing with median income and the percentage of respondents below the 2001 low income cut off. The main reasons for this are twofold. First, the census asks a host of different questions dealing with a respondent's income status. The responses to these questions can be interpreted in many different ways depending on the aim of the research in question. Second, while the 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey public use microdata file provides much in the way of valuable information, it is somewhat restrictive with respect to analysis dealing with individual income. More specifically, the Ethnic Diversity Survey PUMF recodes a respondents

reported income in the master file into one of ten income groups which together form the only PUMF income variable. As such, it was therefore deemed that the census provided the most appropriate, manageable, and flexible data with respect to interpreting the economic experience encountered by immigrant and visible minority populations.

With respect to details of the 2001 census data utilized in this analysis, they are as follows. The analysis will be conducted using a census microdata file dealing specifically with census individuals. This microdata file was created over three steps. First, 20% of the total census population were given a longer census form consisting of 7 questions administered to the entire population and 59 questions that were specific to their group. Once these forms were completed, they were broken into two categories, household and individual. From these two categories, a further sample was taken. In the end, the microdata sample consists of 2.7% of the general census population. A weighting variable was included with the file allowing for a representative analysis of the Canadian population at large (Statistics Canada, 2001: 168).

2. The 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey public use microdata file (PUMF):

The 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey PUMF will be used to produce data tables dealing with perceived discrimination, perceived vulnerability, and social integration. The main reason for using the Ethnic Diversity Survey relates to the unique questions that it asks. While other surveys such as the GSS provide data on trust, happiness, volunteering etc..., they fail to ask questions regarding issues such as discrimination, vulnerability, and ethnic identity. The EDS allows us to further delve into areas related to social integration and perception instead of focussing more specifically on economic measures as has been traditionally more common in past research dealing with immigrant and visible minority experiences.

The 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey is a post-censal survey. This means that its sample was obtained from the wider 2001 census population, more specifically those who had responded to the long questionnaire and met certain criteria. The target population for the EDS consisted of individuals aged 15 years and over, living in private dwellings throughout the ten provinces, and included landed immigrants and non-permanent citizens. The following groups were excluded from the 2003 EDS, persons under 15 years of age; persons living in collective dwellings; persons living on Indian reserves; persons who, in the 2001 census declared their ethnic identity as aboriginal; and persons living in the territories and remote areas.

With respect to the Ethnic Diversity Survey sample size, it included 57,242 individuals of whom 42,476 responded to the survey questionnaire. Looking at the EDS PUMF, 781 respondents were removed from the original survey file because Statistics Canada determined there was risk of disclosure associated with those respondents (Statistics Canada, 2005b: 6). The final EDS PUMF therefore consists of 41,695 respondents representing 23,092,643 Canadians. A weighting variable was included with the PUMF file and will be applied on the advice of Statistics Canada in order to allow for a representative analysis of the Canadian population at large. This weighting variable will be further downweighted in order to test for significance within the crosstabulation models. In particular, using Statistic Canada's BOOTVAR MACRO V program, we will utilize the Ethnic Diversity Survey's bootstrapping variables in order to obtain confidence intervals for each of the crosstab relationships.

With respect to specific statistical methods that will be employed, using both the 2001 Census and the 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey PUMF, this thesis will engage in two main types of statistical analysis. The first will be simple crosstabulation analysis where

the relationship between an independent and dependent variable is tested. As was mentioned above we will refer to confidence intervals in order to see whether the difference within and between different crosstabs are statistically significantly different. For each of these significance tests, the 'White' category will serve as the benchmark group against which each of the visible minority groups will be compared. We believe that this is most appropriate considering that the aim of the thesis is to gain a sense for disparities that may exist between the majority and minority groups living throughout Canada and its many community. Finally in order to further ascertain the relationship between the variables, we will run preliminary Chi-square tests to see whether the variables are significantly independent (the results of these tests will not appear in the text). Overall this will allow us to gain a general sense of the trends that are present and better understand the ways in which the different variables are related.

The second statistical method employed will be regression analysis. Here we will test the effect of several independent variables on a single dependent variable. This will allow us to establish the strength of some the relationships presented in the crosstabulation tables. It should also be noted that, throughout both of these analyses, we will run tests for significance as well as correlation in order to make sure that the relationships we are exploring are both representative and statistically legitimate.

With respect to specifics, a total of 35 crosstabulation tables will be produced, 28 of which will examine median income, poverty (% below LICO), perceived vulnerability, and perceived discrimination, according to immigrant status (i.e. recent vs. earlier), generational status (i.e. first vs. third generation), and visible minority status. The remaining 7 tables will focus upon social integration measuring sense of belonging, level of trust, volunteering history, life satisfaction, citizenship status, and voting history,

according to visible minority status and generational status. It should be noted that in order to produce many of these tables several variables will recoded (e.g. the categories strong and very strong will be added together in order to create our sense of belonging variable). While we recognize that this means that we may potentially lose some information, we have chosen to collapse these categories in order to create a series of general variables that paint a clear picture, and fit well within a bivariate logistic regression model. Furthermore, we note that Reitz and Banerjee recoded many of the above variables in the very same manner.

The regression analysis will focus on perceptions of discrimination and discomfort, as well as certain indicators of integration and social participation.

With respect to the specifics of the regression analysis that is to be undertaken, it will be a binary logistic regression. The reason for this relates to the fact that the dependant variables to be measured in the model are not interval ratio but rather dichotomous ordinal variables. Moreover, logistic regression is quite useful since it provides similar outputs when compared to linear regression and it establishes an odds ratio which allows for an effective analysis with respect to the understanding of complex policy issues.

Considering the above, we will create logistic regression models for four dependent variables: perceived discrimination, perceived discomfort, trust in others, and sense of belonging to Canada. With respect to the independent variables, the following predictors will be included: being a female, being an immigrant, being a visible minority, speaking English only, speaking neither English nor French, living in a low income household, having some post-secondary education, having a foreign education. Reference variables for each of the predictors will be as follows: being a male, being an immigrant,

being white, being bilingual, speaking either English or French, living in a higher income household, not having a post-secondary education, having a Canadian education. In addition to the above models, four more will be produced, each of which includes the various CMA levels as additional independent variables. In the case of these CMA predictors, Toronto will serve as the reference variable.

The reason for selecting these specific predictors mainly relates to the existing literature. Beginning with female gender, it is included since Aydemir and S, . With respect to immigrant and visible minority status, they are included within the model based on the results reported by Reitz and Banerjee and discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis. The language variables are included in order to test for potential differences between Montreal, which is highly bilingual, and other regions or CMA's which tend to be less so, the inclusion of these variables in not based on any particular source. In regards to the low income household and education variables, they are included based on several sources, notably Aydemir and Skuterud who maintain that data shows that immigrants tend to face greater financial hardship and lower economic returns with respect to foreign experience, but not foreign education (Aydemir & Skuterud, 2005a: 669). Moreover on the subject of education and income, Reitz suggests that "immigrants find that any educational advantage they have due to Canada's skill-selective immigration policy is offset by the fact that most settle in major urban areas where jobs are plentiful but competition is intense from new native-born labour market entrants, who tend to be young and also highly educated" (Reitz & Banerjee, 2007: 493). The CMA predictors are included in the final models in order to genuinely ascertain and compare the potential difference living in a particular CMA might have on perceived discrimination and discomfort, as well as level of trust and sense of belonging.

On a final note, we should caution that while this thesis may seemingly be using the same data and methodology as Jeffrey Reitz and Rupa Banerjee in their chapter entitled "Racial Inequality, Social Cohesion and Policy Issues in Canada", there will likely be some differences between their figures and those discussed in the coming chapters. Indeed, in addition to aggregating some of their variables in a different manner, Reitz and Banerjee made use of the restricted national version of the Ethnic Diversity Survey, as opposed to the public used micro file that is to be used in proceeding with our analysis.

Chapter 4

Measuring Economic Experience, Perceived Discrimination, Perceived Discomfort, as well as Social Integration: A Crosstabulation Analysis

This chapter will identify the most interesting and telling results found through our basic crosstabulation analysis. With this it will first explore the results from the national picture and then focus on those obtained from Toronto, Vancouver, Montreal, these three cities combined, other CMA's combined, and non-CMA's combined. In the end it is hoped that this chapter, and ultimately this thesis will shed light on some of the realities encountered by both new and established Canadians with respect to their perceptions of discrimination, feelings of discomfort, societal participation, and financial status. Moreover, in exploring such themes we hope that this thesis might ultimately serve to gauge present realities and potentially assist in the re-evaluation of current governmental policies.

Throughout the analysis the results are organized into five different tables. These tables look at median income, percentage of respondents living in households below the low income cut off, perceived discrimination, perceived discomfort, as well as a host of other measures related to social integration. In addition, each of these tables provides a breakdown according to visible minority status and is generated according to either immigrant or generational status. It should be noted that in the event that a table is referred to but not included within the text, it can be found in the table appendix. Finally, it should also be noted that is some instances crosstabulation results were deemed to be unreliable due to a lack of cases in the Ethnic Diversity Survey PUMF (10 cases or less in any one particular category). In order to identify these instances we have used a star symbol (-).

To begin, we must first elaborate upon the figures obtained for the national picture, that is to say those representing Canada as a whole. This is necessary as most of the chapter, and indeed the thesis, is based upon the establishment of comparisons

between the national figures, and those obtained from specific places throughout Canada. Thus, we will start by summarizing some of the general findings from our analysis of the country as a whole.

As shown in Table 4-1, recent immigrants encountered the lowest median incomes and the highest instances of poverty in 2001 regardless of visible minority status. Within this group we find that respondents who identified themselves as being of a visible minority fared the worst - reporting a median income of $11,507 compared to $15,997 for non-visible minority respondents. Moreover, we find that the median income of visible minority recent immigrants was in many cases half of that reported by earlier immigrants, and non-immigrant Canadians. With this, we see some potential evidence showing that the period of immigration is an important factor influencing the economic realities encountered by immigrants, not to mention their experience as a whole. Recent immigrants, that is to say those who arrived between 1991 and 2001, have had less time to integrate into the Canadian economy while earlier immigrants who arrived prior to 1991 have had more than a decade to establish greater financial security.

Table 4-1: Median income and percentage of respondents living below the LICO by immigrant and visible minority status, 2001, Canada

	Canada			
	Recent	Earlier	Total immigrants	Non-immigrants
Median Income				
White [b]	**$15,997**	**$23,442**	**$22,310**	**$21,266**
All visible minorities	**$11,507**	**$22,284**	**$16,616**	**$10,000**
Chinese	$10,289	$21,100[N/S]	$15,000	$12,176
South Asian	$12,000	$24,838[N/S]	$17,347	$6,300
Black	$12,408	$24,000	$19,268	$10,950
Other visible minorities	$12,117	$20,824	$16,667	$10,000
Poverty (% below LICO)				
White [b]	**26.7**	**13.4**	**15.7**	**15.2**
All visible minorities	**38.2**	**18.8**	**28.6**	**24.7**
Chinese	40.4	16.6	29.3	16.7
South Asian	33.4	14	24.3	19.4
Black	45.9	25.2	33.8	34.8
Other visible minorities	37.5	20.8	29.1	25.6

Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Canadian Census

b – Benchmark group
Unmarked results are significant at 0.01 level
** Significant at the 0.05 level
N/S – Not significant
Note: Having been appropriately weighted, all of these results are representative of the overall population.

Visible minority recent immigrants were more likely to report that they lived below the LICO . An average of 38.2% reported that this was the case compared to 26.7% of non-visible minority recent immigrants. Moreover, in many cases the number of visible minority recent immigrants living in households below the low income cut off was more than double that reported by earlier immigrants and non-immigrant Canadians. In particular, Black and Chinese recent immigrants encountered the most hardship since 45.9% of Blacks, and 40.4% of Chinese indicated that they lived below the LICO.

Another group that did not fare so well were the non-immigrant visible minority respondents. In some cases their median income was actually less than that reported by recent immigrants in the same racial category. In particular, South Asian non-immigrants reported a very low median income of $6,300, while a troublesome 34.8% of Black non-

immigrants reported living in households below the LICO compared to 15.2% of White respondents.

In Table 4-2, we see that second generation visible minority Canadians reported the lowest median incomes while those in the first generation were the most likely to live in households below the low income cut off. In fact, with respect to the latter we find that in 2001 Chinese, Black, and 'Other visible minority' first generation Canadians were twice as likely to live below the LICO when compared to white immigrants of the same generation.

Table 4 -2: Median income and percentage of immigrants living below the LICO by generational status, 2001, Canada

	Canada		
	First generation	*Second generation*	*Third generation and higher*
Median income			
White [b]	**$22,094**	**$23,432**	**$20,800**
All visible minorities	**$16,019**	**$8,150**	**$18,466**
Chinese	$14,670	$11,660 [N/S]	$20,312
South Asian	$17,000	$6,000	$18,257 [N/S]
Black	$18,342	$8,205	$15,397
Other visible minorities	$15,912	$8,000	$27,123
Poverty (% below LICO)			
White [b]	**15.7**	**12**	**15.4**
All visible minorities	**28.6**	**16.4**	**21.2**
Chinese	29.3	12.4 [N/S]	15.8 [N/S]
South Asian	24.3	12.4 [N/S]	27.5
Black	33.8	24	26.7
Other visible minorities	29.1	17.2	11.1

Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Canadian Census

b – Benchmark group
Unmarked results are significant at 0.01 level
** Significant at the 0.05 level
N/S – Not significant
Note: Having been appropriately weighted, all of these results are representative of the overall population.

Focusing on median income, we see that white respondents in the first and second generations reported higher incomes than their third generation counterparts. Among those who fared the worse in 2001, South Asians of the second generation reported a very

low median income of $6,000 while Black and other visible minority respondents showed slightly higher median incomes, $8,205 and $8,000 respectively.

With respect to members of the third generation, Black and South Asian respondents appeared to face economic hardship, though it should be noted that the difference between South Asian and White respondents was not significant. As such, Black respondents reported a median income that was in some cases $3,000 less than the median income of the remaining minority groups as well as the White respondents of the same generation. Moreover, along with third generation South Asians, Black respondents were nearly twice as likely to live in a household below the LICO when compared to White, Chinese, and 'Other visible minorities' of the same generation.

While economic and financial indicators certainly allow us to gauge the economic experience encountered by individuals, societal perceptions are equally important when attempting to gain a sense of the realities faced by minority and majority groups alike. In this case we focus upon perceptions of discrimination and discomfort according to visible minority, immigrant, and generational status.

As shown in Table 4-3, a much greater percentage of visible minority respondents reported that they perceived discrimination in Canada and expressed feelings of discomfort regardless of their immigrant status when compared to individuals who identified themselves as White in 2003. Black and South Asian immigrants who had arrived in Canada prior to 1991 were likely to indicate that there was societal discrimination at least some of the time if not more often and 30.7% of Black respondents and 21.9% of South Asians maintained that this was the case. Moreover, in focusing on non-immigrants we find equally disconcerting figures since a greater percentage of Black respondents felt that there was discrimination in Canada (34.1%) while 16.5% of South

Asians felt the same way. This is a troublesome number considering that only 5.3% of White non-immigrants maintained that there was discrimination in Canada.

Table 4 – 3: Perceived discrimination and discomfort by immigrant and visible minority status, 2003, Canada

	Canada			
	Recent	Earlier	Total immigrants	Non-immigrants
Perceived discrimination (%)				
White [b]	**8.8**	**4.4**	**5.0**	**5.3**
All visible minorities	**19.0**	**20.6**	**19.8**	**18.0**
Chinese	21.2	16.1	18.4	10.3
South Asian	17.9	21.9	19.8	16.5
Black	26.8	30.7	29.1	34.1
Other visible minorities	15.5	18.7	17.2	13.0
Perceived discomfort (%)				
White [b]	**19.3**	**8.9**	**10.2**	**7.5**
All visible minorities	**28.6**	**23.7**	**25.7**	**12.8**
Chinese	31.1	21.7	25.9	10.8
South Asian	27.1	23.7	25.0	13.4
Black	33.4	28.3	30.0	18.6
Other visible minorities	26.1	23.1	24.5	10.0

Source: Statistics Canada, 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey

b – Benchmark group
Unmarked results are significant at 0.01 level
** Significant at the 0.05 level
N/S – Not significant
Note: Having been appropriately weighted, all of these results are representative of the overall population.

Recent immigrants were most likely to express feelings of discrimination and discomfort on the basis of their visible minority status, religion, ethnicity, or language. In particular, we find that within this group visible minority respondents felt especially uncomfortable since just over 30% of Black and Chinese individuals indicated that this was the case. Moreover, we find that while perceived discomfort was highest among recent immigrants, it was also quite substantial among earlier immigrants, in particular visible minority respondents. Indeed, we find that nearly 25% of all visible minority respondents felt uncomfortable, while 28.3% of Black earlier immigrants alone indicated that they felt uncomfortable in 2003.

As shown in Table 4-4, the first and second generation visible minority groups were far more likely to report that there was discrimination in Canada. Moreover, a greater number of visible minority respondents also expressed that they felt uncomfortable on the basis of their race, ethnicity, religion or language. Black respondents of the second generation were the most likely to report that they felt there was discrimination in Canada since 36% maintained that this was the case. This is a troublesome number considering that it is more than double any of the figures reported by the remaining racial categories within the second generation. Within the third generation, there were very few significant differences between the White population and the specific visible minority populations. Nevertheless we note that a large percentage of black respondents reported that there was discrimination in Canada, a disconcerting reality considering that only 5.4% of White respondents expressed the same opinion. Thus, with respect to perceived discrimination, we see that it is highest among Black respondents, particularly among those within the second generation

Table 4 – 4: Perceived discrimination and discomfort by immigrant and visible minority status, 2003, Canada

	Canada		
	First generation	*Second generation*	*Third generation +*
Perceived discrimination (%)			
White [b]	**5.0**	**4.8**	**5.4**
All visible minorities	**19.8**	**18.3**	**15.5**
Chinese	18.4	10.8	3.9 [N/S]
South Asian	19.8	16.8	1.6 [N/S]
Black	29.1	36.0	27.9
Other visible minorities	17.2	14.1	5.6 [N/S]
Perceived discomfort (%)			
White [b]	**10.2**	**6.3**	**7.9**
All visible minorities	**25.7**	**13.6**	-
Chinese	25.9	11.0	-
South Asian	25.0	13.5	-
Black	30.0	22.0	-
Other visible minorities	24.5	10.4	-

Source: Statistics Canada, 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey

b – Benchmark group
Unmarked results are significant at 0.01 level
** Significant at the 0.05 level
N/S – Not significant
Note: Having been appropriately weighted, all of these results are representative of the overall population.

With respect to perceived discomfort, we find that in 2003 visible minority respondents within the first generation felt the most uncomfortable. Among these visible minority groups we see that Black respondents once again were the most likely to report feeling uncomfortable since nearly 30% maintained that this was the case. Other visible minorities were not far behind since roughly 25% of first generation respondents within the remaining racial categories maintained that they felt uncomfortable. With respect to members of the second generation, we note that the percentage of respondents who felt uncomfortable decreased fairly substantially in most of the racial categories, in particular the figures reported by 'Other visible minorities' as well as Chinese respondents. Nevertheless, in spite of these decreases the percentage of Black respondents who reported feeling uncomfortable remained disconcertingly high at 22%.

In Table 4-5 we find that, in general, visible minority groups encountered difficulty integrating with respect to certain activities and measures associated with social integration. In particular, we find that among first generation Chinese, the percentage of respondents with a strong or very strong sense of belonging to Canada was approximately 10% lower than that reported by other groups within the first generation, while only 66.4% of Black respondents within the second generation maintained a strong or very strong sense of belonging. With respect to degree of trust, we find that the percentage of first generation Black respondents who expressed a general sense of trust in others was approximately half of that reported by White respondents of the same generation (26.6% vs. 52%). Looking at citizenship, we see some figures that are equally troubling since approximately 30% of eligible South Asians had not sought Canadian citizenship. This compared to roughly 20% of White respondents and 26% of Blacks and 'Other visible minorities who indicated they too had not sought citizenship. Perhaps the most disconcerting numbers, however, related to voting where within the second generation merely 42.5% of Black respondents and 51.7% of 'Other visible minorities' chose to vote in the 2000 federal election. Finally, with respect to life satisfaction we find that regardless of race and generational status, the vast majority of Canadians were happy with their lives in 2003.

Table 4 – 5: Social integration, by generational and visible minority status, 2003, Canada

	Canada					
	Belonging	Trust	Volunteering	Life Satisfaction	Citizenship	Voted
First generation						
White [b]	**87.7**	**52.0**	**27.1**	**97.1**	**80.4**	**79.8**
All visible minorities	**82.7**	**44.6**	**24.3**	**95.7**	**74.7**	**64.1**
Chinese	76.9	54.8	18.0	97.0 N/S	80.7 N/S	60.3 N/S
South Asian	89.3	45.6	26.3	95.0	69.3	67.2
Black	87.0 N/S	26.6	34.0	92.8	73.9	67.9
Other visible minorities	81.4	42.6	24.1	96.1 N/S	73.8	63.9
Second generation						
White [b]	**86.1**	**53.6**	**36.2**	**96.4**	**N/A**	**80.3**
All visible minorities	**73.0**	**43.3**	**35.6**	**96.5**	**N/A**	**52.2**
Chinese	74.9	50.2 N/S	32.2	98.2 **	N/A	58.4
South Asian	77.1	40.9 N/S	41.3 N/S	96.7	N/A	54.5
Black	66.4	35.9	35.9 N/S	93.0 N/S	N/A	42.5
Other visible minorities	72.8	43.9 N/S	34.7 N/S	97.2	N/A	51.7
Third generation and higher						
White [b]	76.9	46.1	34.2	96.4	N/A	76.6
All visible minorities	83.2	43.7	29.1	90.8	N/A	56.8

Source: Statistics Canada, 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey

b – Benchmark group
Unmarked results are significant at 0.01 level
** Significant at the 0.05 level
N/S – Not significant
Note: Having been appropriately weighted, all of these results are representative of the overall population.

Thus far we have focused on examining the results from the statistical analysis of Canada as a whole. At this point we will compare the above results with some of the more notable figures obtained from specific areas within Canada, beginning with its three largest cities combined: Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver.

In comparing the national figures with the results from the first-tier cities combined, we see that there are some notable differences (cf. Table 4-6). Indeed, with

respect to the degree of social integration by generational status for instance, we find that respondents of all three generations tend to be less trusting and less prone to volunteering[4]. Perhaps most disconcerting is the percentage of second generation Black respondents who felt that others could be trusted. While this number was very low at the national level (35.9%) it dropped to 31.6% for respondents living in the first-tier cities combined. Similarly we find that when compared to the White population, 'Other visible minorities' living in first-tier cities were also significantly less likely to be trusting since more than 60% of their population felt that they could not trust others. Finally, as was the case at the national level, it should be noted that regardless of race and generational status, the majority of respondents living in first-tier cities were happy with their lives.

[4] The difference in trust and volunteering as reported by White vs. Chinese and South Asian second generation respondents was not statistically significant within the First Tier Cities.

Table 4 – 6: Social integration, by generational and visible minority status, 2003, First-tier cities combined vs. National Picture

	First-tier Combined vs. National Picture											
	Belonging		Trust		Volunteering		Life Satisfaction		Citizenship		Voted	
		CAN		CAN		CAN		CAN		CAN		CAN
First generation												
White[b]	**86.3**	87.1	**47.5**	52.0	**23.4**	27.1	**96.8**	97.1	**79.1**	80.4	**78.2**	79.8
All visible minorities	**82.3**	82.7	**43.1**	44.6	**23.0**	24.3	**95.6**	95.7	**75.0**	74.7	**62.9**	64.1
Chinese	76.5	76.9	52.7	54.8	17.8	18.0	96.6	97.0 N/S	82.1	80.7 N/S	59.0	60.3 N/S
South Asian	88.9	89.3	42.9	45.8	24.7	28.3	90.2	95.0	69.0	69.3	67.4	67.2
Black	87.5 N/S	87.0 N/S	23.0	26.6	31.8	34.0	92.4	92.8	74.3	73.9	69.0	67.9
Other vismin,	80.9	81.4	42.7	42.6	22.9	24.1	96.3	96.1 N/S	72.9	73.8	61.2	63.9
Second generation												
White[b]	**83.3**	86.1	**50.8**	53.6	**31.2**	36.2	**96.3**	96.4	**N/A**	N/A	**78.8**	80.3
All visible minorities	**71.3**	73.0	**39.1**	43.3	**34.1**	38.6	**96.4**	96.5	**N/A**	N/A	**51.9**	52.2
Chinese	72.5	74.9	47.8 N/S	50.2 N/S	31.2 N/S	32.2	97.7	98.2 **	N/A	N/A	60.6	58.4
South Asian	76.2	77.1	36.8 N/S	40.9 N/S	38.1 **	41.3 N/S	96.7	96.7	N/A	N/A	54.4	54.5
Black	66.0	66.4	31.3	35.9	37.5 **	35.9 N/S	92.5	93.0 N/S	N/A	N/A	43.3	42.5
Other vismin,	70.8	72.8	38.5 **	43.9 N/S	31.3 N/S	34.7 N/S	97.9	97.2	N/A	N/A	48.7	51.7
Third generation +												
White[b]	**70.2**	76.9	**42.2**	46.1	**28.2**	34.2	**96.7**	96.4	**N/A**	N/A	**80.0**	76.6
All visible minorities	**85.9**	83.2	**47.3**	45.7	**29.4**	29.1	**82.4**	90.8	**N/A**	N/A	**62.3**	56.8

Source: Statistics Canada, 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey

[illegible]

Looking at the median income and the percentage of respondents living in households below the LICO, we find that in 2001 Black non-immigrants fared the worst - reporting a median income that was $2,170 less than the national figure (c.f. Table A1 in the table appendix). With respect to the percentage of respondents living below the LICO we note that the first-tier city figures are approximately one to two percent greater than those obtained at the national level.

With respect to perceived discomfort and discrimination we find that the results obtained for first-tier cities do not differ substantially from the national figures with the exception of one troubling number. We note that among third-generation Black respondents the number of individuals who felt that there was discrimination in Canada increased from 27.9% at the national level to 59.6% among respondents living within the first-tier cities combined (c.f. Table A4 in the table appendix).

While the results obtained for the first-tier cities combined provide us with an insightful glimpse into the experiences of respondents according to their immigrant, generational and visible minority status, it is perhaps more useful to look at each of the cities individually, recognizing that there are most certainly differences in terms of the social and demographic realities present within each of these large urban centers. With this we will begin by examining the results from Toronto, followed by those obtained for Montreal and Vancouver.

When comparing the results from Toronto with the national figures discussed earlier in this chapter, we see that some of the most notable differences involve perceived discrimination according to generational and visible minority status, as well as median income as reported by non-immigrant visible minorities.

Beginning with perceived discrimination and discomfort by generational and visible minority status, we find that among third generation visible minorities, there was a considerably higher percentage of Black respondents who felt that there was discrimination in Canada. Indeed, as shown in Table 4 -7 we see that this figure increases by nearly 40 percentage points among third generation Black respondents – a most troubling number considering that the national figure for this group was 27.9%.

Table 4 – 7: Perceived discrimination and discomfort by generational and visible minority status, 2003, Toronto vs. National Picture

	Toronto vs. National Picture					
	First generation		*Second generation*		*Third generation +*	
		CAN		CAN		CAN
Perceived discrimination (%)						
White [b]	**5.2**	5.0	**4.9**	4.8	**5.4**	5.4
All visible minorities	**20.3**	19.8	**20.9**	18.3	**35.4**	15.5
Chinese	17.7	18.4	9.3	10.8	13.9 N/S	3.9 N/S
South Asian	20.3	19.8	15.9	16.8	-	1.6 N/S
Black	28.6	29.1	39.5	36.0	67.5	27.9
Other visible minorities	18.3	17.2	17.1	14.1	3.3 N/S	5.6 N/S
Perceived discomfort (%)						
White [b]	**11.7**	10.2	**7.7**	5.3	**10.6**	7.9
All visible minorities	**27.5**	25.7	**15.0**	13.6	**8.0**	-
Chinese	28.0	25.9	11.6 **	11.0	25.8	-
South Asian	25.7	25.0	11.5	13.5	-	-
Black	30.0	30.0	22.7	22.0	6.4	-
Other visible minorities	27.5	24.5	13.4 **	10.4	6.1	-

Source: Statistics Canada, 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey

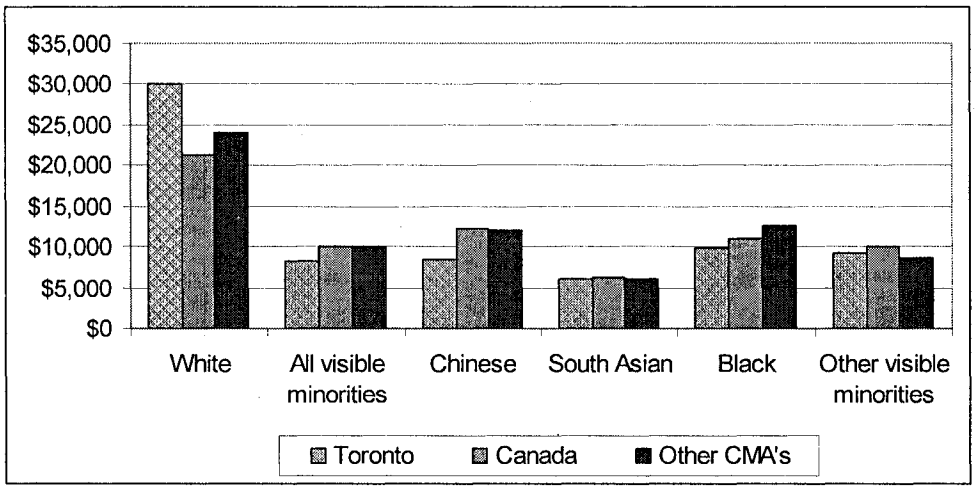
b – Benchmark group
Unmarked results are significant at 0.01 level
** Significant at the 0.05 level
N/S – Not significant
Note: Having been appropriately weighted, all of these results are representative of the overall population.

Looking at perceived discomfort according to immigrant status we see more troubling increases with respect to the percentage of respondents who reported feeling uncomfortable on the basis of their visible minority status, religion, ethnicity, or language (c.f. Table A7 in the table appendix). More specifically, we find the greatest increases

among earlier immigrants. In particular we note that when compared to the national figures, the percentage of White earlier immigrants who reported feeling uncomfortable increased considerably, nearly doubling from 8.9% to 17.1%. There are also troubling increases among visible minority groups within the earlier immigrant category. More specifically we see that the percentage of Chinese respondents who reported feeling uncomfortable rose from 21.7%, to a disconcerting 33.4%, while the number of other visible minority respondents who felt uncomfortable increased by over 7 percentage points from 23.1% to 30.6%.

With respect to median income and the percentage of respondents living within households below the LICO, we find that non-immigrant visible minority groups appeared to be the most affected (c.f. Table A5 in the table appendix). Specifically, we note that with exception of white respondents, all of the visible minority groups reported lower median income than those at the national level, and many of those living in other CMA's (not including Vancouver and Montreal). In particular, we find that Chinese respondents living in Toronto had a median income that was nearly $4,000 less than the figures reported at the national level and within other CMA's, a reality which seemed to be most prevalent among the second generation (c.f. Table A5 in the table appendix). . Among the remaining visible minority groups within the non-immigrant category, we find South Asian respondents reported a very low median income of merely $6,000, while their second generation counterparts reported earning even less with a median income of $5,762 (see Figure 4.1).

Figure 4 -1: Median income as reported by non-immigrant respondents, 2003, Toronto vs. Canada and Other CMA's



Source: Statistics Canada, 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey

Finally, if we focus upon social integration by visible minority and generation status we find that the results obtained for Toronto do not vary substantially when compared to the figures reported at the national level (cf. Table A8 in the table appendix). That being said, there is at least one notable and troubling difference. Life satisfaction is considerably lower among visible minority respondents of the third generation. Indeed we find that while 90.8% of third generation visible minority Canadians felt somewhat or very satisfied with their life, only 69.9% of third generation visible minority Torontonians expressed feeling the same way, a difference of over 20 percentage points.

When looking at the results for Montreal we see that in 2003 visible minority respondents encountered much difficulty with respect to their economic situation, perceptions of discrimination and discomfort, as well as social integration (cf. Table 4-8). Indeed, we note that visible minority immigrants who arrived in Canada earlier seemed to experience the most hardship when compared to their counterparts at the national level. For example, we find that Chinese respondents earned a median income of just under $7,000 ($6,100 less than the national figure) while South Asian earlier immigrants faced

similar difficulty reporting a median income of $17,092 - nearly $8,000 less than the number obtained at the national level. Recent immigrants also encountered much hardship with respect to earnings. Indeed, while the difference between White and Chinese recent immigrants was not statistically significant, South Asian respondents reported a median income of merely $8,597. Among the non-immigrant population, visible minorities clearly fared worse when compared to White respondents. In particular we note that South Asian and Black non-immigrants earned roughly a third of the median income reported by White respondents, $7,557 and $6,359 respectively. Most troubling however was the median income reported by 'Other visible minorities', an extremely low $5,710: $4,200 less than the national figure.

Focusing on the percentage of respondents living within a household below the LICO according to immigrant status, the numbers are equally disconcerting. Here we find that in 2001 a substantial proportion of the visible minority population in Montreal lived in a household experiencing poverty. Some of the specific groups that encountered the most difficulty include South Asian recent immigrants, 60.6% who reported living below the LICO, and Black recent immigrants, 55.2% who reported living below the low income cut off. We find equally troubling numbers among non immigrant visible minority groups since more than 40% of South Asian, Black, and 'Other visible minorities' fell below the LICO in 2001[5]. .

[5] The difference between the White and South Asian non-immigrant populations was not statistically significant

Table 4 – 8: Median income and percentage of respondents living below the LICO by immigrant and visible minority status, 2001, Montreal vs. National Picture

	Montreal vs. National Picture							
	Recent		Earlier		Total immigrants		Non-immigrants	
		CAN		CAN		CAN		CAN
Median Income								
White	**$13,500**	$16,897	**$19,779**	$23,442	**$18,562**	$22,310	**$22,580**	$21,266
All visible minorities	**$10,017**	$11,507	**$17,249**	$22,284	**$13,693**	$16,616	**$6,458**	$10,000
Chinese	$6,959 N/S	$10,289	$15,000 **	$21,100 N/S	$12,028 N/S	$15,000	$10,091 N/S	$12,175 N/S
South Asian	$8,597	$12,000	$17,092	$24,838 N/S	$11,870	$17,347	$7,557	$6,300 N/S
Black	$11,610	$12,408	$18,069 **	$24,000	$15,453 N/S	$19,268	$6,359	$10,950
Other visible minorities	$10,358 N/S	$12,117	$17,466 **	$20,824	$14,299 N/S	$16,667	$5,710	$10,000
Poverty (% below LICO)								
White	**36.1**	26.7	**21.1**	13.4	**24.2**	16.7	**18.4**	15.2
All visible minorities	**52.4**	38.2	**31.5**	18.8	**41.8**	28.6	**42.1**	24.7
Chinese	49.2	40.4	29.1 N/S	16.6	39.6 N/S	25.3	26.9 **	16.7
South Asian	60.6	33.4	28.8 **	14	48.1 **	24.3	41.1**	19.4
Black	55.2 **	45.9	35	25.2	43.9	33.8	43.5	34.8
Other visible minorities	49.5 N/S	37.5	30.5	20.8	39.9	29.1	44.5	25.6

Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Canadian Census

b – Benchmark group
Unmarked results are significant at 0.01 level
** Significant at the 0.05 level
N/S – Not significant
Note: Having been appropriately weighted, all of these results are representative of the overall population.

With respect to median income according to the generational status, we find that while some of the figures were not statistically significant, respondents of the second generation generally fared worse when compared to the White population as well as their parents and peers in the third generation (cf. Table A9 in the table appendix). Of particular concern, we note that second generation South Asians, Blacks and 'Other visible minorities' reported earning a income median income between $5,200 and $6,000.

Another area in which we find some disconcerting figures relates to social integration (cf. Table 4-9). Here we see that in 2003 second and third generation Montrealers were less likely to express a strong or very strong sense of belonging. In particular we note that only 55.9% of second-generation respondents in the 'Other visible minorities' category maintained that they had a somewhat or very strong sense of belonging, nearly 17 percentage points less than the national figure. Moreover, we find that among the third generation, barely 50% of respondents expressed a somewhat or very strong sense of belonging. Indeed, when compared to the national figure we note a decrease of some 21.1 percentage points among White respondents, and 31.6 percentage points among all visible minority groups combined.

Table 4 – 9: Social integration, by generational and visible minority status, 2003, Montreal vs. National Picture

	Montreal vs. National Picture											
	Belonging		Trust		Volunteering		Life Satisfaction		Citizenship		Voted	
		CAN		CAN		CAN		CAN		CAN		CAN
First generation												
White	**83.5**	87.7	**41.3**	52.0	**18.7**	27.1	**95.4**	96.1	**84.9**	89.4	**86.7**	79.8
All visible minorities	**82.2**	82.7	**42.0**	44.6	**19.9** N/S	24.3	**95.2**	96.7	**77.0**	74.7	**77.7**	64.1
Chinese	85.2 N/S	78.9	54.0 N/S	54.8	14.3 N/S	19.0	97.9	97.0 Hi+	96.6	86.7 Hi+	66.6	60.3 Hi+
South Asian	78.9 **	89.3	62.7 N/S	45.8	27.4 N/S	26.3	100 N/S	96.0	57.9	69.3	73.5	57.2
Black	88.0	87.9 Hi+	21.3	26.6	22.9 N/S	34.9	94.3 N/S	92.8	75.2 N/S	73.9	81.7	67.9
Other vismin,	78.7	81.4	46.3 N/S	42.6	17.7 N/S	24.1	94.0 N/S	95.1 Hi+	77.8 N/S	73.8	79.6 N/S	63.9
Second generation												
White	**75.7**	86.1	**41.4**	51.6	**26.6**	36.2	**96.0**	96.4	**N/A**	N/A	**86.1**	80.3
All visible minorities	**65.8**	75.9	**31.3**	43.3	**31.1**	35.6	**95.6**	96.5	**N/A**	N/A	**63.2**	52.2
Chinese	73.5 N/S	74.9	33.3 N/S	59.2 N/S	41.6	37.2	100 **	99.2 **	N/A	N/A	84.7 N/S	59.4
South Asian	71.0 N/S	77.1	56.5 N/S	40.9 Hi-	48.1	41.3 Hi+	100 N/S	95.7	N/A	N/A	80.1 **	64.5
Black	70.1	86.4	28.1 N/S	35.9	27.7 N/S	35.9	91.5 **	93.0 Hi+	N/A	N/A	48.7	42.5
Other vismin,	55.9	72.8	27.1 N/S	43.9 Hi+	26.5 N/S	34.7 Hi+	97.7 N/S	97.2	N/A	N/A	65.9	61.7
Third generation +												
White	**55.8**	76.9	**30.5**	46.1	**21.2**	34.2	**96.9**	96.4	**N/A**	N/A	**84.7**	78.6
All visible minorities	**51.6**	83.2	**41.6**	48.7	-	29.1	**100**	99.8	**N/A**	N/A	**86.0**	66.8

Source: Statistics Canada, 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey

[illegible]

Looking at the level of trust in others expressed by Montrealers, we find that within the second generation, none of the subset groups were significantly different from the White category. Focusing on the third generation we encounter a surprising figure (in that it is contrary to the national trend), when compared to White respondents visible

minority Montrealers appeared to be more trusting since 41.6% felt that they could trust others, while only 30.5% of white respondents maintained the same.

Finally, on a positive note we find that in general Montrealers were more likely to have voted in the previous federal election when compared to the national figure. Indeed we see that certain visible minority groups within the second generation were far more likely to have voted, in particular South Asian respondents[6]. Moreover, we find that within the third generation, the voter rate among all visible minorities combined had increased by some 31.1% from the national figure.

Looking at the figures from Vancouver, we see that when compared to other cities and the national picture there are indeed similarities as well as some notable differences (cf. Table 4-10). With respect to similarities, we find that in 2001 visible minority immigrants living in Vancouver encountered greater financial hardship when compared to White respondents as well as non-immigrant visible minority groups (cf. Tables A12 and A13 in the table appendix). Indeed we find that among first generation visible minority respondents living in Vancouver, those who were Chinese or of an other visible minority group reported median incomes that were roughly $2,000 less that the national figure, and, in the case of Chinese respondents, more than $4,000 below the median amount reported by the same groups living within Other CMA's excluding Montreal and Toronto (see Figure 4.2)[7]. Moreover, we find that that South Asian immigrants earned a median income that was approximately $2,000 less than that reported by South Asians living in Other CMA's, while for those who arrived prior to 1991, there was a reported median income of roughly $3,000 less than the national figure.

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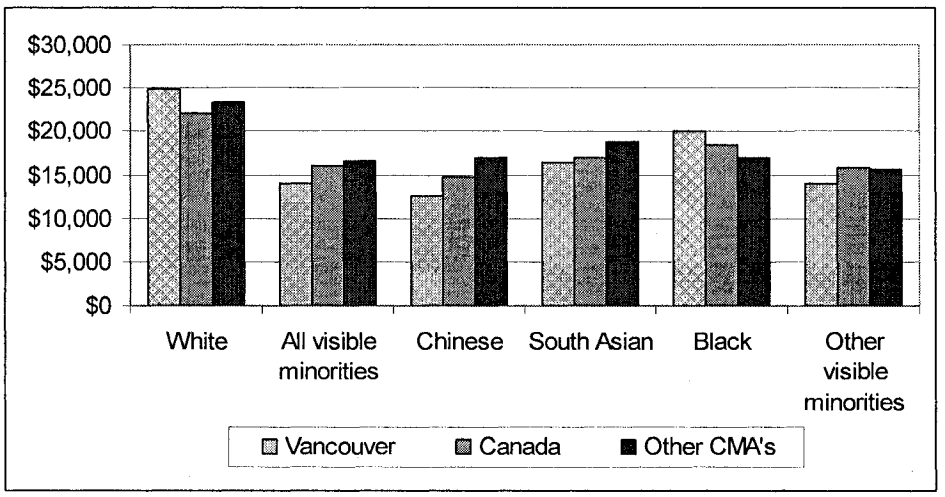
[6] The difference between the White and Chinese second generation was not statistically significant within the voting category.

[7] The difference in median income as reported by White and Chinese first generation respondents was not statistically significant within the city of Vancouver.

Figure 4 – 2: Median Income as reported by the First Generation, 2003, Vancouver vs. Canada and Other CMA's



Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Canadian Census

An area in which we note a fairly substantial difference from the national figures relates to perceived discrimination and discomfort. Here we find that according to the Ethnic Diversity Survey, Black respondents living in Vancouver were very likely to express that there was discrimination in Canada, and that they felt uncomfortable or uncomfortable on the basis of the colour of their skin, their race, religion, language, accent or ethnicity. Indeed we see that among Black respondents who arrived in Canada prior to 1991, an overwhelming 64% perceived discrimination as occurring within Canadian society while an equally alarming 57.9% maintained that they felt uncomfortable. Among Black recent immigrants the numbers were also troublesome since 44% perceived discrimination while 51.2% felt uncomfortable (though in the case of the latter figure the difference between White and Black recent immigrants was not statistically significant).

Table 4 – 10: Perceived discrimination and discomfort by immigrant and visible minority status, 2003, Vancouver vs. National Picture

	Vancouver vs. National Picture							
	Recent		Earlier		Total immigrants		Non-immigrants	
		CAN		CAN		CAN		CAN
Perceived discrimination (%)								
White [b]	**8.1**	8.8	**2.2**	4.4	**3.0**	5.0	**9.2**	6.3
All visible minorities	**17.0**	19.0	**19.7**	20.6	**18.3**	19.8	**15.1**	18.0
Chinese	17.6	21.2	16.5	16.1	17.2	18.4	9.6	10.3
South Asian	11.6	17.9	21.8	21.9	17.2	19.8	22.3	16.5
Black	44.0	26.8	64.0	30.7	59.8	29.1	47.1	34.1
Other visible minorities	18.4	15.5	21.1	18.7	19.4	17.2	11.8	13.0
Perceived discomfort (%)								
White [b]	**19.7**	19.3	**7.9**	8.9	**9.4**	10.2	**11.4**	7.5
All visible minorities	**25.2**	28.6	**24.1**	23.7	**24.4**	25.7	**10.4**	12.8
Chinese	22.7	31.1	23.5	21.7	22.9	25.9	10.1 [N/S]	10.8
South Asian	28.9	27.1	21.6	23.7	23.7	25.0	13.7 [N/S]	13.4
Black	51.2 [N/S]	33.4	57.9	28.3	56.5	30.0	5.8 [N/S]	18.6
Other visible minorities	27.2	26.1	25.9	23.1	26.6	24.5	7.4 **	10.0

Source: Statistics Canada, 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey

b – Benchmark group
Unmarked results are significant at 0.01 level
** Significant at the 0.05 level
N/S – Not significant
Note: Having been appropriately weighted, all of these results are representative of the overall population.

While Canada's three largest cities dominate with respect to immigrant and visible minority populations, there are most certainly stories worth telling from other CMA's across the country. Indeed, if we turn to the results obtained for these cities we find that in many cases immigrant and visible minority populations encountered better circumstances when compared to those respondents living in Canada's first-tier cities (cf. Table 4-11). For instance in looking at median income according to immigrant and visible minority status, we find that with the exception of Black recent immigrants, the median income reported by most respondents was nearly equal and in some cases greater

than the national figures. Moreover the results show that within the other CMA's there were fewer respondents living in households below the 2001 low income cut-off.

Table 4 – 11: Median income and percentage of respondents living below the LICO by generational and visible minority status, 2001, other CMA's vs. National Picture

	Other CMA's vs. National Picture					
	First generation		*Second generation*		*Third generation +*	
		CAN		CAN		CAN
Median income						
White [b]	**$23,426**	$22,094	**$24,838**	$23,432	**$23,914**	$20,800
All visible minorities	**$16,655**	$16,019	**$8,000**	$8,150	**$16,700**	$18,466
Chinese	$16,978	$14,670	$11,244 [N/S]	$11,660 [N/S]	$14,298 [n/s]	$20,312
South Asian	$18,722	$17,000	$6,000	$6,000	$13,099 [n/s]	$18,257 [N/S]
Black	$17,000	$18,342	$10,000	$8,205	$15,023	$15,397
Other visible minorities	$15,578	$15,912	$7,179	$8,000	$23,961	$27,123
Poverty (% below LICO)						
White [b]	**14.4**	15.7	**12.2**	12	**14.7**	15.4
All visible minorities	**26.1**	28.6	**16.2**	16.4	**24.5**	21.2
Chinese	21.8	29.3	13.5 [N/S]	12.4 [N/S]	17.5 **	15.8 [N/S]
South Asian	19.4	24.3	11.9	12.4 [N/S]	42.9	27.5
Black	35.1	33.8	22.9	24	29.2	26.7
Other visible minorities	28.7	29.1	17.6	17.2	10.3	11.1

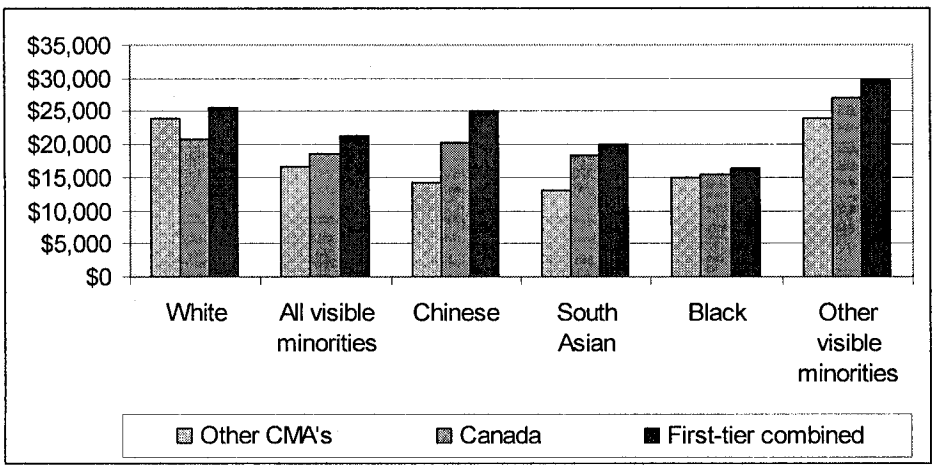
Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Canadian Census

b – Benchmark group
Unmarked results are significant at 0.01 level
** Significant at the 0.05 level
N/S – Not significant
Note: Having been appropriately weighted, all of these results are representative of the overall population.

Nevertheless, in spite of these numbers there do remain some areas of concern. Here we note the median income according to generational status which shows that in 2001 visible minority respondents within the third generation (and higher) reported earnings that were in some cases substantially below the national figures and those obtained for the First-tier cities combined (see Figure 4.3). In particular we find that Chinese respondents encountered much difficulty earning a median income that was roughly $6,000 less than the national figure, and more than $10,000 below the median

income reported by third generation Chinese respondents living in the First-tier cities. Equally disconcerting, we note that third generation South Asian respondents also encountered hardship reporting median income earnings that were approximately $5,000 less than the national figure and nearly $7,000 lower than the median income earnings reported by those living in the First-tier cities[8].

Figure 4 – 3: Median Income as reported by the Third Generation and over, 2003, Other CMA's vs. Canada and the First-tier cities combined



Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Canadian Census

Another area in which we see some troublesome figures is perceived discrimination and discomfort according to immigrant status (cf. Table 4-12). In particular, we find that among White and Chinese recent immigrants living within other CMA's, there were considerably more individuals who felt uncomfortable by comparison to the national figures. Indeed, 22.6% of White respondents who had arrived in Canada after 1991 reported feeling uncomfortable in 2003, this compared to 19.3% at the national level. Moreover, 42.7% of recent Chinese immigrants maintained that they too felt uncomfortable based on their race, religion, ethnicity or language, an increase of 21

[8] The difference in median income as reported by White vs. Chinese and South Asian third generation respondents was not statistically significant within the 'Other CMA's, these figures were however significantly different from the same groups living in the First tier cities, as well as the Non CMA's .

percentage points from the national figure. Black respondents also reported high levels of perceived discomfort since roughly 30% reported feeling uncomfortable while more than one in five Black respondents in the 'earlier' and 'non-immigrant' categories maintained that they felt the same way [9].

Table 4 – 12: Perceived discrimination and discomfort by immigrant and visible minority status, 2003, other CMA's vs. National Picture

	Other CMA's vs. National Picture							
	Recent		Earlier		Total immigrants		Non-immigrants	
		CAN		CAN		CAN		CAN
Perceived discrimination (%)								
White [b]	**9.2**	8.8	**4.7**	4.4	**5.2**	5.0	**5.1**	5.3
All visible minorities	**18.7**	19.0	**22.4**	20.6	**20.8**	19.8	**15.5**	18.0
Chinese	26.9	21.2	18.6	16.1	22.3	18.4	10.1	10.3
South Asian	14.1	17.9	26.8	21.9	21.3	19.8	13.9	16.5
Black	22.8	26.8	37.6	30.7	30.4	29.1	27.7	34.1
Other visible minorities	15.0	15.5	18.1	18.7	16.8	17.2	12.6	13.0
Perceived discomfort (%)								
White [b]	**22.6**	19.3	**7.5**	8.9	**9.3**	10.2	**6.8**	7.5
All visible minorities	**30.0**	28.6	**20.8**	23.7	**24.8**	25.7	**12.3**	12.8
Chinese	42.7	31.1	13.9	21.7	27.4	25.9	8.9 [N/S]	10.8
South Asian	23.8	27.1	32.1	23.7	28.6	25.0	16.5	13.4
Black	34.9	33.4	23.0	28.3	28.6	30.0	21.5 [N/S]	18.6
Other visible minorities	24.0	26.1	17.7	23.1	20.4	24.5	6.9	10.0

Source: Statistics Canada, 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey

b – Benchmark group
Unmarked results are significant at 0.01 level
** Significant at the 0.05 level
N/S – Not significant
Note: Having been appropriately weighted, all of these results are representative of the overall population.

With respect to perceived discrimination some of the numbers were equally troublesome. In particular we see that among Chinese and South Asian immigrants more than 20% felt that there was discrimination in Canada while 30.4% of Black immigrants maintained the same.

[9] The difference in perceived discomfort as reported by White vs. Black non-immigrant respondents was not statistically significant within the 'Other CMA's.

Thus far we have focused exclusively on the results obtained from Canadian cities. With this, we will now examine some of the findings coming out of rural Canada, that is to say the non-CMA's. As shown in Table 4-13 we find that in 2001, regardless of immigrant status, White respondents living in rural Canada reported earning considerably less than the national median income. With this, we note that within non-CMA communities, visible minorities often earned as much or more than their White counterparts, and as such were no more likely to live in a household below the low income cut-off.

Table 4-13: Median income and percentage of respondents living below the LICO by immigrant and visible minority status, 2001, non-CMA's vs. National Picture

	Non CMA's vs. National Picture							
	Recent		Earlier		Total immigrants		Non-immigrants	
		CAN		CAN		CAN		CAN
Median Income								
White	**$14,019**	$16,997	**$20,472**	$23,442	**$20,000**	$22,310	**$18,112**	$21,266
All visible minorities	**$12,090**	$11,507	**$22,174**	$22,284	**$17,820**	$16,616	**$12,401**	$10,000
Chinese	$12,587 N/S	$10,289	$22,320	$21,100 N/S	$19,517 N/S	$15,000	$11,250 N/S	$12,176 N/S
South Asian	$12,090	$12,000	$24,000	$24,838 N/S	$18,125	$17,347	$6,611 **	$6,360 N/S
Black	$12,062 N/S	$12,408	$25,945 N/S	$24,000	$22,662 N/S	$19,268	$13,567 N/S	$10,950
Other visible minorities	$11,532	$12,117	$20,291 N/S	$20,824	$16,416	$16,667	$15,069	$10,000
Poverty (% below LICO)								
White	**23.8**	26.7	**11**	13.4	**12.5**	15.7	**17.6**	16.2
All visible minorities	**21.9**	36.2	**13.5**	18.8	**17.1**	28.6	**16.1**	24.7
Chinese	15.9 N/S	40.4	12.4 N/S	15.6	17.1 N/S	25.3	14.5	16.7
South Asian	24.8	33.4	8.1	14	11.3	24.3	10.8 **	19.4
Black	24.6 N/S	45.9	14.1	25.2	18.4	35.8	23.7	34.8
Other visible minorities	23.8 N/S	37.5	18	20.8	21	29.1	18.5	25.6

Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Canadian Census

b – Benchmark group
Unmarked results are significant at 0.01 level
** Significant at the 0.05 level
N/S – Not significant
Note: Having been appropriately weighted, all of these results are representative of the overall population.

When median income is examined according to generational status, according to Table 4-14 we see that respondents within the third generation or greater reported earning median incomes that were in some cases substantially lower than the national figures and those reported by respondents living in Other CMA's (excluding Montreal, Vancouver and Toronto). In particular we find that Chinese respondents in the third generation (and higher) earned a median income of $10,616, nearly half of the national figure and roughly $4,000 less than the median income reported by Third generation Chinese living in the Other CMA's. Moreover we find that third generation South Asians also reported a low median income that was roughly $7,000 less than the national figure and $1,939 lower than the median income reported by Third generation South Asian respondents living in Other CMA's [10].

While the third generation seemed to encounter some difficulty with respect to median income and poverty, first generation respondents fared quite well. In particular, we find that Chinese, South Asian, and Black respondents all reported higher median incomes and lower rates of poverty when compared to the national picture and the other generational groups living within Non-CMA's.

[10] The difference in median income as reported by White vs. Chinese and South Asian third generation respondents was not statistically significant within the 'Non CMA's, these figures were however significantly different from the same groups living in the First tier cities, as well as the Other CMA's .

Table 4 – 14: Median income and percentage of respondents living below the LICO by generational and visible minority status, 2001, Non-CMA's vs. National Picture

	Non-CMA's vs. National Picture					
	First generation		*Second generation*		*Third generation +*	
		CAN		CAN		CAN
Median income						
White [b]	**$19,997**	$22,084	**$20,000**	$23,432	**$17,816**	$20,800
All visible minorities	**$16,857**	$16,019	**$10,000**	$8,150	**$15,373**	$18,460
Chinese	$17,821	$14,670	$11,380 N/S	$11,660 N/S	$10,616 n/s	$20,312
South Asian	$18,125	$17,000	$6,060	$6,000	$11,160 n/s	$18,257 N/S
Black	$18,852	$18,342	$10,891 N/S	$8,205	$14,675 n/s	$15,397
Other visible minorities	$15,428	$15,912	$12,404 N/S	$8,000	$24,300	$27,123
Poverty (% below LICO)						
White [b]	**12.6**	15.7	**11.9**	12	**15.8**	15.4
All visible minorities	**18.6**	28.6	**12.6**	16.4	**19.7**	21.2
Chinese	22.2	29.3	12.9 N/S	12.4 N/S	17.6 n/s	15.8 N/S
South Asian	11	24.3	8.3	12.4 N/S	31.2	27.5
Black	20.8	33.8	18.3	24	21.6	26.7
Other visible minorities	22.4	29.1	14.2 **	17.2	14 n/s	11.1

Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Canadian Census

b – Benchmark group
Unmarked results are significant at 0.01 level
** Significant at the 0.05 level
N/S – Not significant
Note: Having been appropriately weighted, all of these results are representative of the overall population.

Another area in which we find some troublesome numbers is perceived discrimination and discomfort. In Table 4-15 we see that according to the 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey, nearly 50% of recent Chinese immigrants living in non-CMA's reported that there was discrimination in Canada: 25.8 percentage points higher than the national figure. Moreover we find that 35.6% of Black recent immigrants perceived discrimination. Among other groups, perceptions of discrimination were high among South Asian immigrants who had arrived in the country prior to 1991, as well as Chinese non-immigrants.

Table 4 – 15: Perceived discrimination and discomfort by immigrant and visible minority status, 2003, non-CMA's

	Non-CMA's vs. National Picture							
	Recent		Earlier		Total immigrants		Non-immigrants	
		CAN		CAN		CAN		CAN
Perceived discrimination (%)								
White [b]	**3.1**	6.8	**3.3**	4.4	**3.2**	5.0	**4.5**	5.3
All visible minorities	**20.1**	19.0	**22.1**	20.6	**21.2**	19.8	**10.0**	18.0
Chinese	47.0	21.2	18.1	16.1	23.7	18.4	19.6	10.3
South Asian	23.4 N/S	17.9	31.8	21.9	26.8	19.8	9.5	16.5
Black	35.6 **	26.8	19.7	30.7	28.4	29.1	9.7	34.1
Other visible minorities	7.6 **	15.5	17.2	18.7	15.5	17.2	6.2 N/S	13.0
Perceived discomfort (%)								
White [b]	**6.4**	19.3	**16.9**	8.9	**6.9**	10.2	**5.9**	7.5
All visible minorities	**29.5**	28.6	**27.6**	23.7	**28.2**	25.7	**10.5**	12.8
Chinese	28.4 N/S	31.1	57.4	21.7	33.9	25.9	17.7 **	10.8
South Asian	16.4 **	27.1	20.8	23.7	16.7	25.0	9.6	13.4
Black	42.3 N/S	33.4	36.0 N/S	28.3	38.9 **	30.0	9.0	18.6
Other visible minorities	38.0 N/S	26.1	22.9	23.1	33.5	24.5	9.0	10.0

Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Canadian Census

b – Benchmark group
Unmarked results are significant at 0.01 level
** Significant at the 0.05 level
N/S – Not significant
Note: Having been appropriately weighted, all of these results are representative of the overall population.

Thus far we have focused exclusively on summarizing the results from the crosstabulation analyses conducted for this thesis, at this point we will examine the figures obtained through regression analysis.

In summary, this chapter has focused upon relaying some of the most interesting and telling results found throughout the research process. In discussing these results we have noted that the experiences encountered by Canadians certainly vary according to their immigrant, visible minority, and generational status. Moreover we have found that these experiences also vary according to the respondent's CMA status, that is to say the type of city in which they live. We have noted that respondents living in the first-tier

cities, particularly recent immigrant visible minorities, seem to encounter the most hardship with respect to their income, poverty status, perceptions of discrimination and discomfort, as well as social integration. Conversely, we have found that individuals who live in other CMAs and non-CMAs tend to encounter fewer difficulties with respect to economic and social experiences.

In the next chapter we will further explore these results through a summary of different binary logistic regression models that were built in order to establish the ways in which specific independent variables impact social integration, perceived discrimination and perceived discomfort.

Chapter 5

Predicting the Factors that impact Economic Experience, Perceived Discrimination, Perceived Discomfort, as well as Integration and Social Participation: A Logistic Regression Analysis

In this chapter we will elaborate upon the results from our regression analysis which focused on establishing the relative impact of specific independent variables on perceived discrimination and discomfort, as well as level of trust and sense of belonging. The aim of this analysis was to further explore the figures reported in the crosstabulations and seek to better understand some of the underlying factors that might be contributing to these numbers. In order to proceed, eight predictors (independent variables) were included in each of the analyses. In response to the results discussed in the previous chapter we looked at the effects of being an immigrant and a visible minority as well as the additional effects of being a woman, speaking english only or not speaking any official language, living in a low income household, having a post-secondary education, and finally, having a foreign education. These independent variables were chosen as it was felt that they might very well contribute to increased perceptions of discrimination and discomfort, as well as breakdown of trust and sense of belonging.

Beginning with perceived discomfort in Canada, according to Table 5-1 we see that with the exception of the 'French only variable, all of the independent variables within the model significantly predicted perceived discomfort. Focusing on those variables related to immigrant and visible minority status, when compared to white respondents, visible minorities were more likely to report perceptions of discomfort by a ratio of more than two to one. Immigrants also reported higher rates of perceived discomfort as they had 62% greater odds of reporting such perceptions when compared to non-immigrant respondents. With respect to the variables related to education, they also increased perceived discomfort in 2003. Indeed, we see that having a post-secondary education increased the odds of perceiving discomfort by a ratio of nearly two to one, while achieving ones education outside of Canada increased the likelihood of perceived

discomfort by more than 50%. These results are likely due to the inclusion of the immigrant and visible minority status variables within the model. We suggest that it is quite plausible that educated immigrant and visible minority respondents might express greater perceptions of discomfort based on the reality that they are more likely to encounter financial and economic hardship when compared to non-immigrant and white populations with similar educational credentials.

While most of the variables within the model predicted an increase in perceived discomfort, the 'english only' and 'non-official language' variables both reduced such perceptions. We suggest that these two effects seem to make sense, it is not surprising that a respondent who speaks English only would feel comfortable in a predominantly Anglophone country, while an individual who speaks neither English nor French might very well be living in a linguistic and culturally homogeneous community in which they are likely to receive support and thereby less likely to express feelings of discomfort.

Finally, with respect to the remaining variables within the model, we find that being a female slightly increased the odds of perceived discomfort while reporting a household income at or below the twenty-fifth percentile increased the likelihood of perceiving discomfort by roughly 30%.

Table 5-1: Selected Predictors of Perceived Discomfort, Canada, 2003

	Exp b. (Odds ratio)	Coefficients (B)	P-value
Male (ref.)	1	-	-
Female	1.09	0.09	0.01
Non-immigrant (ref.)	1	-	-
Immigrant	1.62	0.48	0.00
White (ref.)	1	-	-
Visible minority	2.52	0.92	0.00
Higher household income (ref.)	1	-	-
Low household income	1.27	0.24	0.00
No post-secondary edu. (ref)	1	-	-
Post-secondary edu.	1.88	0.63	0.00
Canadian edu (ref.)	1	-	-
Foreign edu.	1.53	0.42	0.00
Bilingual (language ref.)	1	-	-
English only	0.60	-0.51	0.00
French only	0.80	-0.22	0.21
Non-official language	0.62	-0.48	0.01

Source: 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey
N = 41695

Turning to the perceived discrimination model, we see once again that the majority of the independent variables significantly predicted increases or decreases in perceived discrimination. Nevertheless, we note that where household income and foreign education both significantly predicted increases in perceived discomfort, the same cannot be said for perceived discrimination.

Beginning with those variables related to immigrant and visible minority status, we see that being a visible minority greatly increased perceptions of discrimination. Indeed, a visible minority respondent was nearly five times more likely to report such perceptions when compared to white respondents. Interestingly, in looking at immigrants we note that they were less likely to report feelings of discrimination when compared to non-immigrant respondents. We suggest that this may indicate that both immigrants and non-immigrants are more likely to express perceptions of discrimination based on their visible minority status as opposed to their country of birth. Moreover, we believe that this

figure may be influenced by the presence of second and third generation visible minority Canadians.

With respect to the remaining variables within the model, we note that having a post-secondary education significantly increased the likelihood of perceived discrimination as individuals with higher education had 49% greater odds of reporting perceptions of discrimination when compared to those with a high school education or less. We believe that this is once again due to the inclusion of the immigrant and visible minority variables within the model. Finally, in looking at the remaining predictors we see that all of the language variables significantly reduced perceptions of discrimination. Indeed, we note that when compared to those who are bilingual, respondents who only spoke English were approximately 39% less likely to report perceived discrimination. Moreover, we see that those who spoke only French or neither official language were considerably less likely to report perceptions of discrimination (some 66% and 44% respectively). With respect those who only spoke French or spoke neither official language, we believe that this may be due to the possibility that these groups tend to represent minorities within the general Canadian population and as a result may very well strive to live in communities where there are others who speak their language thereby causing them to feel more at home and less discriminated against.

Table 5-2: Selected Predictors of Perceived Discrimination, Canada, 2003

	Exp b; (Odds ratio)	Coefficients (B)	P-value
Male (ref.)	1	-	-
Female	0.80	-0.22	0.00
Non-immigrant (ref.)	1	-	-
Immigrant	0.90	-0.10	0.01
White (ref.)	1	-	-
Visible minority	4.93	1.60	0.00
Higher household income (ref.)	1	-	-
Low household income	1.06	0.06	0.12
No post-secondary edu. (ref)	1	-	-
Post-secondary edu.	1.49	0.40	0.00
Canadian edu (ref.)	1	-	-
Foreign edu.	1.10	0.10	0.10
Bilingual (language ref.)	1	-	-
English only	0.61	-0.49	0.00
French only	0.44	-0.81	0.00
Non-official language	0.56	-0.58	0.00

Source: 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey
N = 41695

Looking at the perceived discomfort model for the first-tier cities combined, we begin by noting that none of the language variables significantly predicted perceived discomfort. With respect to the rest of the variables within the model, we find that all of them predicted increased perceptions of discomfort. In focusing on the immigrant and visible minority variables, we see that visible minority respondents were nearly twice as likely to report perceptions of discomfort when compared to white respondents. Once again immigrants were also more likely to report perceived discomfort when compared to the non-immigrant population.

Turning to the education variables, we note that as was the case within the Canadian model, having a post-secondary education significantly increased the odds of perceiving discomfort. Indeed, when compared to respondents with a high school diploma or less, those with at least some post-secondary education were 88% more likely to report perceptions of discomfort. Foreign education also increased perceived

discomfort as individuals who had achieved their credentials outside of Canada were nearly 50% more likely to report such perceptions.

Finally, in regards to the remaining variables within the model, being a female slightly increased the likelihood of perceiving discomfort while living in a low income household increased perceived discomfort by 41%.

Table 5-3: Selected Predictors of Perceived Discomfort, First-tier cities, 2003

	Exp b (Odds ratio)	Coefficients (B)	P-value
Male (ref.)	1	-	-
Female	1.13	0.13	0.01
Non-immigrant (ref.)	1	-	-
Immigrant	1.52	0.42	0.00
White (ref.)	1	-	-
Visible minority	1.95	0.67	0.00
Higher income household (ref.)	1	-	-
Low household income	1.41	0.34	0.00
No post-secondary edu. (ref)	1	-	-
Post-secondary edu.	1.88	0.63	0.00
Canadian edu (ref.)	1	-	-
Foreign edu.	1.49	0.40	0.00
Bilingual (language ref.)	1	-	-
English only	0.72	-0.33	0.16
French only	0.81	-0.21	0.37
Non-official language	0.68	-0.38	0.11

Source: 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey
N = 16322

With respect to perceived discrimination within the first-tier cities combined, in looking at Table 5-4 we note that nearly half of the variables within the model do not significantly predict perceived discrimination. With respect to the remaining variables within the model, focusing on those variables related to immigrant and visible minority status, we see that as was the case in the national model, immigrants were less likely to report perceptions of discrimination when compared to non-immigrants. Contrarily, when compared to white respondents, visible minorities were far more likely to report perceived discrimination with an odds ratio of 4.10 and a coefficient value of 1.41. As

such, we suggest that these findings support many of the results discussed in the last chapter, in particular the fact that visible minority respondents were the most likely to report perceptions of discrimination regardless of whether or not they were immigrants.

Looking at the educational variables within the model, we note that foreign education does not have a significant effect on perceived discrimination (as was the case within the national model). Nevertheless, post-secondary education does significantly increase perceptions of discrimination as individuals within this category faced 52% greater odds of reporting such perceptions when compared to those who had achieved a high school diploma or less. Regarding the rest of the variables within the model, we see that being a woman significantly reduced perceived discrimination as did speaking only French. With respect to the latter, we suggest that this result may once again be attributed to the possibility that respondents who are unable to speak English likely shelter themselves within homogeneous Francophone communities in which they are less likely to perceive discrimination. Finally, we note that living in a low income household increased the odds of perceiving discrimination by approximately 27%.

Table 5-4: Selected Predictors of Perceived Discrimination, First-tier cities, 2003

	Exp b (Odds ratio)	Coefficients (B)	P-value
Male (ref.)	1	-	-
Female	0.87	-0.14	0.00
Non-immigrant (ref.)	1	-	-
Immigrant	0.81	-0.21	0.00
White (ref.)	1	-	-
Visible minority	4.10	1.41	0.00
Higher income household (ref.)	1	-	-
Low household income	1.27	0.24	0.00
No post-secondary edu. (ref)	1	-	-
Post-secondary edu.	1.52	0.42	0.00
Canadian edu (ref.)	1	-	-
Foreign edu.	1.10	0.09	0.22
Bilingual (language ref.)	1	-	-
English only	0.89	-0.11	0.57
French only	0.61	-0.50	0.02
Non-official language	0.73	-0.31	0.12

Source: 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey
N = 16322

Focusing on the perceived discrimination and discomfort models for Toronto, we note that the results were very much in line with those encountered in the first-tier models. Beginning with perceived discomfort, in looking at Table 5-5 we find that in addition to the Foreign education variable, the linguistic variables once again fail to significantly predict perceived discomfort. ,Looking at those variables related to immigrant and visible minority status, we see that being an immigrant increased the odds that a respondent may perceive discomfort by more than 50% when compared to non-immigrant respondents. Moreover, we note that visible minority respondents were more than twice as likely to report perceptions of discomfort when compared to individuals who identified themselves as White.

Turning to the educational variables, we find that perceptions of discomfort were far more common for those respondents who had a post-secondary education when compared to those who had a high school diploma or less. Finally, with respect to the

remaining variables within the model, we note that both female gender and low household income significantly increased perceived discomfort. Indeed, women were approximately 14% more likely to report such perceptions when compared to men; while those respondents living in a low income household had a 61% greater likelihood of expressing perceptions of discomfort.

Table 5-5: Selected Predictors of Perceived Discomfort, Toronto, 2003

	Exp b (Odds ratio)	Coefficients (B)	P-value
Male (ref.)	1	-	-
Female	1.14	0.13	0.05
Non-immigrant (ref.)	1	-	-
Immigrant	1.51	0.41	0.00
White (ref.)	1	-	-
Visible minority	2.26	0.82	0.00
Higher household income (ref.)	1	-	-
Low household income	1.61	0.48	0.00
No post-secondary edu. (ref)	1	-	-
Post-secondary edu.	1.80	0.59	0.00
Canadian edu (ref.)	1	-	-
Foreign edu.	1.50	0.41	0.00
Bilingual (language ref.)	1	-	-
English only	0.85	-0.16	0.75
French only	1.23	0.20	0.72
Non-official language	0.83	-0.19	0.70

Source: 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey
N = 8499

Turning to perceived discrimination, in looking at the model presented in Table 5-6 we note many similarities with the Toronto and First-tier cities models. Indeed, we see that once again the linguistic and Foreign education variables were not significant. Moreover, we find that all of the significant variables within the Toronto model had the same effect as in the First-tier cities model. Beginning with the immigrant and visible minority variables, we see that being an immigrant decreased the odds of perceiving discrimination by approximately 19%, while being a visible minority respondent (versus

being white) increased the odds of perceived discrimination by an astonishing ratio of nearly five to one.

In regards to the rest of the variables within the model, we note that female gender decreased perceived discrimination by 15%, while living in a low household income and having a post-secondary education both increased the odds of perceiving discrimination by approximately 31% and 37% respectively when compared to their reference groups.

Table 5-6: Selected Predictors of Perceived Discrimination, Toronto, 2003

	Exp b. (Odds ratio)	Coefficients (B)	P-value
Male (ref.)	1	-	-
Female	0.85	-0.16	0.00
Non-immigrant (ref.)	1	-	-
Immigrant	0.81	-0.21	0.00
White (ref.)	1	-	-
Visible minority	4.68	1.54	0.00
Higher household income (ref.)	1	-	-
Low household income	1.31	0.27	0.00
No post-secondary edu. (ref)	1	-	-
Post-secondary edu.	1.37	0.31	0.00
Canadian edu (ref.)	1	-	-
Foreign edu.	0.99	-0.01	0.90
Bilingual (language ref.)	1	-	-
English only	1.02	0.02	0.97
French only	1.17	0.16	0.75
Non-official language	0.85	-0.16	0.71

Source: 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey
N = 8499

Turning to the perceived discomfort and discrimination models run for Montreal, we note both differences and similarities when compared to the results obtained for Toronto and the First-tier cities combined.

Beginning with perceived discomfort, in looking at Table 5-7 we see that once again, the linguistic variables were not significant. With respect to the immigrant and visible minority variables, we find that immigrants faced a 51% greater likelihood of reporting perceived discomfort when compared to non-immigrants, while being a visible

minority respondent increased the odds of perceiving discomfort by nearly 50% when compared to the White reference group.

In regards to some of the remaining variables within the model, unlike the Toronto and First-tier cities models we note that female gender and low household income did not significantly predict perceived discomfort. Finally, in looking at the education variables we see that having a post-secondary education increased the odds of perceived discomfort by a ratio of two to one, while having an education achieved outside of Canada increased the likelihood of such perceptions by 51%.

Table 5-7: Selected Predictors of Perceived Discomfort, Montreal, 2003

	Exp b (Odds ratio)	Coefficients (B)	P-value
Male (ref.)	1	-	-
Female	1.17	0.15	0.10
Non-immigrant (ref.)	1	-	-
Immigrant	1.51	0.41	0.00
White (ref.)	1	-	-
Visible minority	1.49	0.40	0.00
Higher household income (ref.)	1	-	-
Low household income	0.92	-0.08	0.52
No post-secondary edu. (ref)	1	-	-
Post-secondary edu.	1.97	0.68	0.00
Canadian edu (ref.)	1	-	-
Foreign edu.	1.51	0.41	0.02
Bilingual (language ref.)	1	-	-
English only	1.04	0.04	0.89
French only	0.75	-0.29	0.29
Non-official language	0.65	-0.43	0.14

Source: 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey
N = 4169

In looking at perceived discrimination in Montreal, we first note that nearly half of the variables within the model did not significantly predict perceived discrimination (c.f. Table 5-8). Focusing on the significant predictors within the model, not surprisingly we find that the French only has been insignificant in previous models, it decreased the odds of perceiving discrimination by some 65%. We suggest that this is likely due to the

reality that Montreal is predominantly a Francophone city in which a person who spoke only French would feel quite at home. With respect to some of the other variables within the model, we note that visible minority respondents were three times more likely to report perceptions of discrimination when compared to individuals who identified themselves as being White. In looking at the education variables, we see that they also increased perceptions of discrimination as those with a post-secondary education were 98% more likely to perceive discrimination when compared to those with a high school diploma or less, while those who had a foreign education had nearly 50% greater odds of reporting such perceptions. Finally, we note that immigrant status caused a decrease in perceived discrimination in 2003 as the odds of reporting such perceptions were 26% less for immigrants when compared to the Canadian born population.

Table 5-8: Selected Predictors of Perceived Discrimination, Montreal, 2003

	Exp b. (Odds ratio)	Coefficients (B)	P-value
Male (ref.)	1	-	-
Female	0.94	-0.06	0.50
Non-immigrant (ref.)	1	-	-
Immigrant	0.74	-0.30	0.01
White (ref.)	1	-	-
Visible minority	3.06	1.12	0.00
Higher household income (ref.)	1	-	-
Low household income	1.03	0.03	0.82
No post-secondary edu. (ref)	1	-	-
Post-secondary edu.	1.98	0.68	0.00
Canadian edu (ref.)	1	-	-
Foreign edu.	1.49	0.40	0.02
Bilingual (language ref.)	1	-	-
English only	1.35	0.30	0.22
French only	0.55	-0.60	0.01
Non-official language	0.79	-0.23	0.35

Source: 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey
N = 4169

If we look at perceived discomfort within the city of Vancouver, according to Table 5-9 we see that gender, as well as the low income household and linguistic

variables did not significantly predict perceptions of discomfort. In regards to the remaining significant variables within the model, we note that all of them increased perceived discomfort when compared to their respective reference variables. Beginning with immigrant status, when compared to non-immigrants we find that being an immigrant increased the odds of perceiving discomfort by some 53%. We note similar results when looking at the effect of visible minority status as visible minority respondents were 56% more likely to report perceptions of discomfort when compared to individuals who identified themselves as White.

Finally, in looking at the education variables, we note that when compared to those respondents with a high school diploma or less we note that having a post-secondary education increased perceptions of discomfort by an odds ratio of more than two to one, while achieving a foreign education increased the odds of perceiving discomfort by nearly 56% when compared to a Canadian education.

Table 5-9: Selected Predictors of Perceived Discomfort, Vancouver, 2003

	Exp b (Odds ratio)	Coefficients (B)	P-value
Male (ref.)	1	-	-
Female	1.10	0.09	0.36
Non-immigrant (ref.)	1	-	-
Immigrant	1.53	0.43	0.00
White (ref.)	1	-	-
Visible minority	1.56	0.45	0.00
Higher income household (ref.)	1	-	-
Low household income	1.23	0.21	0.08
No post-secondary edu. (ref)	1	-	-
Post-secondary edu.	2.01	0.70	0.00
Canadian edu (ref.)	1	-	-
Foreign edu.	1.56	0.45	0.01
Bilingual (language ref.)	1	-	-
English only	0.75	-0.29	0.79
French only	0.15	-1.89	0.20
Non-official language	0.94	-0.06	0.95

Source: 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey
N = 3654

Turning to perceived discrimination in Vancouver, we note that for the first time thus far, immigrant status did not significantly predict perceptions of discrimination within the model. Moreover, we find that the 'foreign education' as well as the linguistic variables did not significantly predict perceptions of discrimination. With respect to the significant predictors within the model, we begin by noting the effect of visible minority status. Indeed, in looking at this variable we see that when a respondent indicated that they were a visible minority as opposed to White, the odds that they would perceive discrimination increased by a ratio of nearly four to one. We believe that these results further support the figures discussed in the previous chapter, notably the reality that within the crosstabs, nearly one in five visible minority respondents reported that they perceived discrimination regardless of their immigrant status.

In regards to the remaining variables that increased perceptions of discrimination we see that living in a low income household increased the odds of perceiving discrimination by 31%, while having a post-secondary education increased the likelihood of such perceptions by 63%. Finally, we see that being a women reduced the likelihood of reporting such perceptions by nearly 15%.

Table 5-10: Selected Predictors of Perceived Discrimination, Vancouver, 2003

	Exp b. (Odds ratio)	Coefficients (B)	P-value
Male (ref.)	1	-	-
Female	0.85	-0.16	0.05
Non-immigrant (ref.)	1	-	-
Immigrant	0.84	-0.18	0.11
White (ref.)	1	-	-
Visible minority	3.93	1.37	0.00
Higher income household (ref.)	1	-	-
Low household income	1.31	0.27	0.01
No post-secondary edu. (ref)	1	-	-
Post-secondary edu.	1.63	0.49	0.00
Canadian edu (ref.)	1	-	-
Foreign edu.	1.12	0.12	0.45
Bilingual (language ref.)	1	-	-
English only	0.66	-0.42	0.62
French only	0.82	-0.20	0.83
Non-official language	0.61	-0.50	0.56

Source: 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey
N = 3654

Shifting to the results obtained for the other CMA's, we note both similarities and differences when they are compared to the previous figures discussed so far. Beginning with perceived discomfort, according to Table 5-11 we see that with the exception of the 'female gender' and 'French only variables, all of the predictors within the model significantly impact perceptions of discomfort. Looking at those variables related to immigrant and visible minority status, we see that immigrants faced a 57% greater likelihood of reporting such perceptions when compared to non-immigrants, while the odds of perceiving discomfort were nearly three to one for visible minority respondents when compared to those individuals who were White. Focusing on the education variables, when compared to those respondents with high school diploma or less, we see that having a post-secondary education significantly increased the odds of perceiving discomfort by a ratio of nearly two to one. Moreover, having a foreign education versus a Canadian education increased the odds of perceived discomfort by nearly 60%. Finally,

with respect to the two variables that decreased perceived discomfort, we see that speaking English, or speaking a non-official language only, (versus being bilingual) reduced the odds of perceiving discomfort by approximately 50%.

Table 5-11: Selected Predictors of Perceived Discomfort, Other CMA's, 2003

	Exp b (Odds ratio)	Coefficients (B)	P-value
Male (ref.)	1	-	-
Female	1.05	0.05	0.49
Non-immigrant (ref.)	1	-	-
Immigrant	1.57	0.45	0.00
White (ref.)	1	-	-
Visible minority	2.77	1.02	0.00
Higher income household (ref.)	1	-	-
Low household income	1.55	0.44	0.00
No post-secondary edu. (ref)	1	-	-
Post-secondary edu.	1.92	0.65	0.00
Canadian edu (ref.)	1	-	-
Foreign edu.	1.58	0.46	0.00
Bilingual (language ref.)	1	-	-
English only	0.49	-0.71	0.02
French only	0.57	-0.57	0.09
Non-official language	0.51	-0.68	0.04

Source: 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey
N = 13122

Focusing on perceived discrimination in the other CMA's, we first note that the immigrant and foreign education variables did not significantly predict perceptions of discrimination. With respect to the significant variables within the model, we see that visible minority status greatly increased reported perceptions of discrimination. Indeed when compared to White respondents we find that visible minorities were more than five times as likely to express perceptions of discrimination in 2003.

Looking at the other variables that increased perceived discrimination, we see that respondents with a post-secondary education had 43% greater odds of perceiving discrimination when compared to those with high school diploma or less, while those

living in low income households faced a 13% greater likelihood of expressing perceptions of discrimination. Finally, we note that all of the remaining variables decreased perceived discrimination. Indeed we see that being a female (versus being a male) decreased perceived discrimination by more than 25%, while each of the linguistic variables reduced the odds of such perceptions by at least 50% when compared to the bilingual reference variable.

Table 5-12: Selected Predictors of Perceived Discrimination, Other CMA's, 2003

	Exp b. (Odds ratio)	Coefficients (B)	P-value
Male (ref.)	1	-	-
Female	0.73	-0.31	0.00
Non-immigrant (ref.)	1	-	-
Immigrant	0.94	-0.06	0.46
White (ref.)	1	-	-
Visible minority	5.34	1.67	0.00
Higher income household (ref.)	1	-	-
Low household income	1.13	0.12	0.06
No post-secondary edu. (ref)	1	-	-
Post-secondary edu.	1.43	0.36	0.00
Canadian edu (ref.)	1	-	-
Foreign edu.	1.22	0.20	0.08
Bilingual (language ref.)	1	-	-
English only	0.42	-0.88	0.00
French only	0.34	-1.09	0.00
Non-official language	0.37	-0.99	0.00

Source: 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey
N = 13122

Moving on to the 'non-CMA's, we begin by looking at perceived discomfort. According to Table 5-13 we see that the 'female gender', 'low income household, and linguistic variables all failed to be significant. Looking at the immigrant and visible minority variables we note that being an immigrant increased the likelihood that a respondent might perceive discomfort by 56% when compared to non-immigrant respondents. Moreover, we find that visible minority respondents had a much greater likelihood of reporting perceived discomfort as the odds they might express such

perceptions were more than three to one when compared to individuals who identified themselves as being White.

With respect to the education variables, we see that a post-secondary education increased the odds that a respondent might perceive discomfort by nearly 70% when compared to those had a high school diploma or less. For those with a foreign education, there was roughly a 50% greater likelihood of reporting perceived discomfort when compared to those respondents who had received their education in Canada.

Table 5-13: Selected Predictors of Perceived Discomfort, Non-CMA's, 2003

	Exp b. (Odds ratio)	Coefficients (B)	P-value
Male (ref.)	1	-	-
Female	1.02	0.02	0.78
Non-immigrant (ref.)	1	-	-
Immigrant	1.56	0.44	0.00
White (ref.)	1	-	-
Visible minority	3.50	1.25	0.00
Higher income household (ref.)	1	-	-
Low household income	1.11	0.10	0.29
No post-secondary edu. (ref)	1	-	-
Post-secondary edu.	1.69	0.53	0.01
Canadian edu (ref.)	1	-	-
Foreign edu.	1.49	0.40	0.05
Bilingual (language ref.)	1	-	-
English only	0.81	-0.21	0.65
French only	1.29	0.25	0.59
Non-official language	0.81	-0.21	0.66

Source: 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey
N = 12251

Looking at the perceived discrimination model for non-CMA's, we see that the vast majority of variables did not significantly predict perceptions of discrimination. Indeed, we note that only two variables were shown to significantly impact perceived discrimination; 'speaking French only", and female gender. Beginning the French variable, we see that Francophone who did not speak English were approximately 65% less likely to report perceptions of discrimination when compared to those respondents

who were bilingual, while women were nearly 30% less likely to express such perceptions when compared to male respondents. Regarding the effect of the 'French only' variable, we suggest that those who speak only French are perhaps less likely to express perceptions of discrimination as they may very well live in concentrated Francophone communities in which an inability to speak English has very little impact with respect to perceiving or experiencing discrimination.

Table 5-14: Selected Predictors of Perceived Discrimination, Non-CMA's, 2003

	Exp b (Odds ratio)	Coefficients (B)	P-value
Male (ref.)	1	-	-
Female	0.72	-0.33	0.00
Non-immigrant (ref.)	1	-	-
Immigrant	0.96	-0.04	0.69
White (ref.)	1	-	-
Visible minority	4.71	1.55	0.00
Higher income household (ref.)	1	-	-
Low household income	0.96	-0.04	0.60
No post-secondary edu. (ref)	1	-	-
Post-secondary edu.	1.36	0.31	0.09
Canadian edu (ref.)	1	-	-
Foreign edu.	0.93	-0.07	0.69
Bilingual (language ref.)	1	-	-
English only	0.58	-0.55	0.09
French only	0.35	-1.04	0.00
Non-official language	0.66	-0.42	0.21

Source: 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey
N = 12251

So far this chapter has focussed exclusively on results dealing with perceived discomfort and discrimination by census metropolitan area. At this point we will elaborate upon some additional logistic regression models that focussed on two of the social integration indicators that were discussed in the previous chapter: sense of belonging and level of trust. It should be noted that the models below were intended to

show those factors that increased a breakdown in belonging and trust, accordingly each model dealt with predictors focusing on of lack of trust or lack of belonging.

Beginning with lack of belonging in Canada, according to Table 5-15 we see that three of the variables within the model did not significantly predict lack of belonging. In particular, these were the 'low income household variables, as well as the two variables dealing with education. With respect to those variables that did significantly predict belonging, we see that relative to their respective reference variables the 'Female', 'Immigrant', 'English only' and non-official language' variables predicted a significant decrease in lack of belonging. In particular we note that being an immigrant (versus a non-immigrant) increased the odds of expressing a strengthened sense of belonging by more than 26%, while speaking a non-official language only (versus being bilingual) increased such odds by nearly 50%. We suggest that this result may be attributed to the reality that in many cases immigrants actively seek out Canada as their new home and are perhaps more likely to be happy living within Canadian society when compared non-immigrants. In regards to the remaining variable within the model, we see that being a visible minority increased the odds of expressing a lack of belonging by 42% while speaking only French raised such odds by a ratio of more than three to one. With respect to the latter, we suggest that Francophones might express less belonging to Canada based on the reality that overall the country is predominantly Anglophone.

Table 5-15: Selected Predictors of Lack of Belonging, Canada, 2003

	Exp b (Odds ratio)	Coefficients (B)	P-value
Male (ref.)	1	-	-
Female	0.74	-0.30	0.00
Non-immigrant (ref.)	1	-	-
Immigrant	0.74	-0.30	0.00
White (ref.)	1	-	-
Visible minority	1.42	0.35	0.00
Higher income household (ref.)	1	-	-
Low household income	1.05	0.05	0.39
No post-secondary edu. (ref)	1	-	-
Post-secondary edu.	0.88	-0.12	0.26
Canadian edu (ref.)	1	-	-
Foreign edu.	1.03	0.03	0.82
Bilingual (language ref.)	1	-	-
English only	0.61	-0.49	0.02
French only	2.71	1.00	0.00
Non-official language	0.55	-0.61	0.01

Source: 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey
N = 41695

Turning to lack of trust, we note that all of the variables within the model had a significant effect. Beginning with those variables that predicted an increase in lack of trust, we see that living in low income households as well as being a visible minority increased the odds of reporting a lack of trust by nearly 40% when compared to their respective reference variables. We maintain that the 'visible minority' result is not surprising since the crosstabulations discussed in Chapter 4 also indicated that visible minority respondents tend to be less trusting of others. We suggest that this could be further linked to the reality that they are far more likely to perceive discrimination and discomfort based on their race, ethnicity, language or religion. Finally in looking at the remaining variable we see that women faced 13% greater odds of expressing a lack of trust in others when compared to men, while those who spoke French were 58% more likely of reporting a lack of trust when compared to bilingual respondents. We suggest

that once again, this may be a reflection of the reality that the Canadian population is mostly Anglophone.

With respect to those variables that significantly reduced lack of trust in others, we see that the 'English only' and 'Non-official language' variables decreased the odds of expressing a lack of trust by 41% and 29% relative to their respective reference variables, while immigrants were 17% less likely to report a lack of trust when compared to non-immigrants. Finally, we see that post-secondary education decreased the likelihood of expressing a lack of trust by some 19%. In regards to the effect of the immigrant variable, we suggest that this result is not surprising given that it adds further support to that which was discussed in the previous chapter.

Table 5-16: Selected Predictors of Lack of Trust, Canada, 2003

	Exp b. (Odds ratio)	Coefficients (B)	P-value
Male (ref.)	1	-	-
Female	1.13	0.12	0.00
Non-immigrant (ref.)	1	-	-
Immigrant	0.83	-0.19	0.00
White (ref.)	1	-	-
Visible minority	1.39	0.33	0.00
Higher income household (ref.)	1	-	-
Low household income	1.39	0.33	0.00
No post-secondary edu. (ref)	1	-	-
Post-secondary edu.	0.81	-0.22	0.00
Canadian edu (ref.)	1	-	-
Foreign edu.	1.23	0.21	0.00
Bilingual (language ref.)	1	-	-
English only	0.59	-0.53	0.00
French only	1.58	0.46	0.00
Non-official language	0.71	-0.34	0.00

Source: 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey
N = 41695

Focusing on the lack of belonging model for the first-tier cities combined, we note that the education variables as well as the 'English only' variable were not significant. Looking at the remaining variables within the model, we see that being a woman, an

immigrant as well as speaking a non-official language only all predicted strengthened belonging. With respect to the latter, we find that those who spoke a non-official language had 49% greater odds of reporting a heightened sense of belonging when compared to bilingual respondents. We believe that these figure makes sense since other research has suggested that immigrants tend to express a greater sense of belonging, and many respondents who speak a non-official language only are most certainly immigrants. Looking at the remaining variables within the model, we see that those who spoke only French (relative to those who were bilingual) faced nearly three to one odds of reporting a lack of belonging, while those who identified themselves as visible minorities had a 42% greater likelihood of expressing a lack of belonging when compared to white respondents. Finally, we find that those respondents who lived in a low income household were roughly 20% more likely to report a lack of belonging relative to those living in higher income households.

Table 5-17: Selected Predictors of Lack of Belonging, First-tier cities, 2003

	Exp b (Odds ratio)	Coefficients (B)	P-value
Male (ref.)	1	-	-
Female	0.80	-0.23	0.00
Non-immigrant (ref.)	1	-	-
Immigrant	0.68	-0.39	0.00
White (ref.)	1	-	-
Visible minority	1.42	0.35	0.00
Higher income household (ref.)	1	-	-
Low household income	1.18	0.16	0.03
No post-secondary edu. (ref)	1	-	-
Post-secondary edu.	0.88	-0.13	0.36
Canadian edu (ref.)	1	-	-
Foreign edu.	0.97	-0.03	0.82
Bilingual (language ref.)	1	-	-
English only	0.59	-0.53	0.06
French only	2.65	0.97	0.00
Non-official language	0.51	-0.67	0.02

Source: 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey
N = 16322

With respect to lack of trust within the First-tier cities combined, we see that with the exception of the 'non-official language variable, all of the predictors within the model had a significant effect (c.f. Table 5-18). Looking at those variables that increased lack of trust, we find that living a low income household raised the odds of expressing a lack of trust by some 41% relative to those who lived in a higher income household, while speaking only French increased the likelihood of such odds by some 45%. Moreover we note that being a woman, a visible minority, or a respondent with a foreign education increased the likelihood of reporting a lack of trust by 16% to 21% relative to the respective reference variables. Focusing on those variables that decreased lack of trust, we note that being an immigrant reduced the odds of expressing a lack of trust by over 20%, while having a post-secondary education lead to a reduction of some 16%. Finally, we see that the 'English only' variable increased the odds that a respondent might express greater trust in others by nearly 40% relative to the 'bilingual' reference variable.

Table 5-18: Selected Predictors of Lack of Trust, First-tier cities, 2003

	Exp b (Odds ratio)	Coefficients (B)	P-value
Male (ref.)	1	-	-
Female	1.16	0.15	0.00
Non-immigrant (ref.)	1	-	-
Immigrant	0.79	-0.23	0.00
White (ref.)	1	-	-
Visible minority	1.35	0.30	0.00
Higher income household (ref.)	1	-	-
Low household income	1.41	0.34	0.00
No post-secondary edu. (ref)	1	-	-
Post-secondary edu.	0.84	-0.17	0.00
Canadian edu (ref.)	1	-	-
Foreign edu.	1.21	0.19	0.00
Bilingual (language ref.)	1	-	-
English only	0.64	-0.45	0.01
French only	1.45	0.37	0.02
Non-official language	0.75	-0.29	0.07

Source: 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey
N = 16322

Thus far we have focused on lack of belonging and lack of trust within Canada and the First-tier cities, at this point we will look at the individual models run for each of these cities individually as well as those that were conducted for the 'Other CMA's' and the 'Non-CMA's'.

Beginning with lack of belonging in Toronto, according to Table 5-19 we see that more than half of the variables within the model did not significantly predict lack of belonging. Indeed, we find that only the 'female', 'immigrant' and 'visible minority' variables were significant. With respect to these significant variables, we see that visible minority respondents had a 79% greater likelihood of expressing a lack of belonging relative to White respondents, while 'female' and immigrant respondents both faced reduced odds of expressing a lack of belonging relative to their respective reference variables.

Table 5-19: Selected Predictors of Lack of Belonging, Toronto, 2003

	Exp b. (Odds ratio)	Coefficients (B)	P-value
Male (ref.)	1	-	-
Female	0.74	-0.30	0.00
Non-immigrant (ref.)	1	-	-
Immigrant	0.63	-0.46	0.00
White (ref.)	1	-	-
Visible minority	1.79	0.58	0.00
Higher income household (ref.)	1	-	-
Low household income	1.06	0.06	0.65
No post-secondary edu. (ref)	1	-	-
Post-secondary edu.	0.75	-0.28	0.16
Canadian edu (ref.)	1	-	-
Foreign edu.	1.12	0.12	0.60
Bilingual (language ref.)	1	-	-
English only	0.90	-0.11	0.89
French only	0.66	-0.42	0.64
Non-official language	0.74	-0.29	0.69

Source: 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey
N = 8499

Turning to lack of trust within the city of Toronto, we begin by noting that unlike the models run for the First-tier cities and Canada, there were a greater number of variables that did significantly predicted lack of trust. Indeed, as presented in Table 5-20, the linguistic and 'Post-secondary education' variables were shown to be statistically insignificant. With respect to the remaining variables within the model, we see that 'female gender', 'visible minority status', 'low household income', and 'foreign education' all increased lack of trust relative to their respective reference variables. In particular, we find that visible minority respondents faced 48% higher odds of expressing a lack of trust when compared to White respondents, while those living within a low income household had a 41% greater likelihood of reporting a lack of trust in others relative to those living within higher income households.

In looking at the one variables that strengthened trust in others, we see that immigrants were 15% more likely to trust others relative to non-immigrants. We suggest that the reason for this may be attributed to the possibility that immigrants might very well seek out and live with individuals who are culturally and ethnically similar; people they are perhaps more likely to trust.

Table 5-20: Selected Predictors of Lack of Trust, Toronto, 2003

	Exp b (Odds ratio)	Coefficients (B)	P-value
Male (ref.)	1	-	-
Female	1.21	0.19	0.00
Non-immigrant (ref.)	1	-	-
Immigrant	0.85	-0.16	0.00
White (ref.)	1	-	-
Visible minority	1.48	0.39	0.00
Higher income household (ref.)	1	-	-
Low household income	1.40	0.34	0.00
No post-secondary edu. (ref)	1	-	-
Post-secondary edu.	0.88	-0.13	0.09
Canadian edu (ref.)	1	-	-
Foreign edu.	1.23	0.21	0.01
Bilingual (language ref.)	1	-	-
English only	1.09	0.09	0.80
French only	0.98	-0.02	0.95
Non-official language	1.16	0.15	0.66

Source: 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey
N = 8499

Focusing on the city of Montreal, in comparing the model presented in Table 5-21 with those run for Toronto, the First-tier cities, and Canada; we see some notable differences. Beginning with lack of belonging, we find that nearly all of the variables within the model were not statistically significant. Indeed, even if we extend our significance level to a p-value of 0.10, only half of the variables within the model would be significant.

In looking at the three variables that were significant, we see that the 'immigrant' and 'English only' variables predicted decreases in lack of belonging relative to their respective reference variables, while the 'French only' variable predicted increased odds of expressing a lack of belonging. In particular, we see that those who spoke only English had a 62% higher likelihood of expressing a heightened sense of belonging, while immigrant respondents also had 37% greater odds of expressing a strengthened sense of belonging relative to the Canadian born population. With respect to the 'French only'

variable, we find that with an odds ratio of 2.36, Francophones who did not speak English were more than twice as likely to express a lack of belonging to Canada.

Table 5-21: Selected Predictors of Lack of Belonging, Montreal, 2003

	Exp b, (Odds ratio)	Coefficients (B)	P-value
Male (ref.)	1	-	-
Female	**0.84**	**-0.17**	**0.07**
Non-immigrant (ref.)	1	-	-
Immigrant	**0.63**	**-0.46**	**0.01**
White (ref.)	1	-	-
Visible minority	**1.29**	**0.26**	**0.07**
Higher income household (ref.)	1	-	-
Low household income	**1.01**	**0.01**	**0.96**
No post-secondary edu. (ref)	1	-	-
Post-secondary edu.	**0.83**	**-0.19**	**0.52**
Canadian edu (ref.)	1	-	-
Foreign edu.	**0.70**	**-0.36**	**0.22**
Bilingual (language ref.)	1	-	-
English only	**0.38**	**-0.97**	**0.01**
French only	2.36	0.86	0.00
Non-official language	**0.63**	**-0.46**	**0.17**

Source: 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey
N = 4169

Turning to lack of trust in Montreal, in looking at Table 5-22 we begin by noting that three of the variables within the model were not significant. With respect to the variables that were significant, we see that immigrant status, post-secondary education, and speaking 'English only' decreased the odds of expressing a lack of trust by roughly 30% relative to their respective reference variables. In regards to the remaining variables within the model, we find that living in a low income household lead to a 62% increase in lack of trust when compared to those who lived in higher income households, while being a female (relative to being a male) increased lack of trust by nearly 20%.

Table 5-22: Selected Predictors of Lack of Trust, Montreal, 2003

	Exp b. (Odds ratio)	Coefficients (B)	P-value
Male (ref.)	1	-	-
Female	**1.18**	**0.17**	**0.01**
Non-immigrant (ref.)	1	-	-
Immigrant	**0.65**	**-0.43**	**0.00**
White (ref.)	1	-	-
Visible minority	**1.29**	**0.26**	**0.00**
Higher income household (ref.)	1	-	-
Low household income	**1.62**	**0.48**	**0.00**
No post-secondary edu. (ref)	1	-	-
Post-secondary edu.	**0.71**	**-0.34**	**0.01**
Canadian edu (ref.)	1	-	-
Foreign edu.	**1.10**	**0.09**	**0.52**
Bilingual (language ref.)	1	-	-
English only	**0.64**	**-0.45**	**0.03**
French only	**1.22**	**0.20**	**0.31**
Non-official language	**0.91**	**-0.10**	**0.63**

Source: 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey
N = 4169

Focusing on the results obtained for the city of Vancouver, we begin by noting that none of the variables within the 'lack of belonging' model were significant (c.f. Table 5-23). Indeed, even if we were to extend our significance level to a p-value of 0.10, only one of the variable would significantly predict lack of belonging: 'Foreign education'.

Table 5-23: Selected Predictors of Lack of Belonging, Vancouver, 2003

	Exp b. (Odds ratio)	Coefficients (B)	P-value
Male (ref.)	1	-	-
Female	**0.89**	**-0.12**	**0.43**
Non-immigrant (ref.)	1	-	-
Immigrant	**1.04**	**0.04**	**0.85**
White (ref.)	1	-	-
Visible minority	**1.15**	**0.14**	**0.45**
Higher income household (ref.)	1	-	-
Low household income	**1.26**	**0.23**	**0.19**
No post-secondary edu. (ref)	1	-	-
Post-secondary edu.	**1.19**	**0.18**	**0.50**
Canadian edu (ref.)	1	-	-
Foreign edu.	**1.62**	**0.48**	**0.10**
Bilingual (language ref.)	1	-	-
English only	**31.18**	**3.44**	**0.66**
French only	**20.60**	**3.03**	**0.70**
Non-official language	**16.53**	**2.81**	**0.72**

Source: 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey
N = 3654

Turning to the 'lack of trust' model, we see that more than half of the variables within the model were not statistically significant. In regards to those predictors that were significant, beginning with the variables related to immigrant and visible minority status, we see that being an immigrant strengthened the odds of trusting others by nearly 20% relative to non-immigrants, while visible minority status lead to an increased lack of trust in others, as visible minorities faced a 34% greater likelihood of expressing a lack of trust when compared to White respondents. With respect to the two remaining variables within the model, we find that the 'low income household' and 'foreign education' predictors both increased the odds of reporting lack of trust relative to their respective reference variables.

Table 5-24: Selected Predictors of Lack of Trust, Vancouver, 2003

	Exp b. (Odds ratio)	Coefficients (B)	P-value
Male (ref.)	1	-	-
Female	**1.06**	**0.06**	**0.41**
Non-immigrant (ref.)	1	-	-
Immigrant	**0.81**	**-0.21**	**0.02**
White (ref.)	1	-	-
Visible minority	**1.34**	**0.29**	**0.00**
Higher income household (ref.)	1	-	-
Low household income	**1.27**	**0.24**	**0.00**
No post-secondary edu. (ref)	1	-	-
Post-secondary edu.	**0.93**	**-0.08**	**0.53**
Canadian edu (ref.)	1	-	-
Foreign edu.	**1.31**	**0.27**	**0.04**
Bilingual (language ref.)	1	-	-
English only	**2.13**	**0.76**	**0.36**
French only	**2.28**	**0.82**	**0.35**
Non-official language	**2.34**	**0.85**	**0.30**

Source: 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey
N = 3654

At this point we turn to the 'lack of belonging' and 'lack of trust' models run for the Other CMA's. Beginning with 'lack of belonging', as shown in Table 5-25 we see that the vast majority of variables within the model were not significant. Indeed, even if we extended our p-value to 0.10, only two more variables would emerge as significant. With respect to the one remaining variable, we find that being a female significantly reduced the odds of reporting a lack of belonging. More specifically, we note that women were nearly 40% less likely to express a lack of belonging when compared to men.

Table 5-25: Selected Predictors of Lack of Belonging, Other CMA's, 2003

	Exp b (Odds ratio)	Coefficients (B)	P-value
Male (ref.)	1	-	-
Female	**0.64**	**-0.45**	**0.00**
Non-immigrant (ref.)	1	-	-
Immigrant	**0.83**	**-0.19**	**0.16**
White (ref.)	1	-	-
Visible minority	**1.14**	**0.13**	**0.29**
Higher income household (ref.)	1	-	-
Low household income	**1.15**	**0.14**	**0.15**
No post-secondary edu. (ref)	1	-	-
Post-secondary edu.	**0.71**	**-0.34**	**0.13**
Canadian edu (ref.)	1	-	-
Foreign edu.	**0.86**	**-0.15**	**0.51**
Bilingual (language ref.)	1	-	-
English only	**0.56**	**-0.58**	**0.15**
French only	**2.11**	**0.74**	**0.06**
Non-official language	**0.50**	**-0.69**	**0.10**

Source: 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey
N = 13122

Focusing on lack of trust within the Other CMA's, we find that only two of the variables within the model were not statistically significant: 'non-official language' and 'French only'. Looking at those variables related to immigrant and visible minority status, we see that immigrants (relative to non-immigrants) had a greater likelihood of trusting others, while visible minority respondents faced 17% greater odds of expressing a lack of trust relative to those individuals who were White. With respect to the remaining variables within the model, we note that the 'female' and 'low household income' variables both predicted increased odds of expressing a lack of trust while the post-secondary education and 'English only' variables predicted strengthened trust in others relative to their respective reference variables.

Table 5-26: Selected Predictors of Lack of Trust, Other CMA's, 2003

	Exp b. (Odds ratio)	Coefficients (B)	P-value
Male (ref.)	1	-	-
Female	**1.13**	**0.13**	**0.00**
Non-immigrant (ref.)	1	-	-
Immigrant	**0.78**	**-0.25**	**0.00**
White (ref.)	1	-	-
Visible minority	**1.17**	**0.16**	**0.00**
Higher income household (ref.)	1	-	-
Low household income	**1.35**	**0.30**	**0.00**
No post-secondary edu. (ref)	1	-	-
Post-secondary edu.	**0.78**	**-0.25**	**0.00**
Canadian edu (ref.)	1	-	-
Foreign edu.	**1.21**	**0.19**	**0.03**
Bilingual (language ref.)	1	-	-
English only	**0.54**	**-0.61**	**0.00**
French only	**1.29**	**0.26**	**0.24**
Non-official language	**0.73**	**-0.31**	**0.15**

Source: 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey
N = 13122

If we turn to the models run for the Non-CMA's, beginning with 'lack of belonging', we note that the majority of the variables within the model were not statistically significant (c.f. Table 5-27). Indeed, we see that only the 'female', 'immigrant', and 'French only' variables significantly predicted 'lack of belonging'. With respect to the effect of these variables, we find that the 'female' and 'immigrant' variables strengthened belonging relative to their respective reference variables, while the 'French only' variable predicted increased lack of belonging to Canada. In particular, with regard to the latter variable we note that those respondents who only spoke French faced were nearly five times more likely to express a lack of belonging relative to those respondents who were bilingual.

Table 5-27: Selected Predictors of Lack of Belonging, Non-CMA's, 2003

	Exp b. (Odds ratio)	Coefficients (B)	P-value
Male (ref.)	1	-	-
Female	**0.77**	**-0.26**	**0.00**
Non-immigrant (ref.)	1	-	-
Immigrant	**0.69**	**-0.38**	**0.03**
White (ref.)	1	-	-
Visible minority	**1.22**	**0.20**	**0.35**
Higher income household (ref.)	1	-	-
Low household income	**1.01**	**0.01**	**0.95**
No post-secondary edu. (ref)	1	-	-
Post-secondary edu.	**1.30**	**0.26**	**0.32**
Canadian edu (ref.)	1	-	-
Foreign edu.	**1.62**	**0.48**	**0.08**
Bilingual (language ref.)	1	-	-
English only	**1.08**	**0.08**	**0.90**
French only	**4.87**	**1.58**	**0.01**
Non-official language	**0.96**	**-0.04**	**0.94**

Source: 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey
N = 12251

Focusing on 'lack of trust' within the Non-CMA's, as shown in Table 5-28 we find that five of the variables within the model were statistically significant. With respect to these significant variables, we see that the 'immigrant' and 'post-secondary education' variables strengthened trust in others, while the 'female', 'visible minority' and 'low household income' variables all increased lack of trust. In particular, we find that being an immigrant (relative to a non-immigrant) increased the odds of trusting others by about 13%, while those who had a post-secondary education were 29% less likely to express a lack of trust in others. Regarding those variables that increased lack of trust in others, we find that visible minority respondents (relative White respondents) faced 27% greater odds of expressing a lack of trust, while those living in a low income household (relative to those living in a higher income household) had 43% greater odds of expressing a lack of trust. Finally, we see that female respondents were approximately 10% more likely to express a lack of trust on others.

Table 5-28: Selected Predictors of Lack of Trust, Non-CMA's, 2003

	Exp b (Odds ratio)	Coefficients (B)	P-value
Male (ref.)	1	-	-
Female	**1.09**	**0.09**	**0.02**
Non-immigrant (ref.)	1	-	-
Immigrant	**0.87**	**-0.14**	**0.04**
White (ref.)	1	-	-
Visible minority	**1.27**	**0.24**	**0.01**
Higher income household (ref.)	1	-	-
Low household income	**1.43**	**0.36**	**0.00**
No post-secondary edu. (ref)	1	-	-
Post-secondary edu.	**0.71**	**-0.35**	**0.01**
Canadian edu (ref.)	1	-	-
Foreign edu.	**1.18**	**0.16**	**0.20**
Bilingual (language ref.)	1	-	-
English only	**0.68**	**-0.39**	**0.10**
French only	**2.22**	**0.80**	**0.00**
Non-official language	**0.69**	**-0.38**	**0.12**

Source: 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey
N = 12251

In considering all of the above models, we note that while we were able to gain a sense for those variables that impacted perceived discomfort and discrimination as well as lack of trust and weakened sense of belonging within CMA's and non-CMA's, we have yet to establish how relative CMA status ultimately influences each of the four independent variables. With this in mind, we will conclude the chapter by examining four individual models, each of which includes CMA status among the dependent variables.

If we begin by looking at the effect of CMA status on perceived discomfort, we see that according to table 5-29, relative to living in Toronto, being a resident of Vancouver did not significantly impact perceived discomfort, while living in Montreal, 'Other CMA's' or 'Non-CMA's' significantly reduced the likelihood of expressing perceptions of discomfort. In particular, we note that those living in 'Non-CMA's' were 31% less likely to express such perceptions, while those living in 'Other CMA's' were

approximately 20% less likely to experience perceptions of discomfort relative to Torontians.

In regards to some of the remaining variables within the model, we note that with the exception of speaking 'French only', all of the variables significantly predicted perceived discomfort. Moreover we find that the majority of these variables predicted increased likelihood of perceived discomfort relative to their respective reference variables. Indeed, we find that when compared to White respondents, visible minorities were more than twice as likely to express perceptions of discomfort, while those with a foreign education were roughly 90% more likely to report such perceptions. Looking at the variables that decreased perceptions of discomfort, we see that relative to being bilingual, speaking only English or a non-official language, reduced the likelihood of expressing perceived discomfort by nearly 35%.

Table 5-29: Selected predictors of perceived discomfort including CMA status, Canada, 2003

	Exp b. (Odds ratio)	Coefficients (B)	P-value
Male (ref.)	1	-	-
Female	1.09	0.08	0.01
Non-immigrant (ref.)	1	-	-
Immigrant	1.54	0.43	0.00
White (ref.)	1	-	-
Visible minority	2.31	0.84	0.00
Higher household income (ref.)	1	-	-
Low household income	1.31	0.27	0.00
No post-secondary edu. (ref)	1	-	-
Post-secondary edu.	1.54	0.43	0.00
Canadian edu (ref.)	1	-	-
Foreign edu.	1.86	0.62	0.00
Bilingual (language ref.)	1	-	-
English only	0.66	-0.42	0.02
French only	0.82	-0.20	0.25
Non-official language	0.66	-0.41	0.02
Toronto (ref.)	1	-	-
Vancouver	1.07	0.07	0.30
Montreal	0.87	-0.13	0.03
Other CMA's	0.77	-0.27	0.00
Non CMA's	0.69	-0.38	0.00

Source: 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey
N = 12251

Turning to perceived discrimination, as shown in table 5-30 we see that all of the CMA variables within the model were significant. In looking at the effect of these variables, we find that Vancouverites faced 15% greater odds of reporting perceptions of discrimination relative to those living in Toronto, while those individuals living in Montreal, the 'Other CMA's', and the 'Non-CMA's' were less likely to report such perceptions. In particular, when compared to those individuals living in Toronto, we find that respondents living in 'Non-CMA's were nearly 30% less likely to perceive discrimination, while those living Montreal and the 'Other CMA's were approximately 10% to 15% less likely to express such perceptions.

Looking at the remaining variables within the model, we note that with the exception of 'post-secondary education', all of them significantly predicted perceived discrimination. More specifically, we find that relative to their respective reference variables, being a visible minority, having a low income, and having a foreign education increased perceptions of discrimination, while each of the language variables reduced such perceptions relative to being bilingual. Moreover, in the case of visible minority respondents, we note that they faced nearly five times greater odds of expressing perceived discrimination.

Table 5-30: Selected predictors of perceived discrimination including CMA status, Canada, 2003

	Exp b. (Odds ratio)	Coefficients (B)	P-value
Male (ref.)	1	-	-
Female	0.80	-0.23	0.00
Non-immigrant (ref.)	1	-	-
Immigrant	0.87	-0.14	0.00
White (ref.)	1	-	-
Visible minority	4.56	1.52	0.00
Higher household income (ref.)	1	-	-
Low household income	1.09	0.09	0.03
No post-secondary edu. (ref)	1	-	-
Post-secondary edu.	1.11	0.11	0.07
Canadian edu (ref.)	1	-	-
Foreign edu.	1.47	0.39	0.00
Bilingual (language ref.)	1	-	-
English only	0.68	-0.38	0.01
French only	0.45	-0.80	0.00
Non-official language	0.60	-0.50	0.00
Toronto (ref.)	1	-	-
Vancouver	1.15	0.14	0.02
Montreal	0.89	-0.12	0.02
Other CMA's	0.85	-0.16	0.00
Non CMA's	0.71	-0.34	0.00

Source: 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey
N = 12251

Focussing on lack of belonging, we find that only the Vancouver CMA variable had a significant effect when compared to the Toronto reference variable (c.f. Table 5-

31). In particular, we see that once again those individuals living in Vancouver were 27% more likely to express a lack of belonging to Canada relative to those living in Toronto.

In regards to the remaining variables within the model, we see that the 'low income household', 'post-secondary education', 'foreign education', and 'English only' variables did not significantly impact lack of belonging. With respect to those variables that were significant, relative to their respective reference variables we see that being a female, an immigrant, as well as speaking a non-official language only, all reduced the odds of expressing a lack of belonging. In contrast, being a visible minority, and speaking French only increased the likelihood of reporting a lack of belonging. Furthermore, we point out that in the case of the latter, Francophones were nearly three times more likely to express a lack of belonging relative to those respondents who were bilingual, we suggest that this is likely due to the reality that most individual who speak French only are from Quebec and the survey question focussed on sense of belonging to Canada.

Table 5-31: Selected predictors of lack of belonging including CMA status, Canada, 2003

	Exp b (Odds ratio)	Coefficients (B)	P-value
Male (ref.)	1	-	-
Female	0.74	-0.30	0.00
Non-immigrant (ref.)	1	-	-
Immigrant	0.73	-0.32	0.00
White (ref.)	1	-	-
Visible minority	1.35	0.30	0.00
Higher household income (ref.)	1	-	-
Low household income	1.06	0.06	0.31
No post-secondary edu. (ref)	1	-	-
Post-secondary edu.	1.03	0.03	0.79
Canadian edu (ref.)	1	-	-
Foreign edu.	0.87	-0.13	0.22
Bilingual (language ref.)	1	-	-
English only	0.68	-0.38	0.07
French only	2.74	1.01	0.00
Non-official language	0.59	-0.52	0.02
Toronto (ref.)	1	-	-
Vancouver	1.27	0.24	0.00
Montreal	1.05	0.05	0.61
Other CMA's	0.89	-0.11	0.09
Non CMA's	0.89	-0.11	0.10

Source: 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey
N = 12251

Turning to lack of trust, as presented in Table 5-32 we find that all of the variables within the model significantly impacted trust. Looking at the CMA variables, we note that relative to the residents of Toronto, those living in Vancouver faced increased odds of expressing a lack of trust in others, while those living in Montreal, the 'Other CMA's', or 'Non-CMA's' were less likely to report such beliefs.

With respect to the remaining variables within the model, we find that relative to their respective reference variables, most increased the odds of expressing a lack of trust in others. In particular, we see that those living in a low income household were 41% more likely to express a lack of trust when compared to respondents living in a higher income household, while relative to those individuals who were bilingual, respondents

who spoke French only faced more that 60% greater odds of reporting that they did not trust others. Finally, focusing on the remaining variables that reduced lack of trust in others, we note speaking only English or a Non-official language, as well as having a post secondary education strengthened the likelihood of trusting others by roughly 35% to 20% when compared to their respective reference variables.

Table 5-32: Selected predictors of lack of trust including CMA status, Canada, 2003

	Exp b. (Odds ratio)	Coefficients (B)	P-value
Male (ref.)	1	-	-
Female	1.13	0.13	0.00
Non-immigrant (ref.)	1	-	-
Immigrant	0.81	-0.22	0.00
White (ref.)	1	-	-
Visible minority	1.34	0.29	0.00
Higher household income (ref.)	1	-	-
Low household income	1.41	0.34	0.00
No post-secondary edu. (ref)	1	-	-
Post-secondary edu.	1.24	0.21	0.00
Canadian edu (ref.)	1	-	-
Foreign edu.	0.80	-0.22	0.00
Bilingual (language ref.)	1	-	-
English only	0.65	-0.44	0.00
French only	1.61	0.48	0.00
Non-official language	0.77	-0.27	0.02
Toronto (ref.)	1	-	-
Vancouver	1.15	0.14	0.00
Montreal	0.81	-0.21	0.00
Other CMA's	0.83	-0.18	0.00
Non CMA's	0.81	-0.21	0.00

Source: 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey
N = 12251

In reviewing the results presented in all of these tables as well those obtained through the crosstabulation analysis, we are able to make some very interesting observations. Beginning with the effect of immigrant status, we note that while it significantly predicted increased perceptions of discomfort within many of the models, relative to Canadian born respondents, immigrants were often found to have significantly

better odds of reporting fewer perceptions of discrimination, as well as a greater trust in others and a stronger sense of belonging to Canada.

With respect to some of the remaining variables within the models, we note that within nearly all of the tables 'post-secondary education' increased perceptions of discomfort and discrimination relative to the 'no post-secondary education' variable. We believe that this is not surprising given the inclusion of the immigrant and visible minority variables within each of the models. Indeed, we maintain that it is quite reasonable to suggest that immigrant and visible minority respondents with higher education might be more inclined to reporting perceptions of discrimination and discomfort based on the reality that their academic credentials are sometimes less likely to be recognized. Similarly, we find that within many of the models, when significant, living in low income household (relative to living in a higher income household) also increased the odds of perceiving discomfort and discrimination, as well as expressing lack of trust and lack of belonging. With respect to the gender variable, we note that when significant, the effect of female gender was quite mixed. Finally, regarding the language variables, we find that the 'non-official language' variable was commonly insignificant while the 'English only' variable, when significant, often predicted a decrease in perceived discrimination and discomfort as well as increased odds of expressing a stronger sense of belonging and a greater trust in others.

In concluding this chapter however, we suggest that there are two important results that standout among all of the other findings: the effect of the visible minority variable, and the impact of CMA status. Beginning with visible minority status, we see that in all of the models dealing with discomfort and discrimination, visible minority status significantly predicted increased perceptions of discomfort and discrimination

relative to the White population. Indeed, we note that within many of the models looking at discrimination, being a visible minority increased the odds of perceiving discrimination by more than five to one when compared to non-visible minority respondents. Moreover, in looking at the models dealing with lack of trust and lack of belonging, we find that in many cases visible minority status significantly predicted a breakdown of trust in others, as well as a lack of belonging, relative to the 'White' population. Within the context of social cohesion, we maintain that this reality is essential given that Canada's population is becoming increasingly diverse with respect to the presence of visible minorities.

In regards to the impact of CMA status, we believe that this is also of the utmost importance when considering issues related to social cohesion. Indeed the results presented in this chapter suggest that living in communities that are more diverse causes an increase in the likelihood of perceiving discrimination and discomfort, as well as expressing a lack of belonging and trust in others. For instance we find that being a resident of Vancouver increased perceived discrimination, discomfort, lack of trust, and lack of belonging relative to Toronto and more importantly, smaller communities. We suggest that at the very least, such results support the need to study issues related to social cohesion and social integration at the level of the community, since for example, the situation in Vancouver is clearly different from that of Montreal.

Overall, in considering these realities, we believe that when combined with the results presented in Chapter 4, there is a need to further discuss the potential ramifications of increased diversity within Canada, and its many communities.

Chapter 6

The Challenge of Diversity: Exploring the Relationship between Immigrant and Visible Minority Perceptions and Experiences and Social Cohesion

In chapters four and five we proceeded with a summary of the results from our statistical analyses. In this final chapter we will continue the discussion that ended the last chapter, focusing on what these results suggest with respect to social cohesion as well as ethnic and visible minority heterogeneity. More specifically we will further discuss the potential effects of such diversity on Canada's three largest cities by comparison to smaller CMA's and non-CMA's. We will then examine the possible implications that these results might have with respect to governmental integration policies.

What stands out when looking at the results from our statistical analyses is that immigrant and visible minority respondents living within Canada's three largest cities seem to encounter greater hardship with respect to their financial situation, their perceptions towards Canadian society (perceived discrimination and feelings of discomfort), as well as their sense of belonging and trust in others. Moreover, when considering our logistic regression results, we suggest that the presence of visible minority, linguistic and ethnic diversity within these larger cities makes it such that a respondent might display an increased tendency towards perceptions of discrimination and discomfort. We maintain that while we were unable to test this contention, it has been supported by many researchers such as Robert D. Putman, as well as Amanda Aizlewood and Ravi Pendakur.

Indeed, as we previously discussed in the literature review chapter, several theorists have argued that living in an ethnically and "racially" diverse community seems to erode many of the components that lead to social cohesion. In short, it has been contended through what is often called 'conflict theory' that living in large ethnically and "racially" heterogeneous communities, such as Vancouver, Montreal, or Toronto, leads to

distrust towards others and an increased desire to seek out individuals with whom we share similarities or, in other cases, alienate ourselves from society altogether.

Indeed, if we consider Robert D. Putnam's arguments alone, we certainly gain a potential understanding for why perceived discrimination and discomfort, as well as lack of trust and sense of belonging were found to be higher in Canada's first-tier urban centres when compared to smaller Canadian cities and communities. Increased ethnic and "racial" diversity seems to push homogeneous communities together, isolating them from others. Over time, diverse communities become divided and difficult places in which to live.

As such we believe that the "conflict theory" of diversity allows us to explain why immigrant and visible minority populations living within Canada's three largest cities tended to encounter greater hardship with respect to their financial status and their perceptions of society. It would seem that increased ethnic and "racial" diversity causes a breakdown in the key elements that serve as the foundation of social cohesion. In acknowledging this reality, we will now consider what some of the policy implications might be, in particular we will argue that current integration policies, and to a lesser extent, Canada's Multiculturalism Act, must be updated to take into account the effects of diversity. These policies must not be universal, but rather flexible and able to accommodate the social realities encountered within different regions across Canada.

As has been established throughout this thesis, Canada is a country undergoing a period of great social and demographic transition. Over the last decades immigrants from around the world have settled in Canadian communities from coast to coast, particularly Canada's three largest cities. Nevertheless the experience of diversity has not been entirely successful. It is therefore essential that we adapt immigration and integration

policies to take into account such research findings as governments at the federal, provincial and municipal levels have already begun implementing policies aimed at encouraging the tide of immigration and diversity into Canada's smaller communities.

Despite research findings, governments throughout the nation seem to have adopted the assumption that Canada is a truly successful multicultural country, a place in which diversity has led us grow as a society. Indeed, "the arrival of immigrants in smaller or mid-sized urban centres is... viewed positively by government departments charged with increasing cultural diversity nationwide, globalizing small communities, developing local markets to rejuvenate regional economies, and easing the pressure on the capitals of immigrant Canada (Krahn, Derwing, and Abu-Laban; 2003: 2)".

As a result, homogeneous communities have recently been encouraged to welcome immigrants, embracing diversity as, "at a policy level, a key concern for Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) involves regionalizing Canada's immigration flows by sending more immigrants to second- and third-tier cities, as well as to less populated provinces"(Krahn, Derwing, and Abu-Laban; 2003: 1). Keeping this in mind, we find that "...in the Prairie region, particularly in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, several communities have indicated that they would like to address their long-standing problem of population decline by bringing in more immigrants" (Krahn, Derwing, and Abu-Laban; 2003: 2).

Other provinces in Canada have also warmed to the idea of receiving immigrants in smaller communities and consequently increasing diversity. In Quebec, "since 1990, the (provincial) government... has made efforts to make immigrants settle outside Montreal (with) the view that the groundwork has been laid for a major increase in settlement of immigrants outside Montreal" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2001:

46). Ironically, in spite of research findings such as our own, Quebec's plan "...is intended not only to share the economic benefits of immigration more widely, but also to maintain social cohesion in the province, i.e. to reduce the cultural differences between ethnically diverse Montreal and the more homogeneous Quebec outside the metropolis" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2001: 47).

Policies aimed at encouraging immigration and diversity have also taken hold in the maritime region for, "as long ago as 1991, it was recognized that the future economic prosperity of New Brunswick would depend heavily on encouraging immigrants to make the province their home..., (but) by the second half of the 1990s between 630 and 750 immigrants, and between 150 and 170 refugees arrived in New Brunswick each year, doing little to redress the falling population" (Clews, 2004: 281). Moreover "in February 1999, the province signed an agreement with Citizenship and Immigration Canada to take more active steps to select and recruit an additional 200 immigrants each year for a five year period" (Clews, 2004: 282).

In citing these examples, it is clear that many governments within Canada have chosen to embrace immigration as well as ethnic and "racial" diversity in spite of the fact that existing research has shown that there are inherent challenges associated with diversity, difficulties that are often hard to overcome and in some cases lead to breakdown of social cohesion. This is why greater time and energy must be devoted to crafting policies that are not universal, but rather adaptive and most importantly, grounded in research. Indeed, as Reitz and Banerjee note, "policies designed to address the special needs of visible minorities and to promote racial equality have been developed without an emphasis on specifics and with perhaps an even smaller consensus on objectives" (Reitz and Banerjee, 2007: 524). Moreover, they maintain that existing

policies are often stretched across different levels of government creating general confusion and overall ineffectiveness. As such, they note that "most policies involve activities for which responsibility is divided among various levels of government, and the responsible parties have taken approaches that are in some respects complementary and in others diverse — even contradictory" (Reitz and Banerjee, 2007: 525).

Reitz and Banerjee also suggest that other problems revolve around the long-term consistency of integration policies as many have not been maintained across provincial and municipal levels of government noting for instance that, "a network of Toronto municipal committees on community and race relations functioned for many years but disappeared in the wake of municipal amalgamation and budget reductions mandated by the province in the late 1990s" (Reitz and Banerjee, 2007: 525). While it is indeed great to have a Multiculturalism Act such as our own, we must ensure that there are also flexible and adaptable policies in place. These must take into account and ultimately encourage research. They must strive to represent the current social challenges that exist within our society.

Here we might note a final issue with respect to the existing policy infrastructure: there is currently a lack of energy being invested into research focussing on issues related to integration, immigration and multiculturalism. Indeed, Reitz and Banerjee note that "universities, research centres, public foundations and interest groups could provide an adequate research base from which to address these needs, ...(however) university-based research on immigration and race relations is a low-priority activity, often conducted with few resources" (Reitz and Banerjee, 2007: 526). Robert D. Putnam echoes these sentiments arguing that if we are to better understand and address challenges related to diversity and social cohesion then further research is required as "we need to learn more

about the many possible mechanisms – from physiological to political – that link diversity and hunkering (and) we need to chart the conditions under which this linkage is strong, weak, or even non-existent" (Putnam, 2007: 163). In the end, there must be a concerted effort to further study and address issues associated with diversity. This includes establishing better lines of communication between different levels of government, acknowledging and ultimately forming policy based on existing literature, and above all an encouraging future research. Indeed, issues related to diversity and social cohesion pose a substantial challenge for our society, but, as Putnam asserts, while "in the short run there is a tradeoff between diversity and community, …over time wise policies (public and private) can ameliorate that tradeoff" (Putnam, 2007: 164). Indeed, we suggest that while issues related to diversity are most certainly challenging, they create an opportunity to design and implement policies that make our society stronger, and ultimately, more cohesive.

Conclusion

Through this thesis, we have strived to better understand and elaborate upon some of the key perceptions and elements that contribute to social cohesion within Canadian society, and more specifically, within Canadian cities. We have placed an emphasis on examining the impact of immigrant and ethnic diversity on measures of cohesion within cities as the social context in which one experiences their lives most certainly varies according to the community in which they live. Thus, in approaching issues related to perception, experience and social cohesion, we have maintained that while it is useful to look at the national picture, it is equally beneficial to focus on a breakdown according to geography, especially in a country with the vastness of Canada.

Regarding the results, we have found that regardless of the city in which they live, immigrant and visible minority respondents tend to encounter the greatest hardship with respect to their finances, perceptions of society, and general degree of integration. In particular we note that overall, visible minority status is often the strongest determinant of perceived discrimination and discomfort, as well as a breakdown of level of trust and sense of belonging.

With respect to the breakdown according to city, we found that immigrant and visible minority respondents living within Canada's three largest cities encountered greater hardship when compared to those living in smaller urban centres and rural communities. In the end, we maintain that this suggests that diversity seems to foster and perceptions of inequality, and contribute to the conditions in which certain groups are more prone to encountering instances of poverty and low income. Indeed, we maintain that ultimately, these realities break down many components of social cohesion. With this, we have argued that it is necessary that Canadian immigration and integration

policies be made flexible to account for the effects of diversity within a given geographic local. Rather than produce general, universal goals and objectives, we feel that policies must be generated by the appropriate level of government and adapted according to the realities present within each specific community. In this way, Canada can better prepare itself for the potential effects of diversity that may arise over the coming years. Finally, in concluding this thesis, we note that further analysis is most certainly needed. Indeed we acknowledge that the very concepts of social cohesion and diversity are most certainly complex and therefore require continued research in the years to come. Moreover, we argue that further research focussing on the level of the community, as opposed to the individual within a community, would be of great use in further establishing the potential impacts of visible minority, ethnic, and linguistic diversity.

In the end, it our hope that this thesis has in some way shed some light on the perceptions and experiences encountered by Canadians according to the communities in which they live, and their respective immigrant, visible minority, and generational status. In addition, we hope that this work will help contribute to future research looking at the effects of diversity within Canada's many communities. Indeed, this has always been our objective as we believe that the need to better understand diversity will only continue to expand as Canada continues to evolve, moving beyond the dawn of the twenty-first century.

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Table Appendix

Table A1: Median income and percentage of respondents living below the LICO by immigrant and visible minority status, 2001, First-tier cities combined

	First-tier Cities Combined			
	Recent	Earlier	Total immigrants	Non-immigrants
Median Income				
White [b]	**$16,253**	**$24,400**	**$22,892**	**$25,766**
All visible minorities	**$11,443**	**$22,312**	**$16,312**	**$9,200**
Chinese	$10,025	$20,862 [N/S]	$14,349	$12,266
South Asian	$11,855	$24,652	$16,817	$6,405 [N/S]
Black	$13,006	$23,903	$19,328	$8,780
Other visible minorities	$12,358	$21,418	$16,812	$9,827
Poverty (% below LICO)				
White [b]	**27.7**	**15.2**	**17.8**	**14.5**
All visible minorities	**39.2**	**19.8**	**30**	**25.7**
Chinese	42.2	17.6	31.3	17.8
South Asian	35.1	15.2 [N/S]	26.3	21.1
Black	45.1	26.4	33.9	36.1
Other visible minorities	37.8	21.5	29.9	26.9

Source: Statistics Canada, Canada, 2001 Canadian Census

b – Benchmark group
Unmarked results are significant at 0.01 level
** Significant at the 0.05 level
N/S – Not significant
Note: Having been appropriately weighted, all of these results are representative of the overall population.

Table A2: Median income and percentage of immigrants living below the LICO by generational status, 2001, First-tier cities combined

	First-tier Cities Combined		
	First generation	*Second generation*	*Third generation and higher*
Median income			
White [b]	**$22,623**	**$26,312**	**$25,569**
All visible minorities	**$15,852**	**$8,000**	**$21,180**
Chinese	$13,977	$11,660 [N/S]	$25,000 **
South Asian	$16,466	$6,000	$20,000 [N/S]
Black	$18,651	$7,866	$16,493
Other visible minorities	$16,013	$7,688	$29,612
Poverty (% below LICO)			
White [b]	**17.7**	**16.9**	**15.6**
All visible minorities	**29.4**	**11.8**	**19**
Chinese	30.8	11.9 [N/S]	14.3 [N/S]
South Asian	24.8	13.3	18.6 [N/S]
Black	33.5	24.7	28.5
Other visible minorities	29.8	17.5	10.2

Source: Statistics Canada, Canada, 2001 Canadian Census

b – Benchmark group
Unmarked results are significant at 0.01 level
** Significant at the 0.05 level
N/S – Not significant
Note: Having been appropriately weighted, all of these results are representative of the overall population.

Table A3: Perceived discrimination and discomfort by immigrant and visible minority status, 2003, First-tier cities combined

	First-tier Cities Combined			
	Recent	Earlier	Total immigrants	Non-immigrants
Perceived discrimination (%)				
White [b]	**9.6**	**4.7**	**5.5**	**6.8**
All visible minorities	**19.1**	**20.0**	**19.4**	**20.2**
Chinese	19.8	15.5	17.5	9.5
South Asian	18.6	19.8	19.0	18.2
Black	28.1	29.4	28.8	41.4
Other visible minorities	16.0	19.1	17.5	14.4
Perceived discomfort (%)				
White [b]	**18.3**	**11.0**	**12.1**	**11.2**
All visible minorities	**28.3**	**24.1**	**25.9**	**13.4**
Chinese	28.4	23.0	25.4	10.8 N/S
South Asian	28.2	22.1	24.6	12.6
Black	32.8	29.3	30.3	19.3
Other visible minorities	26.9	23.9	25.4	11.7 N/S

Source: Statistics Canada, 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey

b – Benchmark group
Unmarked results are significant at 0.01 level
** Significant at the 0.05 level
N/S – Not significant
Note: Having been appropriately weighted, all of these results are representative of the overall population.

Table A4: Perceived discrimination and discomfort by generational and visible minority status, 2003, First-tier cities combined

	First tier cities		
	First generation	*Second generation*	*Third generation and higher*
Perceived discrimination (%)			
White [b]	**5.5**	**5.9**	**7.1**
All visible minorities	**19.4**	**20.1**	**21.0**
Chinese	17.5	10.0	3.5 N/S
South Asian	19.0	18.7	-
Black	28.8	39.4	59.6
Other visible minorities	17.5	15.5	5.5 N/S
Perceived discomfort (%)			
White [b]	**12.1**	**8.4**	**12.2**
All visible minorities	**25.9**	**14.0**	**6.1**
Chinese	25.4	10.8 **	10.3 N/S
South Asian	24.6	12.6	-
Black	30.3	20.9	5.5
Other visible minorities	25.4	12.6 **	4.5 **

Source: Statistics Canada, 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey

b – Benchmark group
Unmarked results are significant at 0.01 level
** Significant at the 0.05 level
N/S – Not significant
Note: Having been appropriately weighted, all of these results are representative of the overall population.

Table A5: Median income and percentage of respondents living below the LICO by immigrant and visible minority status, 2001, Toronto

	Toronto			
	Recent	Earlier	Total immigrants	Non-immigrants
Median Income				
White [b]	**$17,621**	**$25,740**	**$24,517**	**$30,154**
All visible minorities	**$12,424**	**$25,265**	**$18,317**	**$8,205**
Chinese	$11,256	$23,522 **	$16,169	$8,400
South Asian	$12,112	$25,731	$17,859	$6,000
Black	$14,363	$26,402 **	$22,159	$9,805
Other visible minorities	$14,103	$25,000	$19,388	$9,280
Poverty (% below LICO)				
White [b]	**24.1**	**12.9**	**15.1**	**9.8**
All visible minorities	**34.6**	**16.9**	**26.1**	**22.9**
Chinese	36.4	15.5 N/S	26.4	14.5
South Asian	34.2	13.2	25.7	19.9
Black	39.9	23.4	29.8	33.1
Other visible minorities	31.6	17.1	24.5	21.5

Source: Statistics Canada, Canada, 2001 Canadian Census

b – Benchmark group
Unmarked results are significant at 0.01 level
** Significant at the 0.05 level
N/S – Not significant
Note: Having been appropriately weighted, all of these results are representative of the overall population.

Table A6: Median income and percentage of respondents living below the LICO by generational status, 2001, Toronto

	Toronto		
	First generation	*Second generation*	*Third generation and higher*
Median income			
White [b]	**$24,312**	**$29,003**	**$30,612**
All visible minorities	**$18,000**	**$7,350**	**$23,863**
Chinese	$15,812	$8,000	$25,000 N/S
South Asian	$17,588	$5,762	$30,400 N/S
Black	$21,312	$8,420	$18,312
Other visible minorities	$18,580	$7,293	$35,270 N/S
Poverty (% below LICO)			
White [b]	**15**	**8.9**	**10.1**
All visible minorities	**25.2**	**14.7**	**17.8**
Chinese	26	8.7 N/S	12.5 N/S
South Asian	23.6	12.2	22.7
Black	29.1	21.1	25.6
Other visible minorities	24	14.5	7.2 **

Source: Statistics Canada, Canada, 2001 Canadian Census

b – Benchmark group
Unmarked results are significant at 0.01 level
** Significant at the 0.05 level
N/S – Not significant
Note: Having been appropriately weighted, all of these results are representative of the overall population.

Table A7: Perceived discrimination and discomfort by immigrant and visible minority status, 2003, Toronto

	Toronto			
	Recent	Earlier	Total immigrants	Non-immigrants
Perceived discrimination (%)				
White [b]	**8.3**	**4.7**	**5.2**	**5.2**
All visible minorities	**19.7**	**21.0**	**20.3**	**22.0**
Chinese	20.8	15.4	17.7	9.4
South Asian	21.7	19.4	20.3	15.9
Black	24.2	30.6	28.6	43.1
Other visible minorities	15.2	20.9	18.3	15.8
Perceived discomfort (%)				
White [b]	**10.7**	**17.0**	**11.7**	**9.4**
All visible minorities	**25.0**	**31.2**	**27.5**	**14.5**
Chinese	24.1	33.4	28.0	12.0
South Asian	22.7	29.4	25.7	11.5
Black	29.0	32.6	30.0	20.5
Other visible minorities	25.4	30.6	27.5	12.7 N/S

Source: Statistics Canada, 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey

b – Benchmark group
Unmarked results are significant at 0.01 level
** Significant at the 0.05 level
N/S – Not significant
Note: Having been appropriately weighted, all of these results are representative of the overall population.

Table A8: Social integration, by generational and visible minority status, 2003, Toronto

	Toronto					
	Belonging	Trust	Volunteering	Life Satisfaction	Citizenship	Voted
First generation						
White [b]	**88.6**	**47.4**	**23.4**	**97.3**	**76.9**	**82.3**
All visible minorities	**83.3**	**42.2**	**24.0 N/S**	**95.5**	**75.4**	**70.0**
Chinese	77.1	54.5 N/S	17.9	96.9	81.5 N/S	64.0 N/S
South Asian	88.7	42.7 **	25.9 N/S	94.5 N/S	71.7 N/S	75.5
Black	87.3	23.9 **	35.8 N/S	91.7	73.7	79.8
Other visible minorities	81.6	41.0	21.4 N/S	96.9 N/S	74.5 N/S	66.5 N/S
Second generation						
White [b]	**84.9**	**51.1**	**31.7**	**96.4**	**N/A**	**80.1**
All visible minorities	**70.3**	**39.2**	**35.4 N/S**	**96.5**	**N/A**	**54.7**
Chinese	69.1	46.2 N/S	29.6 N/S	97.8	N/A	58.2
South Asian	79.8	40.6 N/S	40.8 N/S	98.1 N/S	N/A	64.9
Black	62.7	32.1 N/S	41.5 N/S	92.5	N/A	48.2 N/S
Other visible minorities	71.9	39.1 **	31.7 N/S	98.0	N/A	51.6 N/S
Third generation and higher						
White [b]	90.3	56.1	35.4	97.0	N/A	81.0
All visible minorities	90.8	47.4	29.6	69.9	N/A	58.0

Source: Statistics Canada, 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey

b – Benchmark group
Unmarked results are significant at 0.01 level
** Significant at the 0.05 level
N/S – Not significant
Note: Having been appropriately weighted, all of these results are representative of the overall population.

Table A9: Median income and percentage of respondents living below the LICO by generational status, 2001, Montreal

	Montreal		
	First generation	*Second generation*	*Third generation and higher*
Median Income			
White [b]	**$18,349**	**$21,000**	**$22,825**
All visible minorities	**$13,166**	**$5,759**	**$15,757**
Chinese	$11,656	$10,000 N/S	$20,466 N/S
South Asian	$11,510	$6,000	$23,489
Black	$14,800	$5,500	$14,711 N/S
Other visible minorities	$13,574	$5,200 **	$19,201
Poverty (% below LICO)			
White [b]	**24.3**	**16.5**	**18.5**
All visible minorities	**41.8**	**29.3**	**31.6**
Chinese	40.9	22.8 N/S	36.4 **
South Asian	47.3	21.6	50
Black	43.7	32.8 N/S	35.1 **
Other visible minorities	39.5	28.7 N/S	11.6 **

Source: Statistics Canada, Canada, 2001 Canadian Census

b – Benchmark group
Unmarked results are significant at 0.01 level
** Significant at the 0.05 level
N/S – Not significant
Note: Having been appropriately weighted, all of these results are representative of the overall population.

Table A10: Perceived discrimination and discomfort by immigrant and visible minority status, 2003, Montreal

	Montreal			
	Recent	Earlier	Total immigrants	Non-immigrants
Perceived discrimination (%)				
White [b]	**12.9**	**6.7**	**8.0**	**7.1**
All visible minorities	**21.0**	**16.1**	**17.8**	**22.5**
Chinese	32.8	10.4	18.0	9.9 **
South Asian	10.7 N/S	13.9	11.7	9.9 **
Black	34.1	23.7	27.2	36.8
Other visible minorities	15.0 N/S	13.2	13.6	12.9
Perceived discomfort (%)				
White [b]	**20.2**	**14.0**	**15.2**	**12.4**
All visible minorities	**22.8**	**20.6**	**21.8**	**14.7**
Chinese	38.0	13.7 N/S	22.0	8.2 N/S
South Asian	17.7 N/S	14.3 N/S	16.5 N/S	12.9 N/S
Black	32.4 N/S	27.6	29.0	18.6
Other visible minorities	15.1 N/S	19.0	18.5 **	13.1 N/S

Source: Statistics Canada, Canada, 2001 Canadian Census

b – Benchmark group
Unmarked results are significant at 0.01 level
** Significant at the 0.05 level
N/S – Not significant
Note: Having been appropriately weighted, all of these results are representative of the overall population.

Table A11: Perceived discrimination and discomfort by generational and visible minority status, 2003, Montreal

	Montreal		
	First generation	*Second generation*	*Third generation and higher*
Perceived discrimination (%)			
White [b]	**8.0**	**10.4**	**6.6**
All visible minorities	**17.8**	**23.4**	**2.3**
Chinese	18.0	10.6 **	-
South Asian	11.7	9.9 N/S	-
Black	27.2	37.8	-
Other visible minorities	13.6	13.6	-
Perceived discomfort (%)			
White [b]	**15.2**	**10.4**	**12.8**
All visible minorities	**21.8**	**15.3**	-
Chinese	22.0	8.8 N/S	-
South Asian	16.5	12.9 **	-
Black	29.0	19.3	-
Other visible minorities	18.5	13.5 N/S	-

Source: Statistics Canada, Canada, 2001 Canadian Census

b – Benchmark group
Unmarked results are significant at 0.01 level
** Significant at the 0.05 level
N/S – Not significant
Note: Having been appropriately weighted, all of these results are representative of the overall population.

Table A12: Median income and percentage of respondents living below the LICO by immigrant and visible minority status, 2001, Vancouver

	Vancouver			
	Recent	Earlier	Total immigrants	Non-immigrants
Median Income				
White [b]	**$17,838**	**$26,362**	**$25,000**	**$27,000**
All visible minorities	**$10,168**	**$20,312**	**$14,502**	**$13,139**
Chinese	$9,168	$20,000	$12,779	$17,600
South Asian	$12,099	$21,762	$16,726	$7,000
Black	$12,318	$26,000	$20,312	$15,150
Other visible minorities	$10,847	$19,450	$15,000	$14,130
Poverty (% below LICO)				
White [b]	**28.2**	**15.8**	**18.4**	**14.6**
All visible minorities	**42.6**	**19.3**	**32.1**	**20.9**
Chinese	47.4	18.5	35.8	20.0
South Asian	25.8	16.5 N/S	20.5	17.9
Black	54.3	15.7 N/S	33.2	29.9
Other visible minorities	42.1	23.7	33.8	24.2

Source: Statistics Canada, Canada, 2001 Canadian Census

b – Benchmark group
Unmarked results are significant at 0.01 level
** Significant at the 0.05 level
N/S – Not significant
Note: Having been appropriately weighted, all of these results are representative of the overall population.

Table A13: Median income and percentage of immigrants living below the LICO by generational status, 2001, Vancouver

	Vancouver		
	First generation	*Second generation*	*Third generation and higher*
Perceived discrimination (%)			
White [b]	**$24,912**	**$25,787**	**$27,700**
All visible minorities	**$14,000**	**$11,839**	**$23,512**
Chinese	$12,517	$16,395 **	$25,364 N/S
South Asian	$16,461	$6,405	$15,077 **
Black	$20,040	$14,469 **	$18,322
Other visible minorities	$13,993	$11,839	$27,000 N/S
Perceived discomfort (%)			
White [b]	**18.3**	**14.3**	**14.9**
All visible minorities	**31.7**	**14.6**	**14.3**
Chinese	35.0	13.6 N/S	12.8 N/S
South Asian	19.7	13.3 N/S	5.9 **
Black	30.5	23.1	24.5
Other visible minorities	34.8	17.2	13.2 N/S

Source: Statistics Canada, Canada, 2001 Canadian Census

b – Benchmark group
Unmarked results are significant at 0.01 level
** Significant at the 0.05 level
N/S – Not significant
Note: Having been appropriately weighted, all of these results are representative of the overall population.

Table A14: Perceived discrimination and discomfort by generational and visible minority status, 2003, Vancouver

	Vancouver		
	First generation	*Second generation*	*Third generation and higher*
Perceived discrimination (%)			
White [b]	**3.0**	**4.0**	**12.2**
All visible minorities	**18.3**	**16.3**	**5.0**
Chinese	17.2	10.6	-
South Asian	17.2	23.5	-
Black	59.8	50.1	-
Other visible minorities	19.4	12.1	-
Perceived discomfort (%)			
White [b]	**9.4**	**8.1**	**13.4**
All visible minorities	**24.4**	**11.0**	**3.8**
Chinese	22.9	10.4 N/S	-
South Asian	23.7	13.9 **	-
Black	56.5	6.3 N/S	-
Other visible minorities	26.6	8.9 N/S	-

Source: Statistics Canada, 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey

b – Benchmark group
Unmarked results are significant at 0.01 level
** Significant at the 0.05 level
N/S – Not significant
Note: Having been appropriately weighted, all of these results are representative of the overall population.

Table A15: Social integration, by generational and visible minority status, 2003, Vancouver

	Vancouver					
	Belonging	Trust	Volunteering	Life Satisfaction	Citizenship	Voted
First generation						
White [b]	**82.7**	**56.7**	**30.0**	**97.2**	**78.7**	**83.5**
All visible minorities	**80.1**	**45.7**	**22.4**	**96.2**	**72.9**	**67.3**
Chinese	74.6	50.5	18.2	96.1 N/S	80.8 **	68.3
South Asian	92.8	37.2	20.0	95.8 **	64.4 **	81.7
Black	86.5 N/S	21.1 N/S	32.8 N/S	84.6 N/S	81.7 N/S	31.0 N/S
Other visible minorities	81.0 N/S	43.9 **	32.4 N/S	97.0 **	63.4 **	55.1
Second generation						
White [b]	**86.4**	**58.5**	**34.1**	**96.4**	**N/A**	**83.1**
All visible minorities	**76.8**	**43.7**	**33.2 N/S**	**96.5**	**N/A**	**62.0**
Chinese	76.0	52.1 N/S	31.1 N/S	97.1	N/A	70.1
South Asian	73.0	28.6 N/S	33.1 N/S	94.4 N/S	N/A	54.2
Black	86.2 N/S	43.7 N/S	52.1 N/S	98.8 N/S	N/A	64.6 N/S
Other visible minorities	83.2 N/S	48.5 N/S	34.7 N/S	97.9 N/S	N/A	54.2
Third generation +						
White [b]	**83.8**	**58.6**	**40.1**	**95.4**	**N/A**	**78.0**
All visible minorities	**87.5**	**48.6**	**34.9**	**98.3**	**N/A**	**78.7**

Source: Statistics Canada, 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey

b – Benchmark group
Unmarked results are significant at 0.01 level
** Significant at the 0.05 level
N/S – Not significant
Note: Having been appropriately weighted, all of these results are representative of the overall population.

Table A16: Median income and percentage of respondents living below the LICO by immigrant and visible minority status, 2001, Other CMA's

	Other CMA's			
	Recent	Earlier	Total immigrants	Non-immigrants
Median Income				
White [b]	**$16,109**	**$24,710**	**$23,630**	**$24,083**
All visible minorities	**$11,696**	**$22,175**	**$17,503**	**$10,000**
Chinese	$12,000	$21,619 N/S	$17,970 N/S	$12,044
South Asian	$12,410	$25,725	$19,142	$6,150 **
Black	$11,284	$24,938	$18,178	$12,512
Other visible minorities	$11,142	$20,311	$16,461	$8,558
Poverty (% below LICO)				
White [b]	**26.3**	**12.3**	**14.5**	**14.5**
All visible minorities	**37.1**	**16.9**	**26.1**	**24.3**
Chinese	30.6	13.4	20.8 **	14.1
South Asian	29.3	12 N/S	19.6	17.2
Black	51.1	21.5	35.9	36
Other visible minorities	39.2	19.8	28.7	24.7

Source: Statistics Canada, 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey

b – Benchmark group
Unmarked results are significant at 0.01 level
** Significant at the 0.05 level
N/S – Not significant
Note: Having been appropriately weighted, all of these results are representative of the overall population.

Table A18: Perceived discrimination and discomfort by generational and visible minority status, 2003, Other CMA's

	Other CMA's		
	First generation	*Second generation*	*Third generation and higher*
Perceived discrimination (%)			
White [b]	**5.2**	**3.7**	**5.5**
All visible minorities	**20.8**	**15.4**	**16.4**
Chinese	22.3	10.7	-
South Asian	21.3	14.0	-
Black	30.4	27.5	-
Other visible minorities	16.8	13.7	-
Perceived discomfort (%)			
White [b]	**9.3**	**5.2**	**7.2**
All visible minorities	**24.8**	**12.4**	**11.7**
Chinese	27.4	9.7 [n/s]	-
South Asian	28.6	16.6	-
Black	28.6	23.8	-
Other visible minorities	20.4	6.5	-

Source: Statistics Canada, 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey

b – Benchmark group
Unmarked results are significant at 0.01 level
** Significant at the 0.05 level
N/S – Not significant
Note: Having been appropriately weighted, all of these results are representative of the overall population.

Table A19: Social integration, by generational and visible minority status, 2003, Other CMA's

	Other CMA's					
	Belonging	Trust	Volunteering	Life Satisfaction	Citizenship	Voted
First generation						
White [b]	**88.6**	**54.4**	**30.0**	**97.4**	**81.8**	**83.9**
All visible minorities	**83.6**	**49.1**	**28.4**	**95.5**	**72.8**	**72.7**
Chinese	78.0	65.0	19.3	98.5 **	72.3 **	68.3 **
South Asian	90.1 N/S	53.9	32.8	93.2 N/S	70.7	75.3
Black	86.3 N/S	39.9 **	43.7 N/S	94.1 N/S	72.5	71.7
Other visible minorities	82.5	41.3 N/S	26.1	95.5 N/S	74.2	74.1
Second generation						
White [b]	**87.0**	**53.1**	**36.9**	**96.7**	**N/A**	**82.9**
All visible minorities	**76.2**	**53.2** N/S	**39.1**	**96.9**	**N/A**	**56.3** N/S
Chinese	80.9	58.0 N/S	33.2	99.3 N/S	N/A	54.9 N/S
South Asian	80.1	47.9 N/S	46.4	96.2	N/A	63.5 N/S
Black	65.6	53.8 N/S	31.6 N/S	93.8	N/A	46.5 N/S
Other visible minorities	75.7	52.7 N/S	42.7 N/S	97.0 N/S	N/A	57.4 N/S
Third generation +						
White [b]	**80.3**	**49.2**	**33.6**	**96.3**	**N/A**	**78.0**
All visible minorities	**77.4**	**44.3**	**29.6**	**94.6**	**N/A**	**59.4**

Source: Statistics Canada, 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey

b – Benchmark group
Unmarked results are significant at 0.01 level
** Significant at the 0.05 level
N/S – Not significant
Note: Having been appropriately weighted, all of these results are representative of the overall population.

Table A20: Perceived discrimination and discomfort by generational and visible minority status, 2003, Non-CMA's

	Non CMA's		
	First generation	*Second generation*	*Third generation and higher*
Perceived discrimination (%)			
White [b]	**3.2**	**4.8**	**4.4**
All visible minorities	**21.2**	**11.9**	-
Chinese	23.7	23.2	-
South Asian	26.8	9.3	-
Black	28.4	17.2	-
Other visible minorities	15.5	6.6 N/S	-
Perceived discomfort (%)			
White [b]	**6.9**	**5.0**	**6.0**
All visible minorities	**28.2**	**13.4**	-
Chinese	33.9	18.7	-
South Asian	16.7	9.5	-
Black	38.9	33.6	-
Other visible minorities	33.5	7.8 N/S	-

Source: Statistics Canada, 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey

b – Benchmark group
Unmarked results are significant at 0.01 level
** Significant at the 0.05 level
N/S – Not significant
Note: Having been appropriately weighted, all of these results are representative of the overall population.

Table A21: Social integration, by generational and visible minority status, 2003, Non-CMA's

	Other CMA's					
	Belonging	Trust	Volunteering	Life Satisfaction	Citizenship	Voted
First generation						
White [b]	**89.5**	**59.7**	**32.4**	**97.1**	**81.4**	**86.0**
All visible minorities	**85.4**	**51.0** N/S	**26.7**	**97.7** N/S	**78.6**	**75.9**
Chinese	84.4 **	56.6 N/S	16.7	98.5 N/S	89.3 **	88.4
South Asian	92.7	54.1 N/S	26.5	98.5 N/S	68.6 N/S	82.9
Black	73.7 N/S	27.8 N/S	16.6	100.0 N/S	65.3 N/S	32.9 N/S
Other visible minorities	82.1 N/S	49.0 N/S	31.3 N/S	96.6 N/S	83.5 N/S	68.9 **
Second generation						
White [b]	**88.4**	**57.4**	**41.0**	**96.2**	**N/A**	**83.5**
All visible minorities	**76.9**	**47.4** N/S	**37.7**	**96.8** N/S	**N/A**	**63.5**
Chinese	77.9 **	44.4 N/S	40.9	98.8 N/S	N/A	74.9
South Asian	74.7	54.0 N/S	53.5	99.5 N/S	N/A	45.4
Black	79.3	23.3 N/S	27.9	100.0 N/S	N/A	41.4
Other visible minorities	76.9 **	51.8 N/S	32.0	93.8 N/S	N/A	67.6
Third generation +						
White [b]	**78.1**	**45.8**	**37.8**	**96.3**	**N/A**	**78.0**
All visible minorities	**85.8**	**37.8**	**28.2**	**97.9**	**N/A**	**58.3**

Source: Statistics Canada, 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey

b – Benchmark group
Unmarked results are significant at 0.01 level
** Significant at the 0.05 level
N/S – Not significant
Note: Having been appropriately weighted, all of these results are representative of the overall population.