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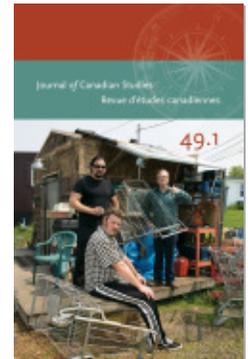
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## From Difference to Cohesion: The Evolution of Canadian Multiculturalism

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## Reviews

# From Difference to Cohesion: The Evolution of Canadian Multiculturalism

SANJAY JERAM

*Becoming Multicultural: Immigration and the Politics of Membership in Canada and Germany.* By Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2012. 304 pp. \$90.00 (cloth) ISBN 9780774815666. \$32.95 (trade) ISBN 9780774815673.

*Immigrant Settlement Policy in Canadian Municipalities.* Ed. Erin Tolley and Robert Young. Fields of Governance: Policy Making in Canadian Municipalities Series. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011. 331 pp. \$90.00 (cloth) ISBN 9780773538771. \$29.95 (trade) ISBN 9780773538887.

*The Multiculturalism Question: Debating Identity in 21<sup>st</sup> Century Canada.* Ed. Jack Jedwab. Queen's Policy Study Series. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014. 256 pp. \$39.95 (trade) ISBN 9781553394228.

For better or worse, Canada is considered the exemplar multicultural society. Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver are among the world's most diverse cities, and the Canadian government appears content that the typical immigrant profile is, and will continue to be, non-European. Furthermore, unlike centre-right parties across Europe that have declared that multiculturalism is dead (e.g., *Daily Mail* 2011), the governing Conservative Party of Canada has been busy crafting a strategy aimed at courting the votes of "new Canadians," which has paid dividends for the party in recent federal elections; at the same time, the Conservative Party has introduced "subtle restrictiveness" into Canada's citizenship and refugee policy to appease its traditional conservative base (Marwah, Triadafilopoulos, and White 2013, 96).

Does this mean that all is, indeed, well with multiculturalism in Canada? The majority of the contributors to the works under review would disagree. A controversy that has continually plagued scholarly analysis of multiculturalism is that the meaning

of multiculturalism is actually quite hard to pin down: “it is simultaneously used as a sociological label for an objective situation of diversity and as a moral stance that cultural diversity is a desirable feature of a given society as well as the different types of ways in which the state could recognise and support it” (Meer and Modood 2012, 179). All of the monographs under review here, however, are clear in their respective treatments of the term. The authors quite diligently define multiculturalism to fit within the scope of their research aims. In *Becoming Multicultural*, Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos is minimally concerned with state support for ethnocultural groups, but rather explains why Canada and Germany developed into “de facto multicultural societies” by the end of the twentieth century via “liberalizing changes to their migration and citizenship policies” (2012, 2). The framework of analysis in *The Multiculturalism Question* (Jedwab 2014) queries whether multiculturalism in the Canadian context has a constant meaning, postulating that 1970s ethnicity multiculturalism—promoting the value of ethnic minority identities—has evolved, becoming less about protecting difference and more about promoting cohesion. *Immigrant Settlement Policy in Canadian Municipalities* (Tolley and Young 2011) shifts the level of analysis downward and considers how the provinces and municipalities in Canada interact to apply policies and programs related to the stages of pre-arrival, settlement, and integration. Among other aims, the chapter authors consider whether immigrants are “permitted (and sometimes encouraged) to retain elements of their cultural heritage” (Tolley 2011, 13) by provincial and municipal governments.

Despite the different concerns of each book, together they weave a narrative that tells a complex story about Canada’s evolution with respect to immigration and diversity. Collectively, these books hammer on the point that Canada’s commitment to multiculturalism has always been more about style than substance, perhaps inevitable because of the obligation to try to satisfy the usually antagonistic demands of various identity groups such as Québécois nationalists, First Nations, ethnocultural minorities, and the Anglo-Saxon majority. Ambiguity in its meaning has enabled elites to evoke multiculturalism as constitutive of Canadian identity whilst leaving flexibility for actors to craft policies undergirded by very different understandings of multiculturalism. The key questions, then, which these books address: Why did Canada open its border to non-Europeans and become multicultural? Why has the meaning and practice of multiculturalism evolved over time? The answers that the authors provide highlight the lack of consensus in Canadian society regarding basic questions of identity: Who are we? Who do we wish to become? A major reason why, evident from the books under review, is that multiculturalism as a normative ideal remains meaningful to Canadians and thus a useful resource for politicians seeking to legitimize their actions to different audiences. The public expresses confounding and sometimes

contradictory viewpoints on their understanding of Canadian identity and the contribution of multiculturalism to it, allowing powerful actors to manipulate the meaning of multiculturalism for political ends. The Conservative Party has underlined its support for traditional family mores and low taxes as reasons why it is the party most in tune with the values of new Canadians whilst claiming that the old “song, sari, and samosa” version of multiculturalism has deleterious effects on nation building.

As with any review essay involving edited volumes, choices have to be made regarding which chapters to include and exclude. My choices in no way reflect the quality of scholarship; instead, I selected pieces that elucidate what I believe are the most relevant contributions for the questions I have chosen to focus on.

Triadafilopoulos’s case selection of Canada and Germany may seem, at first glance, odd within the context of a “most-different-cases” study since Canada liberalized its citizenship policy some three decades before Germany. Why would anyone compare a classic settler nation (Canada) with a traditional ethnic nation (Germany) *par excellence*? As Triadafilopoulos points out, the long-term outcomes in both countries are remarkably similar, and so he asks, “why did two countries so determined to limit cultural diversity through the first half of the twentieth century find themselves so thoroughly transformed by immigration at the beginning of the twenty-first century?” (3).

Rogers Brubaker (1992) famously argued that citizenship policies are informed by deeply rooted understandings of nationhood, resulting in policy regimes that are stable over the long run. Triadafilopoulos questions Brubaker’s argument by highlighting incongruities using the Canada–Germany comparison. First, because Canada was born as a nation of immigrants, whereas Germany began as an *ethnie* in search of a nation, Canada should not have limited cultural diversity in an effort to remain a “white man’s country” for so many decades (Triadafilopoulos 2012, 2). Because of these distinctive traditions of nationhood, Brubaker’s theory predicts divergent rather than convergent paths of immigration and citizenship politics in the two countries. Triadafilopoulos disputes Brubaker’s exclusive focus on domestic norms and backs the importance of the global normative context on the choices made by domestic agents. In both Canada and Germany, the postwar normative context—comprised of an “individualist ethic” that bestowed upon all persons a set of basic rights regardless of ethnicity or nationality—put policy regimes based on racial exclusions under significant pressure, leading to their eventual collapse (Triadafilopoulos 2012, 8).

Triadafilopoulos’s argument does not stop there. A second puzzle he grapples with relates to the matter of timing: why did liberal reforms to core immigration and citizenship policies in Germany take so much longer to materialize than in Canada? Triadafilopoulos locates the answer within formal domestic institutions and how these

shape power. In Canada, “one party government in a parliamentary system ... tended to reinforce the effects of executive-policy-making ... and rapid implementation of new policies” (2012, 10). In Germany, in contrast, “veto points” provided reform opponents with opportunities to stall policy-making and implementation not available to their counterparts in Canada (10). For example, the Canadian points system—widely considered the most significant liberalizing reform in Canada’s immigration history—provoked “virtually no *organized* political opposition” despite its potential to alter the ethnic composition of Canada radically (104; my emphasis). The policy’s immediate effect of increasing the proportion of immigrants to Canada coming from non-European sources did stir up public and political backlash as articulated in the Green Paper of 1974: “Canadians are concerned about the consequences for national identity that might follow any significant change in the composition of the population” (quoted in Triadafilopoulos 2012, 111). These sentiments had a negligible effect on policy because dominant actors in cabinet and the bureaucracy delegitimized the Green Paper as incompatible with Canada’s commitment to the new norms of international society. Also important, the governing Liberal Party had an interest in connecting with ethnic minority organizations because of their potential impact on important riding races, especially in urban areas (116). In contrast, the road to citizenship reform in Germany was full of obstacles and only a unique Socialist-Green coalition allowed path-changing legislation—liberalizing the boundaries of the German nation—to pass.<sup>1</sup> Even then, the centre-right parties’ hold on power in the German Bundesrat (federal council) forced the left-leaning coalition to compromise its principles on the allowance of dual citizenship and the automaticity of *jus soli* for the children of foreigners. It is difficult to imagine the Canadian Senate having an equivalently strong influence on such a major policy reform.

Triadafilopoulos notes that the liberalizing changes to Canada’s immigration and citizenship rules were accompanied by the embrace of multiculturalism by both the Conservatives and Liberals. Canada’s first-past-the-post electoral system, which accentuates the importance of ethnic votes concentrated in urban areas, even drove the once anti-immigration Reform Party to “put aside the immigration card” after merging with the Progressive Conservative Party to become the Conservative Party of Canada (2012, 119). Prime Minister Stephen Harper, a former Reform Party activist, has publicly defended multiculturalist principles and donned various ethnic costumes in courting ethnic votes, which were fundamental to the majority government his party formed in 2011. Triadafilopoulos’s argument suggests that we are unlikely to see anti-immigrant, anti-multiculturalist politics become mainstream in Canada as it has in many West European countries.

Whereas Triadafilopoulos is most concerned with the grand changes to Canada's immigration framework that occurred in the 1960s and 1970s, *The Multiculturalism Question* focusses more narrowly on present-day interpretations and manifestations of multiculturalism. Triadafilopoulos's ambitious scope incidentally obscures the subtle changes to discourse and policy that have not radically altered Canada's immigrant-friendly reputation, and this constitutes the empirical space in which *The Multicultural Question* makes its contribution. Canada was the first country to introduce an official multiculturalism policy, and perhaps this partly explains why Canadian officials and the public hold on to the term multiculturalism so dearly. According to Jack Jedwab's introduction, Canada has consistently used the term *multiculturalism* to explain its diversity framework even though the national conversation has "increasingly touched upon integration and whether encouraging immigrants to preserve customs and traditions was detrimental to building a shared national culture" (2014, 2). Even though the word is off limits in some countries, it still generally has a positive connotation in Canada: 68% believe that "the world should learn from Canada's multiculturalism policy." Concurrently, though, "sixty-four per cent of Canadians admitted to not knowing what the federal government does to promote multiculturalism" (4-5). These numbers are indicative of the generally confused feelings about multiculturalism found in Canada, which Jedwab highlights in order to launch the analysis. The common thread tying the chapters together is the argument that the growing chasm between multiculturalism as an idea and as a policy is much greater than acknowledged.

John Biles's chapter serves as an important reminder that, contrary to popular belief, the meaning and content of Canada's multiculturalism policy has never been absolutely clear. He suggests this has provided flexibility for officials to design a myriad of different programs with different goals. Furthermore, he quibbles with the popular belief that programming in the 1970s and 1980s focussed solely on promoting the native cultures of immigrants. Instead, Biles argues that criticism berating multiculturalism for its segregationist outcomes has been unjustified because the intentions of the programs in Canada have always had broader aims, such as encouraging civic participation, redressing historical inequality, and attacking discrimination. Biles is rather sanguine about the effects of multiculturalism programs and related initiatives designed to conform with the goals of the Canadian *Multiculturalism Act*, something that sets him apart from the majority of contributors to *The Multiculturalism Question*. He concludes by softly advising, "work needs to be done to ensure that both sides of the two-way street of integration are equally well nourished" (36). For Biles, integration has always been part and parcel of the multiculturalism policy; misinterpretation and misunderstanding are at the root of the anti-multiculturalism backlash.

Yasmeen Abu-Laban's chapter serves as an interesting juxtaposition to Biles's somewhat optimistic perspective. She argues that, since 2006, the governing Conservatives have been remaking multiculturalism and Canadian identity in order to achieve specific political goals. Anti-multiculturalism—a Reform Party staple—did not make the cut upon the merger, in part because the Conservative Party's founders recognized the electoral prominence of Canada's non-European communities in urban centres, a point made by Triadafilopoulos. Beginning where Triadafilopoulos leaves off, Abu-Laban argues that the Conservative Party's policy-making record in the multiculturalism ambit has amounted to more than rhetoric. She zeros in on the party's program of "reform by stealth," which has entailed significant reconfigurations of immigration and citizenship policies and redirection of funds away from non-European cultural enterprises, all the while carefully avoiding explicit attacks on multiculturalism per se (Abu-Laban 2014, 150). Basically, reform by stealth is a political strategy meant to appease the party's traditional conservative base without alienating the new Canadians that now form a significant portion of the party's support base. The small adjustments that amount to a rejection of "hyphenated Canadianism," such as revisions to the citizenship guide to stress "civic memory" and Canada's military history, indicate that multiculturalism is not the core of Canadian identity for the Conservative Party (154, 161). Abu-Laban goes a step further by arguing that the new citizenship guide, *Discover Canada*, is making it more difficult for a significant number of immigrants to acquire citizenship, but not those coming from the United Kingdom, Australia, and the United States, who pass the test nearly 100% of the time (163-64). Her charge is that Canada's membership boundary is slowly hardening once again, which raises the question of whether the postwar liberal normative context Triadafilopoulos describes so eloquently is fraying.

Another important chapter that calls into question popular conceptions about Canadian multiculturalism comes from Randall Hansen. He makes two related points. First, he opines that the weight of Canada's multiculturalism programs has always been exaggerated: the Canadian government spends a trivial amount of money on them (\$13.2 million in 2010-11). Hansen is referring to programs expressive of "thick multiculturalism," which empower migrants to "privilege their culture" over the national one during the integration process (2014, 77). Hansen considers the \$1.5 billion spent yearly on integration programs, of which the most important is language training, constitutive of "assimilation by stealth" (75). Second, Hansen disputes that the impressive academic and socio-economic outcomes for immigrants in Canada are related to multicultural programs, as many reports commissioned by the Canadian government suggest. Instead, he speculates that Canada's selection policy has worked well to single out potential migrants who have education and prioritize education for

their offspring, and are thus most likely to exploit resources such as language training and job-search assistance programs. He admonishes those he believes are improperly boosting multiculturalism's credentials because it is politically expedient.

Hansen's chapter then asks a corollary question: "so what's the fuss all about?" (2014, 81). In other words, why has multiculturalism as an idea been exalted by successive Canadian governments and maintained its popularity with ordinary Canadians? The answer for Hansen boils down to the powerful connection between multiculturalism and Canadian identity. Canadians are "obsessed with discovering the essence of who they are," and multiculturalism provides that essence (2014, 83). In turn, governments are averse to laying scorn on multiculturalism publicly, and make every effort to bolster its positive effects, while simultaneously assimilating by stealth. Jeffrey Reitz's chapter also explores this terrain and he comes to a similar conclusion as Hansen. Reitz cites numerous opinion polls that underscore the strength of public support for immigrants to blend into Canadian society and not form separate communities. At the same time, the public supports multiculturalism as a proxy for an expansionary immigration policy, which should not be mistaken for supporting the recognition of minority cultures. The underlying point is that the Canadian public does not grapple with the precise meaning of multiculturalism; it means different things to different people. The common denominator is that multiculturalism is part of the Canadian identity, at least, in English Canada, and this influences policy-makers in abstruse ways.

Elke Winter's chapter stands out because of its effective use of discourse analysis to analyze newspaper content on the multiculturalism question as it relates to Québécois nationalism from the perspective of the English-Canadian media in the 1990s. Her findings highlight that three different perspectives frame interpretation of multiculturalism and national identity. From the republican perspective, which comprised approximately 40% of the total articles she reviewed, too much recognition of diversity in any form will eventually undermine the Canadian nation. Articles inspired by republican ideas identify, usually implicitly, White anglophones as "ideal citizens" (Winter 2014, 57). Francophones, First Nations, and non-European races are lumped together as outsiders and labelled as troublesome for Canada's aspirations to be a tolerant or even multicultural society. Non-European immigrants, however, are often portrayed as conditional insiders in the 1990s when their claims appeared meagre compared to the separatism of Québécois nationalists and First Nations. Various op-eds and articles raised the spectre of multiculturalism as an English-Canadian brainchild, a set of values and institutions capable of absorbing "limited expressions of other group-based identities," in contrast to the "ethnic, European-style, nation in Quebec" (59). Multiculturalism from this vantage point is a convenient cloak for a

narrow understanding of Canadian identity, one in which “Britishness is the condition of shared humanity” and is the only possible basis for an open and tolerant society (59).

Turning to *Immigrant Settlement Policy in Canadian Municipalities*, we encounter a dense collection of articles focussing on the growing importance of multilevel governance to immigrant integration. Important contributions are made to the multiculturalism debate by examining whether multilevel governance does, indeed, favour the implementation of multicultural policies at the local level. The emergence of local actors within the immigration terrain raises new questions about Triadafilopoulos’s argument about the effects of normative contexts on policy-making: is it only state actors that are subject to the ideational constraints generated by the end of the Holocaust, decolonization, and emergence of a global human rights culture? This may be an unfair question since local actors are not making policies that are of great interest to international society. There are, however, certainly ways in which the distinct normative context of the postwar period could influence local actors.

The chapter by Guy Chiasson and Junichiro Koji is a good place to start because they focus on Quebec. In no other province has the debate surrounding immigration, integration, and multiculturalism been so thorny and polemic. The City of Hérouxville made global headlines in 2007 for adopting a peculiar code of conduct that explicitly singled out illiberal acts associated with religious minorities such as death by stoning and face coverings. Media outlets in English Canada were quick to point to Hérouxville as an example of Quebec’s ethnic nationalism conflicting with Canada’s embrace of multiculturalism. This isolated incident is not, however, indicative of the policies and discourses coming from the majority of local governments in Quebec.

A major strand of the research on immigrant settlement in Canada has focussed on whether Quebec’s model of interculturalism is indeed distinct from Canadian multiculturalism. Alain Gagnon and Raffaele Iacovino (2006) argue that interculturalism is different because it obliges immigrants to participate in a common public culture using the French language. For these authors, the Canadian multicultural model of integration accepts cultural relativism, and thus social cohesion is not a prioritized goal. This description has been challenged; for example, Joseph Garcea (2006) considers interculturalism a political response through which the Quebec government can position its approach as distinct from Canada’s even though the content is virtually identical. Chiasson and Koji help move the debate in a different direction by examining whether local actors in Quebec slavishly follow the intercultural guidelines set in Quebec City or exercise autonomy vis-à-vis provincial policies.

Montreal, according to Chiasson and Koji, has been the most active city in the settlement ambit in Quebec and probably also in Canada writ large. The impetus was

its emerging diversity and corresponding recognition of the need to foster “intercultural harmony” (2011, 169). Its policy framework has emphasized “human rights, the elimination of racism and xenophobia and intercultural rapprochement” (170), which may lead observers to the conclusion that Montreal is more intercultural than multicultural, but the difference may be more rhetorical than real. Take, for example, the composition and role of the Intercultural Council of Montreal. It is made up of 15 members from various ethnocultural groups and old stock Quebecers nominated by Montreal’s city council. The recognition of ethnocultural groups as distinct entities in need of representation is a feature that can be squared with the principles and goals of both interculturalism and multiculturalism in their idealized versions. In the chapter on Ontario, Daiva Stasiulis, Christine Hughes, and Zainab Amery note that Toronto has made considerable efforts to brand itself as a bastion of multiculturalism to promote its interests abroad, but this has not necessarily meant that its policies have always corresponded with multicultural values. Perhaps, then, local actors are working creatively within the confines set by provincial governments to meet their own goals. This is quite clearly the case for Montreal; the concentration of immigrants in the city makes it less feasible to over-emphasize the common public culture without antagonizing the established ethnocultural groups that are central to the city’s character and entrenched in its power structures.

The chapter by Stasiulis, Hughes, and Amery affirms that “Toronto’s city government has undoubtedly developed the most responsive policies attuned to the many issues that arise for newcomers” in comparison to its major Ontarian counterparts such as Ottawa, Niagara Region, Waterloo, and Mississauga (2011, 121). The authors broadly suggest that structural factors, such as the size and sources of the foreign-born population, the strength/cohesiveness of the ethnocultural/immigrant lobby, and the organization of council helps to explain this variation and other nuanced differences between the municipalities under study. An interesting caveat comes from Mississauga, a municipality that has dragged its feet in terms of developing integration and settlement services at the local level despite a very large immigrant population and evidence of powerful immigrant lobby groups. The chapter notes various studies identify long-standing mayor (until 2014) Hazel McCallion’s personal viewpoint on diversity accommodation as the reason for the Mississauga anomaly; the city has “put the onus on the immigrant to adapt ... and largely limited its acknowledgement of ethnocultural diversity to uncontroversial cultural events” (97).

In his chapter, Rodney Haddow focusses on Nova Scotia, a province with a growing but still relatively small immigrant population. Unlike Quebec, and especially Ontario, attracting immigrants has been a difficult endeavour for Nova Scotia; Nova Scotia’s population has grown only by 4.6% between 1986 and 2006 whereas Canada’s

rose by 24.9%. Concerns about emigration and economic stagnation are the main factors driving the growing interest among provincial officials in attracting more immigrants to the province. Consequently, a provincial immigration ministry was created and a “threefold increase in Nova Scotia’s fiscal commitment” (Haddow 2011, 207). The rich detail Haddow provides on his four municipal case studies brings to light just how different the content and tenor of debates are in Nova Scotia than in Ontario and Quebec: multiculturalism and interculturalism are scarcely mentioned. Only a small percentage of provincial settlement funds were dedicated to ethnocultural groups in the 2007-2008 fiscal year, which Haddow explains by noting there are no well-known “organizations ... that exist to speak on behalf of immigrant or ethnocultural communities on immigration policy in Nova Scotia” (212). Moreover, Haddow’s interviewees reveal that provincial and municipal officials are in consensus that the province needs to attract more immigrants to areas outside of Halifax, and to that end, municipalities need to become active partners in a province-wide immigration strategy.

Serena Kataoka and Warren Magnusson’s insightful chapter allows us to consider the historical narrative woven by Triadafilopoulos from the vantage of a particular province: British Columbia (BC). In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Canadian state laid down various laws and proclamations that crystalized White Canada. Before BC’s entry into Confederation, the British colonial administration excluded Asians and displaced the Aboriginal population to generate a “white man’s province” (Roy 1989). According to the authors, federal legislation to exclude Asian immigrants was “in large part the result of pressure from BC, where Asians were denied the franchise until after the Second World War” (Kataoka and Magnusson 2011, 242). In fact, the BC elite initially scoffed at the gradual liberalization of Canada’s immigration policy, which Triadafilopoulos attributes to the new normative context emerging after the Second World War. In BC, argue Kataoka and Magnusson, attitudes only liberalized when concerns about the province’s economic future became paramount; Asia presented itself as a source of investment capital and markets for BC products (2011, 242). There was a brief period in the 1990s when multiculturalism had a high profile in BC’s administrative apparatus—the Ministry for Multiculturalism, Immigration, and Human Rights—but that ended quickly and immigration matters have since been folded into labour, education, and the Ministry of the Attorney General. The BC attorney general now divides its settlement and multiculturalism programs, with the latter receiving significantly less attention and resources for municipalities to administer. In fact, the authors note that the ministry’s self-description of its immigration and multiculturalism services “frame these efforts in terms of helping immigrants to adapt. The obvious assumption is that immigrants are the ones doing the

adapting” (247). This revelation resonates with Hansen’s chapter in *The Multicultural Question*; perhaps multiculturalism in BC is akin to “assimilation by stealth.”

Taken together, the three monographs, at first glance, appear to present a somewhat pessimistic message about multiculturalism, a concept often thought to be interchangeable with being Canadian. Triadafilopoulos persuasively argues that international norms weighed heavily on policy decisions to break down Canada’s formerly racist immigration and citizenship policies. Moreover, he adds that the speed and “quiet” nature of reforms in Canada were aided by its political institutions, which allowed for the “dominance of the federal cabinet in the sphere of immigration policy” (2012, 10). Canada’s origins as a settler nation played a role as well, but Triadafilopoulos dispels the notion that widespread political and public consensus on liberalizing reforms existed; consensus was simply not necessary. The same might be said about Canada’s official multiculturalism policy. Besides its lack of popularity in Quebec, the various contributions in *The Multicultural Question* point to the mounting evidence that multiculturalism is neither put into practice nor publicly supported if we are precise about its definition. Nevertheless, this is not necessarily cause for concern. The extensive efforts made by various levels of government to devise programs that integrate, such as language training, credential recognition, and employment assistance, appear to be what Canadians prefer; in the age of neo-liberalism and fiscal retrenchment, extensive spending on “song, sari, and samosa” is not likely to find renewed support in Canada, if it ever had support in the first place. Luckily, as *Immigrant Settlement Policy in Canadian Municipalities* highlights, the engagement of municipalities in settlement policy is generating creativity and more emphasis on integrating immigrants. This development may prove vital for social stability in Canada because the postwar normative context Triadafilopoulos outlined may be giving way to a renewed emphasis on integral nationalism given the anti-immigrant wave sweeping Europe.<sup>2</sup> With that in mind, it should not alarm Canadians that integration has been prioritized, on the grounds that it may be the best means to prevent xenophobia from entering the political mainstream. There is no imminent reason to discard multiculturalism from our vocabulary in Canada, as its popularity as an idea may actually be protecting our liberal admissions and citizenship policies from radical overhaul. At the same time, discarding the term multiculturalism from our national lexicon may help Canadians come to terms with its irrelevance with respect to what really matters for immigrants: Canada’s continued ability to accept new Canadians and provide them with the necessary support to help them realize their goals.

## NOTES

1. Until 1999, citizenship in Germany was transmitted only through lineage, thus excluding settled guest workers and their offspring from access to German nationality.
2. There is a plethora of literature covering this phenomenon. For a seminal work, see Cas Mudde, *Radical Right Parties in Europe* (2007).

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