

Book Reviews/Comptes rendus

KEITH BANTING, THOMAS J. COURCHENE, and F. LESLIE SEIDLE (Eds.) *Belonging? Diversity, Recognition and Shared Citizenship in Canada*. Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy/Institut de recherche en politiques publiques, 2007, ix + 697 p.

Belonging? Diversity, Recognition and Shared Citizenship in Canada is the third volume in The Art of the State series of the Institute for Research on Public Policy (IRPP), a national non-profit think-tank which seeks to improve public policy in Canada. The chapters in this volume are versions of papers presented in a conference on the theme of “Diversity and Canada’s Future” held in Montebello, Québec, in October 2005. Readers expecting an exclusively Canadian perspective will be in for a surprise, as 7 of the 25 chapters deal specifically with international experiences in Europe, the United States, and New Zealand. Collectively, the chapters present a welcome comparative-based discussion of how Canada and other western countries manage ethnic diversity and aboriginal realities against the backdrop of social inequalities, discrimination, and racism. Particular attention is placed on the multicultural agenda, which seeks to promote accommodating conceptions of citizenship through the expression of distinct identities and practices. The contributors also address the question of minority integration into mainstream society in ways which reinforce a common sense of community and citizenship.

In addition to the introduction and conclusion, the book is organized in five sections which tackle distinctive themes. The first section presents an informative analysis of Canadian approaches to recognizing and accommodating diversity by discussing the considerable variety which exists in constitutional, legislative, and program initiatives in the country. The theoretical contribution of Will Kymlicka sets the tone for the book by presenting the liberal foundations of Canada’s diversity citizenship models as they relate to immigrant/ethnic groups, Aboriginal Peoples, and Francophones/Québécois. In their commentaries on Will Kymlicka’s chapter, Roy McMurtry and Yasmeen Abu-Laban respectively express concern about the need to address Aboriginal poverty when questioning their sense of belonging to Canada on the one hand, and the issue of unequal power relations in the country on the other hand. While agreeing with Daniel Salée, who argues in his chapter that most diversity management policies lack effectiveness in combating inequalities, Marie McAndrew remains critical of his work. More specifically, she calls into question existing forms of inequalities (racial, social class, gender) and argues that pluralist transformation has been difficult in the province as the

integration of immigrants cannot be taken for granted in the context of Québécois interculturalism. In the final chapters of the first section of the book, Katherine A. H. Graham and Susan D. Philips discuss the challenge of managing diversity in Canadian cities with provincial and federal governments, and David Ley provides a commentary concentrating on the issue of spatial segregation and districts of poverty in Canada.

The second section of the book focuses on the recognition and the state of rights of indigenous people. The main argument conveyed here is that finding ways to recognize the distinctiveness of Aboriginal people is often a struggle since their recognition is related to their overall life chances and sense of belonging, and needs to be acceptable to them as well as to majority populations. The first three contributions offer a relatively optimistic portrayal of the realities of First Nations, Métis, and urban Aboriginal people in the Canadian context. In her chapter, Evelyn Peters contends that policy developments affecting First Nations and Métis people in Canadian cities need to take into account the important role of Aboriginal institutions, and rejects the idea that city-dwelling Aboriginal people constitute an isolated underclass. John Richards expresses some disagreement in his commentary on Evelyn Peters by emphasizing the trend towards racial geographic segregation in the cities of Winnipeg, Regina, and Saskatoon. Joyce Green and Ian Peach present a compelling case regarding the potential merits of “indigenization,” whereby the settler state and its relatively privileged population must make changes to accommodate Aboriginal rights in areas such as federalism, governance, constitutional arrangements and cultural symbols. And finally, Roger Maaka offers a New Zealand perspective on Aboriginal diversity by discussing some of the progresses and limitations regarding how the nation accommodates Maori communities, especially in light of the fact that the government does not share its power in making policies and programs.

The third section of the book discusses international experiences in a range of European countries and in the United States. The four chapters show that diversity policies tend to reflect the fundamental values of the general population as well as the particular context of the given countries, which similarly face the challenge of a heightened salience of religion and existing inequalities between certain minority groups and majority populations. In his analysis of civic integration in Western Europe (the Netherlands, France and Germany), Christian Joppke notes that most newcomers to Europe are generally low-skilled migrants as opposed to the rather highly skilled immigrants coming to Canada, a significant contextual difference which helps explain why Europe is perhaps less inclined to foster a sense of voluntary civic integration. According to Randall Hansen, the UK does generally better than most European countries in the economic integration of visible minorities, but has recently adopted somewhat taxing civic measures for new and settled immigrants in an attempt to strengthen civic integration. By referring to data from the European Social Survey conducted in 21 European countries, Marc Hooghe, Tim Reeskens and Dietlind Stolle find that higher levels of trust and less ethnocentrism prevail in countries of northern Europe rather than in southern, central, or eastern Europe, bringing the authors to consider

what effects multiculturalism and immigration policies exert on the two indicators of social cohesion. In the final chapter, Mary C. Waters and Zoua M. Vang discuss the challenges of immigration to race-based diversity policies in the United States, and suggest that issues such as rising income inequality and undocumented workers present significant challenges to a country whose affirmative action policy is currently being undermined by the relative success of certain groups of first- and second-generation immigrants.

The fourth section of the book addresses the topic of faith-based communities and diversity within Western democracies. The findings of the three contributors suggest that pluralist countries are faced with potential conflicts in managing conflicting values between certain religious practices and widely-accepted principles fundamental to shared citizenship and belonging. Tariq Ramadan's theoretical chapter discusses religious allegiance and shared citizenship from the vantage point of Muslim identity and belief systems, and suggests that Islamic training and education should include civic education to foster universal values and citizenship in Western countries, and the world in general. In her chapter, Marion Boyd looks at the use of religious conventions relating to Islamic personal law, and suggests that the controversy surrounding the introduction of a Sharia court in Canada pushed Canadian citizens to think about the role of multiculturalism in their everyday lives. Sheema Khan offers additional thought on Marion Boyd's chapter by introducing the concept of "transformational accommodation," a term coined by Will Kymlicka to refer to the process leading to balancing individual rights and freedoms with collective religious and cultural freedoms, in order to argue that the Sharia court debate fostered a sense of inclusion within the Muslim community by providing women the opportunity to voice their concerns.

The fifth section of the book deals with the question of participation and social cohesion among ethnocultural communities, revealing that immigrants and their children are engaging reasonably well in Canadian society in spite of reports of discrimination and unfair treatment. The chapter by Jeffrey G. Reitz and Rupa Banerjee, examining policy issues related to racial inequality and social cohesion in Canada, presents research showing that experiences of discrimination and vulnerability are the main factors related to lower levels of integration for vulnerable minorities, and calls for the need to sensitize the majority population to the significance of issues of racial inequality. In her positive commentary on Jeffrey G. Reitz and Rupa Banerjee, Pearl Eliadis proposes that greater attention also needs to be placed on the subject of systemic discrimination and the important role the human rights commission could potentially play in redressing discrimination in Canada. Stuart Soroka, Richard Johnston and Keith Banting discuss the different directions of two theories of social integration, namely the importance of shared belonging and national identity versus the emphasis on wider participation in diversity management processes, and suggest that perhaps historic tensions between the so-called "founding people" may represent the greatest challenge to social cohesion in Canada. However, the critical commentary by Bonnie Erickson challenges the assumption made by Stuart Soroka, Richard

Johnston and Keith Banting that people with higher levels of education are more tolerant than working-class people on the grounds that a more appropriate predictor of intolerance is the sense of competition over jobs. In the final chapter, Paul Howe presents data demonstrating that the political disengagement of newcomers is more prevalent in the UK than in Canada, but that Canada still needs to work on promoting a common sense of belonging and trust among its citizens.

This book significantly increases our understanding of belonging, shared citizenship and diversity in Canada, and provides insight into how the Canadian experience compares with situations in European countries, the United States, and New Zealand. However, technical errors and poor formatting diminish the overall presentation and accessibility of this book. While the introductory chapter provides a good overview of the themes addressed in the volume, it does not correspond to the actual ordering of the sections as correctly noted in the table of contents. The book also lacks a list of tables and graphs, a subject index, and number or alpha identification for the different sections of the book as well as the individual chapters and commentaries. These easy-to-correct shortcomings are regrettable because the book holds great potential as a reference or accompanying text for university courses in areas such as sociology, political science and Canadian studies. Moreover, the subject matter addressed in this book will undoubtedly appeal to a wide spectrum of professionals working for various levels of government in Canada, and for think-tanks and non-profit sectors in the country and at the international level.

There is much optimism in this book regarding Canada's potential for strengthening social integration and shared citizenship in ways which take into account diversity and social inequalities. In particular, the editors Keith Banting, Thomas J. Courchene, and F. Leslie Seidle write a convincing concluding chapter which examines some of the ways that the book's research findings and critical discussions can help Canada move forward on a positive note in the area of diversity management. In particular, the editors draw our attention to the need to promote a human rights agenda, socio-economic equality, and well-being for minority groups; and greater political and civic participation among Aboriginal and immigrant communities and organizations. On a critical note, the state of diversity within the two official minority language communities, English in Québec and French in the rest of Canada, arguably remains an area which deserves more attention in the context of shared citizenship and belonging. Given the important leadership role which Canada has played in the promotion of multiculturalism and human rights, the comparative and international dimensions of this book also imply that we need to consider the success stories we can impart and the lessons we can learn from other countries which share a democratic vision of social cohesion and the elimination of discrimination.

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