



POLICY RESEARCH INITIATIVE HORIZONS

Volume 4 Number 1

February 2001

EMERGING DEVELOPMENTS AND KNOWLEDGE IN PUBLIC POLICY RESEARCH

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Welcome!

Social cohesion and social inclusion are central debates in public policy today. This has become all the more important as we learn that we cannot define these concepts in strictly economic terms. We must now consider such emergent challenges to inclusion as the digital divide and greater ethnic diversity. This issue of *Horizons* will address situations and concepts associated with **social inclusion**, including such pressing

issues as access to work, education, poverty and social inequalities, social and cultural diversity and new emergent inclusion challenges that ought to be taken into account in public policy development.

In this edition, we do not claim to provide a comprehensive picture of inclusion. Instead, we attempt to identify and outline some concepts and challenges that are vital for binding Canada's social fabric together.

Economic Efficiency's Price

"Social cohesion has returned to the center of the debates on the destructive test of the global market. Like Milton's paradise lost, social cohesion is decried as a loss. It should, therefore, be re-established as a matter of urgency. It is assumed that economic, technological and

social developments brought about by the globalization of markets and structural adjustment policies have destabilized social relations. While economic pressure is stronger than ever, it does not seem to be balanced by security of existence. The price of economic efficiency

is, therefore, diminishing social cohesion."

Mateo Alaluf, *Final report of the "Demographic Trends And The Role Of Social Protection: The Idea Of Social Cohesion," Seminar*, (Centre de sociologie du travail, de l'emploi et de la formation, 1999), available at <http://www.ulb.ac.be/project/tef/cohsocen.html>.

Policy Reflections

"I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the culture of all the lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any."

- Mahatma Gandhi

Next Up!!!

Transportation infrastructure has long been a tie that binds Canadians from coast to coast to coast. Canada's **transportation** policy today is facing new challenges stemming from rapid growth in north-south trade, the need to establish green corridors, expanding cities and global competition. The next edition of *Horizons* will look at land, air and water transportation questions in Canada, and North America more generally, in an effort to examine such issues as competition policy, the need for a North American transportation framework, commuter rail and municipal transportation needs, the transportation requirements of rural residents and green corridors. If you know of any research work or programs that might be of interest to readers, please contact horizons@prs-srp.gc.ca or call (613) 947-1956.



Executive Brief



The Liberty of Inclusion

By their very nature, inclusion and social cohesion are challenging research domains – tough to define, quantify and explain. Interest in this research area is sometimes attributed to concerns about the stresses caused by globalization on society, community and individuals. While this may be the cause of revived interest, the reality is that the struggle for inclusion and cohesion is a perpetual one.

INCLUSION'S REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS

As epitomized by the French revolution's call of "*liberté, égalité et fraternité*," inclusion and cohesion are driving forces in human society. Of course, context is important and, accordingly, today's discourse differs from that of earlier eras. For instance, some have argued that access to human capital development is a key component of inclusion and participation. This view is also manifest in growing fears of the emergence of a digital divide that would fragment societies into "know" and "know nots," depending on access and proficiency in information communication technologies.

From a research perspective, discussion often begins with the definition of concepts. Recognizing that many wordings are possible, the working definition used by the Policy Research Initiative contends that social cohesion is "the ongoing process of developing a community of shared values, shared challenges and equal opportunity within Canada, based on a sense of trust, hope and reciprocity among all Canadians." Few would disagree with the underlying sentiment or with the observation that this broad definition allows for multiple interpretations.

Definitions are not ends in themselves, but are means to better understanding. The point of this definition is to inform research directions.

FROM THOUGHT TO PRAXIS

It may be easier to define social cohesion and inclusion by what it isn't. Intuitively, we can get a clear

idea of what it means to be left out: economically, by being out of the labour market, unable to access credit or own property; socially, by being isolated from friends, support networks and everyday society or by being denied personal dignity and respect; or politically, by being denied access to decision making or, in extreme cases, to human rights. In Canada, as elsewhere, individuals and groups continue to combat exclusion as it morphs into new forms. As researchers and analysts, it is our job to identify new vulnerabilities searching for their causes and remedies.

"As epitomized by the French revolution's call of "liberté, égalité et fraternité," inclusion and cohesion are driving forces in human society."

As this *Horizons* issue shows, research has uncovered new insights but much remains to be done. The challenge going forward is to build on this foundation by providing greater precision and depth. The inclusion and cohesion knowledge base needs to be more actionable in research terms and more relevant in policy terms. Ultimately, the body of knowledge needs to meet the policy decision makers' litmus test of "what needs to be done and how should we do it?" By these tough criteria, the work of defining, quantifying and explaining inclusion and social cohesion's implications for Canadian society is a task that is well underway but by no means complete. It will be the challenge of the PRI's newly established horizontal project on social cohesion led by Morris Rosenberg (Justice Canada), in concert with partners throughout the Canadian policy research community, to help build on this foundation of knowledge.

Laura A. Chapman
Executive Director,
Policy Research Secretariat

For more information on social capital, please see *Isuma*, Winter 2001.





Policy
Research


Recherche sur
les politiques

National Policy Research Conference

December 6-7, 2001

Westin Hotel and
Ottawa Congress Centre,
Ottawa, Ontario

Bringing Communities Together



Bringing Communities Together, the fourth annual National Policy Research Conference, will examine each of these themes and the linkages among them:

How can innovative communities contribute to social and economic development?

▼ productivity, knowledge dissemination, innovation networks, biotechnology, health, ethics.

How can sustainable communities address the challenges we face?


▼ resource management, ecological footprints, environmental risks, urban density, economic development, adaptive management.

What role do socio-cultural communities play in Canada?

▼ social differentiation, multiple identities, immigration, population aging, the voluntary sector.

How are virtual communities forming and evolving?

▼ developments in cyberspace, on-line democracy, patterns of association, e-commerce.



Communities are where citizens live. They provide the context in which people build their quality of life; they are where people experience change; and they are a source of stability and support in the face of change.

Canadian society is currently undergoing profound transformations that are being played out in communities everywhere. In a world where the pace of change is accelerating, links within and among communities take on renewed importance. Existing links are under pressure as communities adapt and respond to shifting circumstances, while new links are emerging.

To adapt to their rapidly evolving environment, citizens increasingly look toward **innovative communities** that nurture new ideas and solutions, **sustainable communities** able to manage development with a long-term perspective, and strong **socio-cultural communities** that provide a sense of belonging. Technology also makes **virtual communities** possible, where people with shared interests can communicate and coordinate regardless of distance.

Call for Papers

The call for papers for this conference is now open. The deadline to submit a proposal is

April 27, 2001.

For more information, see
<http://policyresearch.gc.ca>

Canada

We look forward to seeing you at the
2001 National Policy Research Conference!

Feature Columnist

Social Inclusion/Exclusion of Canadian Children

The Canadian Council on Social Development is preparing two reports for the Laidlaw Foundation on the social inclusion and exclusion of children. One report focuses on concepts and indicators of inclusion and exclusion and the other examines the impacts of parental labour force experiences on children.

LINKED PROBLEMS

Social inclusion and exclusion is a broad conceptual framework that links distinct but overlapping variables of well-being and disadvantage for individuals and

socially isolated or disengaged and even the long-term unemployed are not necessarily poor.

A SENSIBLE APPROACH TO INCLUSION

Drawing on the work of Amartya Sen, we see an inclusive society as characterized by widely shared social experience and active participation, by a broad equality of opportunities and life chances for individuals and by the achievement of a basic level of well-being for all citizens. This concept of inclusion draws attention to gaps and distances between citizens

from the job market and often living in distressed neighbourhoods. Another twenty percent of children are at a modest risk of exclusion in that they are vulnerable to low income and regular parental unemployment and remain distant over time from the social consumption mainstream. These are the children of the *working poor* and *near poor* who tend to cycle in and out of precarious, low paid jobs, occasionally falling into poverty and rarely finding steady well-paid employment.

CHILDREN OF THE PRECARIOUSLY EMPLOYED

The causal relationships often drawn between income level to such outcomes as child health, ability to learn and well-being run through causal channels that cannot be fully explored even though surveys such as the *National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth* provide us with a rich source of data. To determine the causal relationship, it is first important to unpack what low and modest incomes mean in terms of foregone consumption and investment in children. For example, even the children of families significantly above the poverty line are likely to be excluded from developmental recreation programs due to high costs and rising user fees and may be unable to purchase books and computers needed to learn. Only the more affluent parents can afford private tutoring and similar market-based compensations for shrinking public services.

“...we estimate that as many as ten per cent of Canadian children are at serious risk of exclusion in terms of living in deep and prolonged low income...”

households. Causal links between these variables run in many directions and several different clusters of well-being are possible.

Exclusion is rooted in overlapping, mutually reinforcing and uncompensated sources of disadvantage. Thus, UK Prime Minister Tony Blair has defined exclusion as “what can happen when individuals and areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low income, poor housing, high crime, bad health and family breakdown.” Low income is a key source of exclusion, but the

across measures of well-being. Sen’s framework is also applicable to children in terms of development and well-being across several key dimensions, including learning, health and social engagement. Children are, of course, also impacted upon by the extent of inclusion or exclusion of families with respect to income, employment and housing.

Based on existing labour market and income research, we estimate that as many as ten percent of Canadian children are at very serious risk of exclusion in terms of living in deep and prolonged low income in (often single parent) families that are excluded

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The children of the precariously employed are exposed not only to recurrent low income and thus reduced consumption, but also to parental stress and anxiety due to occasional unemployment, low income and holes in the income security system, which in turn may result in health problems and family stress and breakdown. They are also likely to experience neighbourhood moves that disrupt social ties and schooling and they may experience occasional poor housing in line with changing family incomes.

Parental time is as important to children as economic resources. The working poor are less likely to have access to extended maternity and parental leaves, to time off work to deal with family emergencies and to the time and resources needed for even a short family vacation. Many work in jobs with very irregular hours, which also provide few if any dental and health benefits covering children.

Research has shown that the links from income to child well-being are very much influenced by parental love and involvement, but a gradient of outcomes by socio-economic circumstances nonetheless exists along such key dimensions as child health as well as literacy and numeracy levels of young adults. High exposure to compounding sources of exclusion can explain why children brought up in poverty are at a higher risk of ill health and poor learning outcomes. From a social inclusion perspective, however, it is important to underline not just

that children of the poor do relatively less well, but also that the children of the affluent tend to do much better than average.

Health and literacy gradients by parental socio-economic background are steep in highly unequal societies such as the United States and much flatter in more egalitarian societies such as Sweden and The Netherlands, with Canada standing in the middle. Only the most fortunate Canadian children fare as well as the average Swedish child in terms of basic health indicators and literacy attainment. This suggests that attempts to secure greater inclusion promote the well-being of a large majority of citizens and not just those living in poverty.

IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

Social inclusion and exclusion also draw attention to sources of child well-being at the neighbourhood level. Growing up in a distressed neighbourhood is much worse in terms of child outcomes than living in a low income family, suggesting possible links to over-stretched and under-resourced schools and community services, inadequate housing, lack of suitable and safe community spaces for children, vulnerability to victimization and crime and so on.

Community assets and social capital play a key role in inclusion and the characteristics of a good neighbourhood from the perspective of children are not reducible to income alone. Good neighbourhoods have decent services and

infrastructure, including schools, libraries and open areas, and have involved parents and neighbours. These may not be present in high-income suburbs given commuting times and the working hours of parents. In the 1990s, we have increasingly made 50-hour weeks the norm for full-time work for most parents.

THE FIRST MINISTERS' PROMISE

Last September, Canada's First Ministers reached an agreement on Early Childhood Development. Their communiqué stated that "every child should be valued and should have the opportunities to develop his or her unique physical, emotional, intellectual, spiritual and creative potential" and promised that Ministers would "work together so that young children can fulfil their potential to be healthy, safe and secure, ready to learn and socially engaged and responsible."

These inclusive goals can be realized by developing the conceptual framework of social inclusion and exclusion and by developing related indicators, policies and action plans. Such an approach is already being taken by the United Kingdom and the European Union. Much can be learned from their recent experience.

Andrew Jackson

Director of Research,
Canadian Council on Social
Development

For copies of the reports, please
e-mail Andrew Jackson at
jackson@ccsd.ca.



Across Canada



A Children's Agenda: The Laidlaw Foundation's Focus on Social Inclusion

The Laidlaw Foundation is considering social inclusion as a conceptual focus for exploring well-being in children and families and as a possible strategic focus for a new funding program. The Foundation is developing a new agenda for its Children's Agenda funding program, which in the past has provided support to national policy research, policy advocacy and public education initiatives, including *Campaign 2000*, the Canadian Council on Social Development's Progress of Canada's Children and Canadian Policy Research Network's *Best Policy Mix for Canada's Young Children* project.

The Laidlaw Foundation describes itself as "a public interest foundation that uses its human and financial resources in innovative ways to strengthen civic engagement and social cohesion. The Foundation uses its capital to better the environments and fulfill the capacities of children and youth, to enhance the opportunities for human development and creativity and to sustain healthy communities and ecosystems."

INCLUSION'S ADDED VALUE

Social inclusion draws on the relationship between life chances of children and social cohesion, two issues that have framed much of the Laidlaw Foundation's recent work. Social inclusion

has the potential to promote a new discourse and to help us advance an agenda on the well-being of children and families. Although poverty will always remain a critical factor, social exclusion draws our attention to non-income barriers such as disability and racial discrimination.

Social exclusion has been described as "the inability of our society to keep all groups within reach of what we expect as a society" - the tendency to push socially and economically vulnerable people "into the least popular places, furthest away from our common aspirations." Social inclusion, by contrast, involves strengthening solidarity by closing the social and economic distances between people. When looking at children, the dimensions of social inclusion that seem most promising include promoting participation, a sense of belonging, acceptance and reciprocity and enhancing capacities, capabilities and competencies. Social inclusion is thus both a process and an outcome.

The Foundation has chosen to focus on inclusion rather than on exclusion in order to promote a *human development* approach to well-being. This calls for a commitment to strengthen inclusion at all levels (e.g., family, community, and society), not merely to

reduce the impacts of disparities on individuals. Enhancing children's capacities and promoting their participation and belonging requires more than the prevention of exclusion, just as promoting equal life chances means more than "reducing risk." This perspective is reflected in the work of the United Nations Human Development Program (UNDP), as influenced by Nobel Prize winner, Amartya Sen.

THE LAIDLAW APPROACH

The Laidlaw Foundation is exploring the potential of social inclusion as a focus of well-being for children and families in two ways: one, by commissioning a series of working papers that examine inclusion from varying conceptual and policy perspectives; and, two, by funding policy research and public education projects that advance social inclusion practically and/or conceptually. The working papers and the results of the research projects will be published later in 2001. The results will contribute to the discourse on social inclusion and help identify promising areas for future research.

For more information about the *Children's Agenda Program* see the Laidlaw Foundation web site <http://www.laidlawfdn.org> or contact Christa Freiler at cfreiler@sympatico.ca.

Research Symposium on Voluntary Sector

In an effort to set a research agenda on the voluntary sector, a symposium was held in September 2000 that brought together voluntary sector leaders, researchers and government representatives. The attendants discussed how to embark on a collaborative research agenda that reflects both the diversity and dynamism of the voluntary sector. The symposium had three objectives:

- To assess the needs, gaps and key areas for sector-wide research and development;
- To develop criteria to guide collaborative research linking research to practice; and
- To develop a network of people engaged in voluntary sector research.

The symposium began with an assessment of the research into the voluntary sector in Canada. A literature review outlined that, with notable exceptions, there is a lack of research and that the research that has been done is only scantily funded. Moreover, the research that does exist tends to be unsophisticated, lack theoretical underpinnings and is not well disseminated. In short, the review found that major research gaps remain.

A PRELIMINARY AGENDA

Through a series of sessions, participants developed a framework that called for research into:

- The nature, size, scope and impact of the voluntary sector;
- The role of the sector in society, including contributions to social cohesion and to public policy;
- Capacity issues aimed at strengthening communities and organizations; and
- The building of research capacity within and outside the sector.

The group also generated a variety of ideas on the principles, approaches and mechanisms that would move the voluntary sector research agenda forward. Participants endorsed collaborative and multidisciplinary approaches and encouraged the active involvement of communities and voluntary sector organizations in identifying issues, guiding

the research process and interpreting the findings. Finally, participants emphasized the importance of effective research dissemination. Research results will only feed into the policy development process if they are widely disseminated and can be easily understood by a wide audience.

Since the September symposium, a Moving Forward Group was formed to maintain the momentum. In consultation with the nascent network of researchers, voluntary sector leaders, government officials and funding bodies, the Moving Forward Group is developing a five-year vision for voluntary sector research. We will be looking forward to future developments with great interest.

Adapted from Rapporteur's Notes
Michael Orsini,
 Carleton University

Bookmark



Diversity and the Labour Market

"The most popular way of determining whether Canada's visible minorities face discrimination in the labour market is simply to compare their average wages and annual earnings with those of white Canadians. This is naive in two ways: It does not distinguish among different visible minorities and it does not control for other possible differences between visible minorities and white Canadians - in education or experience, for instance. ...Among immigrants, however, an unexplained wage gap is common. This suggests policy should focus less on employment or wage equity and more on helping immigrants integrate into Canadian society."

Derek Hum and Wayne Simpson, "Not All Visible Minorities Face Labour Market Discrimination," *Policy Options* (December 2000), p. 45-48. A full text can be found on the Institute for Research on Public Policy web site at <http://www.irpp.org/po/index.htm>.



PRJ Update

“What Will Keep Us Together?” - Social Cohesion Workshop Series

Over the past year, the **Social Cohesion Network** has organized a quarterly series of workshops to showcase research and to foster a discussion on the key aspects of social cohesion and inclusion. The question *What will keep us together?* has served as the framework over the past year for bringing together a range of government and academic researchers. Past workshops have covered such issues as:

- Civic Participation at Home and Abroad: Social Glue or Social Band-aid?
- Restorative Justice: Can it mend strained relations?
- Transformation in the Family and Implications for Social Cohesion
- Immigration and Ethnic Diversity

For the upcoming year, four workshops are being planned (some titles and dates are tentative):

- Cooperatives, Collective Enterprises and Social Cohesion (March 6, 2001)
- The Politics of Identity and Social Cohesion (June 2001)
- Inter-ethnic and Homeland Country Conflicts in Canada (September 2001)
- Social Cohesion as a Factor in Crime Prevention (November 2001)

Summaries of the presentations and discussions will be made available on the social cohesion section of the PRI web site at <http://policyresearch.gc.ca>. For more information, contact Michael McKinnon at (613) 947-3927 or by e-mail at m.mackinnon@prs-srp.gc.ca.

Upcoming Events



DATE	EVENTS
MARCH 6, 2001	<i>Social Cohesion Network's Workshop Series Cooperatives, Collective Enterprises and Social Cohesion</i> 1:30-4:00 pm. (Ottawa) The new economy, market globalization and advancements in information and communication technologies have changed the way cooperatives and collectively owned enterprises operate and the role they play in rural and urban communities. Changes in the cooperative movement in Canada will have significant implications for economic and social investment. This workshop will look at how cooperatives will continue building social capital in rural and urban communities. For more information, please visit http://policyresearch.gc.ca/upcoming-e.htm .
MARCH 8-10, 2001	<i>Re-Inventing Society in a Changing Global Economy</i> (University of Toronto) Six sessions on diverse aspects of globalization including international relations, labour relations, cultural and social values, information and knowledge institutions, nationalism and politics will be explored. Papers will be presented at the conference by leading Canadian and international scholars. The keynote address will be delivered by John Ralston Saul, author of <i>Rediscovering Democracy, Re-Inventing Globalisation</i> . Conference details can be found at http://www.utoronto.ca/ethnicstudies/conferences.html#overview .
MAY 6-9, 2001	<i>Annual Conference of The Institute of Public Administration of Canada</i> (Edmonton) Governments today need to adapt to new innovations in information and communication technologies and ensure that they promote knowledge generation and diffusion within their own structures. The 2001 Annual conference of the Institute of Public Administration of Canada explores such issues as the meaning of a knowledge society and the digital divide, the role of government in the knowledge society, an individual's access to knowledge and participation in society and how public services are managed in a knowledge society. For more information, please see http://www.ipaciapc.ca/english/menu.htm .



New Canadians' New Challenges *Immigration and Social Inclusion*

Canada is increasingly depending upon high levels of immigration. New Canadians are an important source of growth for the Canadian population and of skills for the Canadian labour force. Consequently, the 1990s were Canada's most sustained period of high levels of immigration, averaging over 220,000 arrivals per year. Given the government's goal of integrating immigrants as full, participating citizens, it is necessary for us to analyze not just the personal skills, abilities and characteristics of newcomers but also the milieu in which they live.

Questions concerning immigration, ethnic diversity, social cohesion and inclusion were the focus of a workshop hosted by Citizenship and Immigration Canada titled *Immigration, Ethnic Diversity and Social Cohesion* held on November 9, 2000. Workshop discussions provided an analysis of current trends in immigration as the basis for exploring inclusion and social cohesion issues.

MORE SKILLS, LESS PAY

Research into this line of inquiry has revealed some worrisome

trends. At one time, immigrants would spend several years earning less than the average Canadian, but over time they achieved and even surpassed the Canadian average income. Those arriving in the 1990s, however, have faced a different situation. Although their education levels have increased, immigrant incomes at the time of arrival and one year after arrival have fallen markedly. At the same time, incidence of Employment Insurance and other forms of social assistance use have increased. Given the time lags inherent in collecting census and other data, it is unclear whether this problem has persisted for later immigrant cohorts.

Noting the Canadian government's added emphasis on high skill levels for new immigrants, panellists provided insight to the question how long can new Canadians' original credentials go unused before they go unrecognized? We should also consider whether the pattern of lower immigrant incomes followed by a gradual recovery is fair. This loss in income, when aggregated across all new Canadians, is equal

to about \$55 billion. Foreign education has only half the marginal value of Canadian schooling, when measured as the increase in income for each additional year, and foreign experience has little value in the Canadian market.

INCOME'S DIVIDING LINE

Finally, the workshop discussion raised the question of whether diversity was an obstacle to social cohesion. It was noted that it was not diversity so much as income that was the key dividing line. There was a consensus that we need to keep our institutions open to ethnic diversity, maintain the capacity to mediate conflicts between values and allow debates between different voices. This ability will be critical to our efforts to maintain economic competitiveness, as our workforce will depend on attracting the best from around the world.

MCM

For more information on the issues discussed at this workshop, see <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/srr/research/technical.html>.



Feature Columnist

Strengthening Canada's Social Commons

The social commons is the shared social space that gives a society its resilience and supports common purpose and action. Social commons are the shared spaces such as schools, hospitals, community centres and neighbourhoods and the shared stake in collective economic and social well-being that are the foundations of communities.

Social policy has worked well in building the social commons over the past twenty-five years; but societal fault lines are opening. It has been the sense of reciprocity among citizens that has laid the groundwork for the triumph of market liberalism and the rise of the welfare state in the post war era. We are all market liberals now. At the same time, however, we are led to wonder whether a loss of a common social space risks eroding the foundation upon which our prosperity is built. There is evidence that some of the fault lines of Canadian society are being opened even wider: income inequalities are rising; poverty is becoming more entrenched and concentrated among high risk groups, even as the poverty rate declines; and the number of poor urban neighbourhoods is growing.

THE CHALLENGE IS TO CAPITALIZE ON GLOBALIZATION WHILE STRENGTHENING THE SOCIAL COMMONS.

It is no coincidence that ideas such as social cohesion, social capital and social inclusion have

gained currency at a time when globalization is raising questions about the meaning of national identity and the nature of belonging. Some recent research has highlighted the importance of social commons and to the way inequalities affect our quality of life.

- Michael Wolfson's and Nancy Ross's study of mortality rates, comparing Canadian and US census metropolitan areas, found that there was a consistent relationship between inequality and mortality in the United States: higher inequality correlates with higher mortality rates in US census metropolitan areas. In Canada, however, they found that no such relationship exists between mortality and inequality levels. One of the hypotheses Wolfson and Ross are exploring further is that Canada's more integrated urban centres have better preserved the social commons - and, in effect, these preserved social commons are changing the way income inequalities are translated into health outcomes.
- A number of studies undertaken in both Canada and the United States have explored the role of neighbourhoods in mediating the impact of family condition on the crime behaviour of youth and have found that the quality of a neighbourhood matters to outcomes.

BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF CAUSALITY INDICATES A MULTI-FACETED APPROACH IS NEEDED.

What the social commons perspective on public policy teaches us is the importance of taking a complex view of the nature of causality and the way that public interventions are filtered through a network of mediating variables.

This complex approach has some important implications. First, in a world of multiple-causation we cannot know a priori which interventions will have what impacts. We are, as Peter Drucker has said, in a period of theory crisis. Our traditional theories are less and less prescriptive and give less certainty in terms of being able to forecast the effects of various interventions. Questions of policy effectiveness are, therefore, empirical questions. This calls for an approach to policy development that is more empirically grounded and longer term in orientation. Pilot projects, such as Canada's groundbreaking *Self Sufficiency Project*, is a model worth emulating.

Second, the complex approach puts a premium on recognizing that we live in a world of unintended consequences. We can no longer pursue policy objectives as though their effects are isolated. Our objectives are interlinked. Sometimes the best economic policy is social policy; and sometimes the best social policy is economic policy. Finally, inclusion and cohesion cannot be

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managed or controlled. They can only be influenced. This puts a premium on empowerment and on stimulating local participation and local solutions.

SURFACE STRUCTURE SOLUTIONS HELP ...

The first way is to approach the role of government is to change the surface structure. This means continuing to use the tax and transfer system to help those in need and to offset market-generated inequalities. There are, of course, better and worse ways to do this. The federal government has gradually shifted its emphasis to preventive social investments - witness the children's agenda and the National Child Benefit. Government has begun to use the tax system to deliver more and more of our social policy goals - from Registered Retirement Savings Plans and Registered Education Savings Plans to disability tax credits and the Canadian Child Tax Benefit. But such approaches can only go so far. There are limits to what the tax and transfer system can accomplish. Canadian society will continue to be inequitable in terms of outcomes and opportunities.

... BUT THEY ARE NOT ENOUGH. DEEP STRUCTURE SOLUTIONS ARE ALSO NEEDED

The second way to think about action is to change the deep structure. This means making the social commons an explicit concern of public policy. This involves taking a more integrated policy approach: an approach that recognizes the inherent complexity of social and economic sys-

Government can continue to address surface structure solutions that reflect the values of Canadians - to share prosperity with those less fortunate. This is the area where most public interventions are focussed. But the effect of these efforts must be magnified by ongoing investments in the deep structure. However, if policy undermines the deep structure then the whole dynamic changes. If cities become segre-

gated into gated suburbs and poor neighbourhoods and if the quality of public education and public health care erode, then the quality of life effects of income inequality are amplified. Likewise, if the system of income distribution promotes dependency or provokes deep-seated resentment then arguably the social commons is weakened. The role of government is to

“If cities become segregated into gated suburbs and poor neighbourhoods and if the quality of public education and public health care erode, then the quality of life effects of income inequality are amplified. Likewise, if the system of income distribution promotes dependency or provokes deep-seated resentment then arguably the social commons is weakened. The role of government is to create a positive synergy between deep structure and surface structure solutions.”

tems. It involves investing in skills, early childhood development and public education, community infrastructure and public transit, public health, research and innovation, crime prevention and community revitalization. All these elements interact to strengthen the social commons

create a positive synergy between deep structure and surface structure solutions.

Avrim Lazar
 Assistant Deputy Minister,
 Human Resources Development
 Canada

For information on the Self-Sufficiency Project see <http://www.srdc.org/english/projects/SSP.htm>.



Primer

The concepts of inclusion and social cohesion are increasingly found at the heart of social policy debates. Nonetheless, inclusion and social cohesion are contested concepts. Considering the growing number of poverty and security related challenges in Canadian society, exploring the definition of these and related concepts are of value in an effort to understand the correlations and linkages between them.

SOCIAL COHESION

“Social cohesion is the ongoing process of developing a community of shared values, shared challenges and equal opportunity within Canada, based on a sense of trust, hope and reciprocity among all Canadians.”

- Social Cohesion Network, PRI

“Social cohesion is a set of social processes that help instill in individuals the sense of belonging to the same community and the feeling that they are recognized as members of that community.”

[Translation]

- Commissariat général au plan of the French government

SOCIAL CAPITAL

“Social capital refers to features of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit”

- Robert Putnam, *Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital*, (New York: Simon & Shuster Publishers, 1995).

“Social capital is defined by its function. It is not a single entity

but a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they all consists of some aspect of social structure and they facilitate certain actions of actors - whether persons or corporate actors - within the structure. Like other forms of capital, social capital is productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that in its absence would not be possible.”

- James S. Coleman, "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital," *American Journal of Sociology*. (Volume 94), (1988).

SOCIAL EXCLUSION

“Social exclusion is a phenomenon of alienation and distance from society...Exclusion is the fact of preventing, even temporarily, someone from participating in social relationships and the construction of society.”

[Translation]

- J.B. De Foucauld and D. Piveteau, *La société en quête de sens*, (Odile Jacob, 1995).

Social exclusion is the rupture of the social bond between the state and those living at the margin.

- René Lenoir, *Les exclus: Un Français sur dix*, (Le Seuil, 1974).

SOCIAL INCLUSION

Inclusion is characterized by a society's widely shared social experience and active participation, by a broad equality of opportunities and life chances for individuals and by the achievement of a basic level of well-being for all citizens.

- Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom*, (Anchor Books, 2000).

Bookmark



Expanding Knowledge On Homelessness

The National Secretariat on Homelessness has prepared an agenda to direct the research component of the Government of Canada's homelessness initiative. The goal of the agenda is to give direction to the research undertaken and to ensure that the cumulative result of the individual projects within each research area enable a more thorough, comprehensive response to understanding and addressing homelessness in Canada.

The agenda outlines three research questions:

- What are the structural and systemic causes of homelessness and what changes could lead to the reduction and prevention of homelessness?
- Who are the homeless, what are their numbers and what is needed by particular homeless populations, such as families, youth and Aboriginal people, to get them out of homelessness and, in the long-term, prevent them from falling into homelessness?
- How can approaches to governance, as well as particular programs, services and initiatives, contribute to the enduring growth of capacity within communities to prevent and reduce homelessness?

For more information on the homelessness initiative, see National Secretariat on Homelessness web site at http://www.hrdc-drhc.gc.ca/nsh-snsa/secretariat_e.html.



Interesting Faces

Including Students

Claude Poudrier's Success with Action Research

How do youth learn to identify and understand environmental issues and how do they develop the skills to address them? What is required to foster a sense of citizenship and community spirit among Canada's young people? For Claude Poudrier, an advocate of sustainable development and sixth grade teacher, the best approach is through *Action Research: Community Problem Solving*. This past year, Poudrier was the runner-up in the 2000 Suzanne Peters Citizen Engagement Award. The Citizen Engagement Award, one of six Canadian Policy Research Awards, celebrates those people who help advance research and create opportunities that enable Canadians to have a greater voice in shaping public policy. Mr. Poudrier has been applying and developing the Action Research approach to environmental education since 1993.

THE ACTION RESEARCH APPROACH

Action Research is a pedagogical model that helps students learn about the environment. Its learning process involves bringing students to:

- Call to attention their environment;
- Analyze the problem taking into consideration the different outcomes;
- Consider some potential solutions;
- Retain the solutions that are the most appropriate for the situation;
- Put into motion an action plan; and
- Evaluate the steps taken and the achieved result.

The Action Research approach was initially developed by William B. Stapp in the United States to be used with any age group. According to this approach, students scan and analyze their surroundings - for example, their school and neighbourhood - and then develop projects to

solve specific environmental problems. In the past, students have addressed such problems as a lack of green space, waste of drinking water and vandalism.

The student's immediate environment becomes the source and means of learning. They learn to recognize problems, select a particular problem for their own investigation, set objectives and collect, organize and analyze data. Moreover, they define the problem from a variety of perspectives, identify and select possible action plans that may lead to improvements, develop and implement a specific plan of action and evaluate the outcome. During the problem-solving process, students engage in group work, undertake joint decision making and learn the necessary skills to participate in a democracy.

In addition to imparting new knowledge and skills, Poudrier's work has led to improvements in the local environment and built important community partnerships. For example, under his leadership, students, parents and the school board have worked together to address air, noise and visual pollution created by a neighbouring aluminum factory. Their constructive engagement led to \$1.5 million in clean-up, changes in manufacturing processes and an on-going partnership with the company, which provides in-kind support for the Action Research initiatives. Poudrier's commitment to empowering youth has enabled his students to engage as citizens. The Action Research teaching method provides us with a valuable approach to building inclusion and social capital at the community level.

KP

To learn more about the work of Claude Poudrier and Action Research visit his web site <http://www3.sympatico.ca/claude.poudrier/>.



Eyewitness

Combating Paedophile Information Networks

European police and magistrates involved in paedophile investigations are breaking new ground by cooperating in a EU funded project to tackle child pornography. *The Combating Paedophile Information Networks in Europe* project (COPINE) is being developed in association with the United Kingdom's Metropolitan Police Paedophile Unit, the Association for European Law Enforcement Cooperation in Brussels and the Dublin police. The team is examining individual case studies and investigations, paying particular attention to the use of the Internet to disseminate paedophile material. COPINE examines broad network issues, practical examples and the factors involved in intelligence gathering and sharing establishing. Moreover, the project provides a platform for the dissemination of information.

Max Taylor, the director of COPINE, was the featured speaker at the Research Seminar Series hosted by the Department of Justice Canada, on October 31, 2000, Max Taylor presented an overview of COPINE.

RESEARCH AND PRAXIS

COPINE involves the construction of a database of paedophilic images that can be used toward two purposes:

1. Assist in the investigation and prosecution of offenders; and

2. Create profiles of child pornographers and in understanding the behaviour of offenders.

COPINE involves the maintenance of a reference database of child pornography, the assessment of dangerousness in paedophiles by analyzing their collections of paedophilic images, the examination of the characteristics of offending and offenders and the analysis of the nature of child sex tourism and child trafficking in Europe. The database of over 70,000 images has helped Taylor and his team understand the characteristics of both victims and offenders. Groundbreaking analysis of pictures has enabled COPINE to assist law enforcement agencies throughout the world to identify victims and to prosecute offenders.

COPINE seek to increase our understanding of child pornography by identifying the number of victims, their gender, age, physical development, ethnicity and place of residence. Also, of interest is the nature of the relationship between child pornography and assault behaviour. For example, what are the distinguishing features between individuals who download, exchange and/or produce child pornography but do not assault children and those that do sexually offend.

Peter Giordiano, the creator of a private Internet relay chat channel, *Wonderland*, and convicted child pornographer, has said, "The Internet was basically a doorway...to the darkside." As a psychologist, Dr. Taylor has tried to determine how interaction with the Internet and the creation of virtual communities can reinforce deviant behaviour, in effect normalizing this behaviour. His conclusions were thought provoking and at times worrisome.

FINDING THE APPROACH

Taylor also distinguished between crime control and behavioural approaches to fighting child pornography. This distinction has important implications for the optimal allocation of resources. He identified three approaches to combat child pornography networks, each requiring a different formula for allocating scarce resources:

1. Reduce demand by apprehending those people who download illegal material;
2. Reduce supply by finding and apprehending the producers of the paedophilic images; or
3. Protect children from further victimization by identifying the children in the paedophilic images.

At present, legislation prohibiting child pornography is intended to control deviant

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behaviour of offenders. COPINE, by providing insight into the behaviour of offenders, helps us understand why child pornography is produced or collected. Understanding paedophilic behaviour enables us to allocate resources in such a way as to reduce child pornography both from a child protection standpoint and from a law enforcement standpoint.

CG

For further information on COPINE contact Max Taylor at stay@netcom.es.

Getting Tough?

At one time, many of the services provided in probation and parole settings adhered to a rehabilitative model aimed at reducing recidivism and reintegrating offenders into communities. A counterrevolution, however, evolved that stressed intermediate punishment-based strategies. The term intermediate was derived from the notion that deterrence strategies were seen as too crude and rehabilitative strategies as too soft. Besides a retributive purpose, it was expected the intermediate punishment-based approach would lead to social conformity.

In a recent article, a group of researchers assessed how well intermediate punishment-based strategies worked. They found that sufficient evidence exists to argue, "Clearly, the prison as deterrent hypotheses is not supported." They went on to argue, "...one can tentatively conclude that the effectiveness of intermediate sanctions is mediated solely through the provision of treatment." When it comes to reducing individual offender recidivism, "the only game in town is appropriate cognitive-behavioural treatments."

Paul Gendreau et al., "The Effects of Community Sanctions and Incarceration on Recidivism," *Forum on Corrections Research*, available at http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/text/pblct/forum/index_e.shtml.

Gender Inequalities

"Gendered labour-market inequalities are now fuelled by the erosion of minimum standards legislation, the deterioration of collective bargaining, reforms to unemployment insurance and cutbacks in the federal public service. These inequalities persist because the normative pre-eminence of the male standard employment relationship endures at the level of policy. Gendered notions of standard and non-standard employment relationship forms of employment are part and parcel of the design of labour policies. The new employment insurance program, for example, exacerbates gender differentiation by introducing a family income supplement that assumes an equitable distribution of resources within households."

Danielle Juteau, "Patterns of Social Differentiation in Canada: Understanding Their Dynamics and Bridging The Gaps," *Canadian Public Policy* (August 2000), p. 98, available at <http://qsilver.queensu.ca/~cpp/english/special/Juteau.pdf>.

Managing Diversity

"Social cohesion is not about social uniformity and homogeneity. It is not about the absence of conflicts. The simple existence of diversity of cultures, identities and life-styles does not constitute a problem for social cohesion. Indeed, pluralism is the hallmark of modern democratic society.

Social cohesion has to do with *how well institutions manage diversity and resolve conflicts by finding mutually satisfactory accommodation*. A cohesive society is one in which accommodation of conflict is well managed by public and private institutions. In turn, the ability of institutions to manage socio-economic cleavages and conflicts depends on their legitimacy. When the legitimacy of institutions is declining, their capacity to foster social cohesion and build bridges between Canadians is weakened."

The Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology, "Final Report On Social Cohesion," 1999, available at <http://www.parl.gc.ca/36/1/parlbus/commbus/senate/Com-e/SOCI-E/rep-e/repfinaljun99-e.htm#Table of contents>.





Social Cohesion and Inclusion: *What is the Research Agenda?*

It is ironic that several years of positive macro-economic performance have been accompanied by increased concerns within Canada's policy communities and the general public about social cohesion, particularly issues related to **inclusion**. The improved aggregate health of the Canadian economy has had unequal distributional effects across social classes and groups. Over these years, we have observed an increase in inequality in both after-tax/transfer incomes and market incomes. Poverty levels of families with children are persistently high. The depth of poverty has intensified in at least four identifiable social categories: single parents, persons with disabilities, single individuals between 45 and 64 and recent immigrants. Poverty rates in Aboriginal communities are unacceptably high. Moreover, in the last decade, we have seen declining access to one of the basic markers of civilized life, a roof over one's head.

Faced with such patterns, international organizations and national governments have turned their attention to the link between social cohesion and socio-economic cleavages. They fear that society's decreased capacity to ensure or foster inclusion poses a threat to social cohesion. Noting the correlation between the inability to ensure inclusion and social cohesion, however, still leaves unresolved

the causes of the obstacles to inclusion. A research agenda is needed. If the issues surrounding social inclusion are complex, it is less because the world has changed than because we have not yet agreed upon a diagnosis of the problem.

THREATS TO SOCIAL COHESION

Let's look more closely at the way a selection of international organizations analyse the risks for social cohesion.

1. OECD: In the 1997 report *Societal Cohesion and the Globalizing Economy*, the OECD argued that technological change and structural adjustment policies placed "growing strains on the fabric of OECD societies."
2. World Bank: Using the terms *social capital* and *social cohesion* synonymously, the World Bank noted "increasing evidence shows that social cohesion is critical for societies to prosper economically and for development to be sustainable. Social capital is not just the sum of the institutions which underpin a society – it is the glue that holds them together."
3. Council of Europe: The Council of Europe's Committee for Social Cohesion asserts that social cohesion is an essential condition for democratic security - divided and unequal societies are not only unjust, they

also cannot guarantee long term stability.

Social cohesion is invoked in these contexts because it is a hybrid concept. As Paul Bernard has demonstrated, it is a quasi-concept that is grounded in data analysis, benefiting from the legitimacy conferred by the scientific method, but also flexible enough to follow the meanderings of everyday policymaking. The concept provides international agencies and governments with an intellectual and political agenda. For example, the OECD was concerned with three aspects of social cohesion: income polarization (including poverty), high levels of unemployment and widespread social exclusion. The Council of Europe also listed a marginalized minority, poverty and social exclusion and high levels of unemployment as challenges to social cohesion. Finally, for the World Bank, dense and crosscutting networks produce economic and social development and reduce poverty more than weak networks, because they incorporate actors into civil society and give them political access. For all three, in other words, future economic and social stability - that is, social cohesion - depends upon fostering inclusion and minimizing marginalization.

"...in the fight against poverty and exclusion, it may not be enough to focus on 'including' the poor simply by providing a place

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in the labour market or social and political institutions. Higher rates of and more lasting success may require a reallocation of resources within the majority, such that they there is more equal distribution of economic power and political and social resources.”

But what do we mean by the causes of exclusion? Is a focus on the margins sufficient to end poverty and increase well-being?

A RANGE OF DIAGNOSES

In a recent study, Ruth Levitas identified three diagnoses of social exclusion, each of which leads to different policy prescriptions. One diagnosis claims that labour force participation fosters inclusion because employment remains the key to inclusion in contemporary society. Policy responses, therefore, focus on employability and on creating a labour market that can absorb more workers. A second diagnosis attributes exclusion to the failures of some groups to meet the expectations of “normal” society. This analysis generates policies that seek to end welfare abuse and make workfare programs compulsory.

A research agenda, therefore, involves assessing the success rates and policy challenges for each inclusion remedy. For example, several jurisdictions have withdrawn citizenship rights from those who do not conform to “normal expectations” of society. Ontario’s LEAP program obliges unmarried mothers on social assistance to attend parenting courses and to stay in school; the choices available to other citizens

are not available to them. In this category, too, is Quebec’s policy of differential access to social assistance to youth under the age 25. Do these “tough love” approaches work better than self-sufficiency programs that provide support for employability and skills training?

Both of these diagnoses make inclusion a “boundary problem.” Efforts to foster inclusion occur at the margins of society. The goal is to push individuals and social groups away from the margins, including them in the mainstream rather than leaving them out. However, thinking about social cohesion in terms of inclusion, evidence suggests, may be too limited. By focusing on the border between the included majority and the excluded minority, too little attention is paid to the inequalities and differences among the included.

MOVING AWAY FROM THE MARGINS

The third diagnosis of social exclusion directs attention to the condition of society as a whole. It defines the problem as the failure to achieve equality in the civil, political and social rights of citizenship. The unequal distribution of power and wealth may produce exclusion, while the policy goal is to include everyone in full citizenship. Thinking in this way leads to another research question: what does the majority need to look like in order to foster social cohesion?

Evidence is accumulating that social equality underpins well-being, both of individuals

and communities. The World Bank argues “In the same way that rising inequality in one country can put a break (sic) on prospects for poverty-reducing growth, rising inequality in the world inhibits overall poverty reduction.” Since the nineteenth century, population health studies have found that a region’s health, and therefore its capacity for well-being, is greater when inequalities in income distribution are smaller. Recent studies of human development in Canada and elsewhere send the same message. Even the *Globe and Mail* (30 November 2000) concluded that Canada’s improved math and science scores - so important for the future of the new economy - are partially due to the equity embedded in a functioning public school system.

In other words, in the fight against poverty and exclusion, it may not be enough to focus on “including” the poor simply by providing a place in the labour market or social and political institutions. Higher rates of and more lasting success may require a reallocation of resources within the majority, such that they there is more equal distribution of economic power and political and social resources.

Jane Jenson

Director, Institute for European Studies,
 Université de Montréal and McGill University
 and Director, Family Network,
 Canadian Policy Research Networks, Inc.



Research Brief

A Cohesive Europe

Over the past few years, researchers in Canada have been tackling questions about social cohesion. To understand the concept better, Canadian Heritage produced a report to assess how three international organizations - the European Union, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the Council of Europe - have approached social cohesion. It also examines threats to and factors promoting cohesion, as understood by these organizations, and offers conclusions about their approach to this policy challenge.

DEFINING THE TERM

Social cohesion is difficult to define; none of the three organizations have a widely accepted working definition. The OECD has the narrowest understanding, focusing on the economic and material aspects of the concept, which is consistent with the OECD's economic mandate. The Council of Europe, in contrast, has a broad definition that brings together three sets of variables to produce a definition of democratic, social and cultural cohesion. Finally, the European Union traverses a middle path, placing social protection, regulation to correct market failure and systems of social dialogue at the core of its approach.

The three organizations have not produced an expansive literature analyzing determinants of social cohesion. No consensus exists with regard to factors that promote social cohesion, although both the European Union and the Council of Europe agree that European solidarity is an important element. In contrast, the three organizations have researched the political, economic, social and cultural threats to social cohesion. Such variables as unemployment, poverty, income inequality, social exclusion and exclusion from the information society are consistently highlighted as threats to social cohesion. Both the European Union and the Council of Europe also consider the "rights deficit" as a threat.

The EU literature links social cohesion to *exclusion*, defined as "not only the material deprivation of the poor, but also their inability to fully exercise their social, cultural and political rights as citizens."

The Council of Europe also links rights to social exclusion and has explored the need to expand the legal framework for human rights. Moreover, the Council considers the divide between the information-rich and the information-poor a threat to identity and cohesion.

INTERVENTIONS

The three organizations are undertaking initiatives aimed at buttressing social cohesion. The majority of the OECD's interventions have taken the form of consultations and research. For example, OECD measures to address political disenchantment and value change have taken the form of studies into alternative forms of governance. The most proactive attempt to move from research to action has been the follow-up to the OECD's Jobs Strategy, adopted in 1994.

The European Union is making most of its interventions with respect to the economic threats of social cohesion, in particular to address to unemployment, poverty, income inequality, rural deprivation and regional disparities. The European Union is also now moving toward alleviating urban distress. Strengthening social inclusion is now being integrated into several EU initiatives, including the European Employment Strategy and Guidelines, the European Social Fund and the Community initiative EQUAL. Similarly, after considering the result of findings from a number of research studies conducted in the early and mid-1990s, the European Union is now taking specific policy actions to address the problem of exclusion from the information society.

The Council of Europe adopted an Action Plan for social cohesion in 1997 recommending all member countries promote standards as embodied in the *European Social Charter* and the *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities*. In an effort to develop a social cohesion strategy, the Council established the Committee for Social Cohesion. A Specialized Unit on Social Cohesion, which assists the Committee for Social Cohesion, conducts research and risk analyses and assesses the activities

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undertaken in support of the Action Plan. The Council also gives prominence to democratic and cultural cohesion. A Court of Human Rights and a Commissioner for Human Rights have been established in an effort to develop practical measures that ensure respect for human rights, cultural diversity and freedom of expression as outlined in the Council's *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities*.

CONCLUSIONS

The study draws a number of conclusions concerning the definition of and possible policy approaches to social cohesion. Among them are:

- There is greater consensus about what threatens social cohesion than on what promotes it;

- The absence of a widely accepted definition of social cohesion has not prevented the European Union, the OECD and the Council of Europe from using the concept to justify a wide array of activities;
- These definitions are embedded in organization histories, mandates and ideological outlooks and actions taken to address threats are constrained by these factors; and
- Policy research has played a key role in moving social cohesion agendas forward.

Copies of *Social Cohesion Around the World: An International Comparison of Definitions and Issues* by Sharon Jeannotte can be obtained through the Strategic Research and Analysis Directorate at Canadian Heritage by e-mail at sradoc_docras@pch.gc.ca.

Bookmark



First Nations Women's Encounters With Health Care

The British Columbia Centre of Excellence for Women's Health works to improve women's health by fostering collaborative multi-disciplinary research and action-oriented approaches to women's health initiatives, women-centred programs and health policy. In particular, the Centre facilitates research on the social determinants of health for marginalized women.

The Centre recently released an article on First Nations women's encounters with Canada's mainstream health care system. The findings from

this study provide insights into the nature of health care encounters from the perspective of First Nation women residing in a northern reserve community. The women's stories highlight the importance of viewing their perspectives in terms of the larger social, economic and political forces influencing Aboriginal women's lives and encounters with the dominant health care system. The women described their encounters with health care services under broad categories of invalidating or affirming. Although the report examines invalidating encoun-

ters in greater detail than affirming ones, the discrepancy reflects the emphasis provided by the research participants. Both types of encounters are described along with their influences and policy implications are raised and listed in the authors' conclusions. The women's stories may be read as illustrations of the broader social, economic and political forces at work influencing the lives of First Nations women in relation to the dominant social systems.

The full report can be found on the British Columbia Centre of Excellence for Women's Health web site at <http://www.bcccewh.bc.ca>.



Canadian Connections



Including Canada

Social Justice, Exclusion and Citizenship: The Ethnic Minorities in Canada - A Review of the Literature was written by Pierre Joseph Ulysse of the Centre d'études ethniques, Université de Montréal. This review examines social justice in the Canadian context as developed in connection with religious and ethnic minorities. Social justice is discussed in terms of Canadian public policy, research on minority experience, social action, and social, economic and cultural rights. To learn more about the relationship between social cohesion, multiculturalism and the evolution of Canadian citizenship visit http://www.canada.metropolis.net/events/socialjustice/ulysses_e.html.

The Metropolis Network Virtual Library includes research projects, research reports and public policy discussion papers. The Metropolis Network Virtual Library is designed to make information on immigration and integration in the world's big cities available in an organized structure that can be easily accessed from a central search function. The Library consists of five integrated components: one for each of the four Centres of Excellence across the country and a national library. A search with the term "social cohesion" revealed 200 documents. The library can be found at http://www.canada.metropolis.net/frameset_e.html.

Family Transformation and Social Cohesion is a research project that aims to understand the correlations between families and social cohesion. Canadian and Belgian researchers are studying such themes as the changing relationships between men and women and parents and children, values, intergenerational transmissions and their implications for social capital and social cohesion. Click on <http://www.sscl.uwo.ca/sociology/ftsc/index.htm> to find descriptions of the seventeen research studies that make up the project, contact information for each project and a number of research papers including an annotated bibliography.

Canadian Workers and Social Cohesion in a Global Era is a new research project based at McMaster University. It examines the changing position of Canadian workers in the global economy, how workers

are coping with increasing competition and analyze the implications for social cohesion and public policy. It will investigate workers perceptions of their problems and the actions that they have taken to address them. Results of research into the formal and informal institutions (e.g., unions, families and civil society groups) used by workers and the role of state and interstate regulatory agencies (ILO, WTO) integral to monitoring and regulating competition will be available at http://socserv.socsci.mcmaster.ca/workers/social_home.html.

The Equality, Security, and Community: Explaining and Improving the Distribution of Well-Being in Canada research project is being carried out by The University of British Columbia's Centre for Research on Economic and Social Policy. Through this project research is being done into inequality and insecurity in Canada, the role of social capital and community processes, the policy interactions among federal and provincial governments and the likelihood of "races to the bottom." The web site offers access to research papers and a database of seven surveys that can be searched by six categories. Included in the database is an annotated bibliography for social capital. It can be found at http://www.arts.ubc.ca/cresp/BIBLIO.htm#social_capital.

KP



Ideas

The policy research and ideas environment is in constant change. Despite what you may have heard, no single organization, discipline, or source has all of the answers or even all of the questions. **We are on the look-out for cutting edge research, ideas and knowledge in public policy to profile in *Horizons*.** If you know of some noteworthy horizontal policy research, please contact Daniel Wolfish at d.wolfish@prs-srp.gc.ca or Patrick Morin at p.morin@prs-srp.gc.ca or call (613) 947-1956.

Thanks.



From the Cyberzone



Inclusion Beyond

http://www.csreurope.org/csr_europe/Databank/databankindex.htm

The mission of **CSR Europe**, formerly the European Business Network for Social Cohesion, is to help companies achieve profitability, sustainable growth and human progress by placing corporate social responsibility (CSR) in the mainstream of business practice. The site includes a searchable database of best practices and company reports on social and environmental issues as well as the "CSR Matrix," a benchmarking resource for investigating major companies based on such themes as community involvement and human rights.

<http://www.cwis.org/fwdp.html>

The **Fourth World Documentation Project (FWDP)** is an on-line archive containing full-text documents from indigenous peoples in the Americas, Africa, Europe, Asia, Melanesia and the Pacific. The archive prepares and makes available to tribal governments, researchers and organizations reports and documents on the human rights, political, strategic, social and economic situations faced by Fourth World nations. The archive is managed by the Center for World Indigenous Studies, a US-based research and education organization dedicated to wider understanding of the ideas and knowledge of indigenous peoples and the social, economic and political realities of indigenous nations.

<http://www.democraticdialogue.org>

Democratic Dialogue is Northern Ireland's first think tank. It provides an independent forum for

reflective thinking upon the critical issues confronting the people of Northern Ireland. It was set up to facilitate political progress and to stimulate debate on wider economic, social and cultural questions about the future of Northern Ireland in a global context. It works to engage all economic, social and political actors, including individual citizens, in policy formation through publications and debates. The web site offers information on projects, partnering and publications including the full text version of *Social Exclusion, Social Inclusion* an international review of strategies to combat social exclusion.

<http://www.migpolgroup.com>

The **Migration Policy Group (MPG)**, an independent organization based in Brussels, is committed to improving policy development on migration and related issues of diversity through the promotion of facilitated exchange between key stakeholders in Europe, North America and the international community and through the production of substantive, comparative policy analysis. MPG works to provide forums for high-level discussion and debate within and between countries among representatives of the public, private and business sectors. One such example is Transatlantic Dialogue and the web site offers access to the report of its last meeting, *Strategies of Engagement: Cross-Sector Partnerships For Enhancing The Economic Foundation Of Minority Communities*.

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New Cleavages in First Nations Communities

As with society overall, pluralism characterizes many Canadian First Nations communities. Cleavages stem from family or kinship ties, from competing cultures and ideologies and from economic inequalities. They are often reflected in First Nations politics and occasionally result in governance systems that are driven by partisanship and that lack openness, transparency and social inclusion.

At a time when many Aboriginal communities are attempting to improve their governance systems, new cleavages are emerging. These cleavages, which have their basis in the 1985 amendments to the *Indian Act*, arise from the interplay of new rules governing entitlement to Indian registration and First Nations membership. Over time, these rules may produce classes of Aboriginal people with differing rights and entitlements. Within this context, issues of membership and social inclusion may represent the most fundamental challenge to First Nations as they proceed toward self-governance.

AMENDMENTS TO THE INDIAN ACT

The 1985 amendments to the Indian Act (Bill C-31) introduced three main provisions:

- The reinstatement of registered Indian status to individuals (and their children) who had lost this status under prior versions of the *Indian Act*;

- New rules governing entitlement to Indian registration for all children born after April 16, 1985; and
- The opportunity for First Nations communities to develop their own rules governing citizenship or band membership.

Much has been written about the impact of the first provision, which has resulted in more than 114,000 individuals gaining registered Indian status. The implications of the latter two provisions, however, may be much more significant. The new rules governing Indian registration are contained in Section 6 of Bill C-31, which allows for persons to qualify for Indian registration under one of two sub-sections:

- Section 6(1) – if both of the person's parents are registered Indians; and,
- Section 6(2) – if one of the person's parents is registered under Section 6(1) and the other parent is not.

A person with one parent registered under Section 6(2) and whose other parent is not registered is not entitled to Indian registration. Because of these rules, the future population entitled to registration will be influenced by future parenting patterns. Two generations of out-marriage may result in the loss of entitlement to registration for the children of the second generation. Given out-

marriage, Bill C-31 produces three classes of First Nations people, each with differing abilities to pass entitlement to Indian registration to their children:

- Those individuals registered under Section 6(1) who can pass entitlement to all of their children, regardless of whom they marry;
- Those registered under Section 6(2) who can pass entitlement to their children only if they marry another registered Indian; and
- Those who are not registered and whose children will be entitled only if the child's other parent is registered under Section 6(1).

The emerging class structure is further complicated by the interplay of the rules governing entitlement to Indian registration and the rules governing membership. Prior to Bill C-31, eligibility for First Nations membership and Indian registration were equivalent. Bill C-31's transfer of membership rules to First Nations results in situations where membership and Indian registration now differ.

NEW MEMBERSHIP RULES

There are four main types of First Nations membership rules. The first type applies to those communities that did not adopt their own rules or that use rules that are the same as those of Section 6 of the *Indian Act*. For these com-

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communities, membership is determined by the rules governing Indian registration. As a result, the populations entitled to Indian registration and First Nations membership are the same.

Three additional groups of First Nations now use membership rules that differ from the *Indian Act* rules. One group of First Nations employs one-parent membership rules, which extend membership eligibility to all descendants of members, regardless of registered Indian status. A second group uses blood quantum rules, in which eligibility for membership is determined by the amount of Indian blood a person possesses in relation to a minimum standard. A third group employs two-parent membership rules, which admit into membership only those individuals who have two parents that are members.

EMERGING CLEAVAGES

When we examine both membership and registration rules together, we can see how Bill C-31 may produce cleavages within Canada's Aboriginal communities. The future population within those communities that follow the membership rules of the *Indian Act* may include a class of citizens who are entitled to both Indian registration and First Nations membership and a second class of citizens who are entitled to

neither registration nor membership. Within current rates of out-marriage, the size of the latter group could form a majority in three to four generations.

First Nations that adopted one-parent membership rules will confront a future where all descendants are eligible for membership but where a growing segment of the this population will lack entitlement to Indian regis-

"Bill C-31's rules governing Indian registration and membership may result in fundamental inequalities in all First Nations communities. These developments hold implications for the political and social stability as well as economic and social development of First Nations communities."

tration. In about three generations, non-registered descendants may form the majority of the membership. Communities that follow two-parent membership rules face a future in which a growing share of descendants lacks the rights and benefits of membership. At current levels of out-marriage, non-members would form the majority of their registered Indian populations within one generation. Within two generations, citizens entitled to both registration and membership would form a small and dwindling minority of the population. A similar class structure and

sequence of events is expected among those First Nations using blood quantum membership rules.

Kinship, cultural and ideological pluralism may indeed continue to limit equality and opportunity for citizens of some First Nations communities. However, Bill C-31's rules governing Indian registration and membership may result in fundamental inequalities in all First Nations communities.

These developments hold implications for the political and social stability as well as economic and social development of First Nations communities. These inequalities could lead to legal challenges, internal conflicts and intergovernmental disputes. The growth of these new divisions among First Nations

will have implications for the form and administration of Aboriginal self-government. Moreover, federal and provincial governments will also need to develop policies with respect to responsibilities for the provision and funding of services to the various divisions in First Nations communities. Failure to address these issues will result in future litigation, whereby the courts may become the arbiters of social policy.

Stewart Clatworthy
 Consultant,
 Four Directions Project
 Consultants



Research Brief

Moving toward Inclusion: *The Internet's Adhesive Qualities*

Technological innovations throughout the ages have had observable, if not measurable, impacts on the social cohesion of communities. Advancements over the past decade in information and communication technologies have changed the way our society organizes itself economically, socially and politically, producing new opportunities and challenges for those people marginalized in Canadian society. In a recent research report titled *Plugging In: The Increase of Household Internet Use Continues in 1999*, Paul Dickinson and Jonathan Ellison have examined the effect of the Internet on social cohesion and inclusion. Their research, based on data obtained from the Statistics Canada 1999 Household Internet Use Survey, investigates the social, economic and geographic factors influencing Canadian households' access and use of the Internet.

CANADIANS AND CYBERSPACE: THE STATISTICS CANADA REVELATION

According to the *1999 Household Internet Use Survey*, 42% of Canadian households identified themselves as regular household Internet users. This is an increase from 36% in 1998. This increase in access to the Internet is reflected in all ages groups and family types; however, households with higher-income and education levels continue to be the most likely to use the Internet. Alberta (50.8%), British Columbia (48.1%) and Ontario (44.5%) are the

provinces with the most households accessing the Internet.

Not only do 18% of Canadian households use the Internet daily, doubling from 9.8% in 1998, they also tend to spend more time on the Internet. Slightly fewer than 50% of households indicated that they use the Internet for at least twenty hours per week while 67.1% say they use it more than ten hours. In 1999, people accessed the Internet for the following reasons:

- 90% of people accessing the Internet use e-mail;
- 85% of people searched for specific material and information;
- 54% of users searched for medical information;
- 24% of people searched for employer-related reasons;
- 19% of users purchased goods and services over the Internet; and
- 19% used it for self-employed purposes.

DUAL DIGITAL DIVIDE

Reflecting on concerns about inclusion and the "digital divide," Dickinson and Ellison noted that 53% of households in the highest income quartile accessed the Internet compared to only 10.9% of households in the lowest income quartile. Dickinson and Ellison observed that the difference in the level of Internet access between the highest and lowest income quartiles remained constant in 1999, leading Dickinson and Ellison to conclude,

"There are various reasons why some households do and others do not use the Internet." They went on to argue "many higher-income households do not use the Internet even though affordability is not an issue while many lower income households may choose not to use for reasons that have nothing to do with cost or affordability."

TYPOLGY OF NON-USERS

In the report *The Dual Digital Divide*, Andrew Reddick agrees with Dickison and Ellison that variable levels of connectivity, lack of interest in use and lack of perceived need for access are factors that cut across all socio-economic groups. He adds, however, that these barriers to access are aggravated for those in lower social classes who may have less resources or skills available to overcome them." Reddick distinguishes between two groups of non-users:

- *Near-users*: those people who have an interest in connecting to the Internet but are unable to do so for a number of reasons, most important of which include high cost of access and low levels of Internet literacy; and
- *Distant-users*: those people who have little or no interest in the Internet and on-line services or who perceive the Internet holds little value in helping them meet their everyday economic or social needs.

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**ADDITIONAL POLICY RESEARCH
 REQUIRED**

While Dickinson and Ellison's report provides governments with a better understanding of how well and the reasons why Canadians are connected to the Internet, more research needs to be con-

ducted regarding the effects the Internet is exerting on social inclusion. For example, will different levels of access to and use of the Internet exclude some people from the opportunities presented by the Internet?

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For more statistics on Canadians' access to and use of the Internet, please visit *Plugging In: The Increase of Household Internet Use Continues in 1999* available at <http://www.statcan.ca/Daily/English/001204/d001204a.htm>. A copy of *The Dual Digital Divide* is available at <http://olt-bta.hrdc-drhc.gc.ca/publicat/index.html>.

The Rise of the Network Society

How do social cohesion and technology relate to one another? Is there tension between the two or can the latter reinforce the former? In *The Rise of the Network Society*, Manuel Castells describes the accelerating pace of innovation and social transformation and puts forth an analysis of the global informational capitalism that emerged in the last half of the twentieth century. He suggests we are witnessing the emergence of a new society: the information society that has impacts on the structure of employment, the relations of the individuals to the medias and the organization of space by information flows. A distributed horizontal global network that is both efficient and effective characterizes the information society and informational capitalism. The dynamic that balances this pervasive network is the drive for social and cultural values that allow people to control their lives and environment.

He also argued that the processes of globalization threaten to make redundant those countries and peoples who are excluded from informational networks. He investigates the culture, institutions and organizations of the network enterprise and the concomitant transformation of work and employment. He shows that in the advanced economies production is now concentrated on an educated section of the population aged between 25 and 40. He suggests that the effect of this accelerating trend may not be mass unemployment but the extreme flexibilization of work and individualization of labor and, in consequence, a highly segmented social structure

Manuel Castells, *The Rise of the Network Society*, (Williston VT: Blackwell Pub, 2000).

A review of *The Rise of the Network Society* can be found on the following web site: <http://www.slis.indiana.edu/TIS/articles/stalder.htm>.

ISUMA – issue 4 The voluntary sector

The downsizing and cutbacks initiated by different levels of government over the last decade have not only increased the visibility of the voluntary sector, but have also raised new questions regarding the roles, forms and duties this sector should have in society. How

should government approach this situation? Should it take on the role of promoter? What about the volunteers who so often labour behind the scenes? What makes them tick? These are but a few of the topics covered in the next issue of *Isuma: Canadian Journal*

of Policy Research. Kathy Brock, David Good, Frances Woolley and Jean-Pierre Worms examine the voluntary sector from all sides and provide the results of their analyses, which will undoubtedly lead to further debate.



Looking Outward

Perspectives for France

The Prime Minister of France, Lionel Jospin, asked the Commissariat général du Plan [French planning office] to conduct a comprehensive analysis in an effort to identify desirable economic and social policies for the country and medium-term choices for government authorities. The Commissariat's report, titled *Les perspectives pour la France* [perspectives for France], was recently submitted to the Prime Minister. The report takes stock of the current situation and makes a series of proposals.

The Commissariat noted that new freedoms have been acquired by the French people in recent decades, arising from women's emancipation, the development of the education system, greater job autonomy, improved mobility and communication between countries, a better standard of living and more free time. Over the last three years, renewed economic growth and job creation have rekindled citizens' confidence in the future. However, French society continues to be affected by high unemployment, people living precariously close to or on the poverty line, in particular single mothers and young people, and widespread inequalities. A large part of the population is having difficulty coping with fast-paced change, shifting landmarks and the weakening of some social protections.

ISSUES

The Commissariat maintains that for France to progress within the European framework towards sustainable, collaborative development, it must determine and establish how it will face three challenges. The first involves the information revolution and France's entry into the knowledge economy, which present opportunities for many but also create new divisions; they require more widespread use of new technology and innovation in the sectors concerned. The second challenge involves inter-generational relations and preparation for the demographic shift that will begin in 2005. It requires, for example,

a different way of organizing the various life stages, forward-looking management of human resources in both government and business, and a factoring in of the precautionary principle in order to face environmental and health risks.

The third challenge deals with institutional and procedural reforms designed to advance the social and political development of the European Union following the creation of the Euro and prior to membership expansion. This challenge will encourage the French government to redefine relations with social partners and territorial communities in order to enhance their role in establishing and implementing community actions. France will also have to reform government management to enable public officials to meet better the expectations of citizens.

OBJECTIVES

The report's proposals can be classified under three main objectives.

The first involves a return to full employment - work continues to be the best way to ensure that material needs are satisfied - and an effort to create wealth - the main vehicle for integrating individuals into the community and developing their social identity. This objective implies that sustainable growth can be achieved through economic and monetary union, that the spirit of initiative and business creation must be encouraged, that work disincentives must be studied in order to adopt the most effective means to remove them and that efforts to promote initial and continuing training must be pursued.

The second objective is to secure the individual's path in life, which requires the implementation of new community initiatives and more attentive management of life transitions, such as those related to events in family life and moving between different age groups, periods of education and employment, and different employers.

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Last, effectively implementing the principle of equal dignity for all set out in the *Loi d'orientation relative à la lutte contre les exclusions* [act regarding the fight against exclusion] represents another major objective, supported by the first two, and applying to many other areas besides the fight against poverty and exclusion. This principle, which René Cassin successfully insisted on including in the first section of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights half a century ago, forms the basis

for recognizing all fundamental rights, both in international and European institutions and in promoting new practices for private, community and public action in France.

Jacques Paquette
Director General,
Environment Canada

The full report is available at the following address:
<http://www.plan.gouv.fr>.

Newsletter Note

Disability Issues: Community Inclusion and Participatory Action Research

“Canada’s approach to social development has changed. Traditionally, helping professionals and service providers focused on changing the individual, so that he or she would “fit” into the community. Now we are seeking to change whole communities, so that all may be included and participate to the fullness of their individual abilities.

In an effort to bring about this change for people with intellectual disabilities, the Government of Canada implemented the Community Inclusion Initiative. This initiative supports the development and implementation of strategies for communities to become more inclusive. Since its inception in 1997–98, Commu-

nity Inclusion projects have involved 630 communities from coast to coast, the high arctic, and the south. It is estimated that 3,500 families and 7,400 individuals with disabilities have been directly involved in the activities of the initiative.

The Participatory Action Research process was launched in 1999–2000 as a tool for evaluating, analyzing, documenting and influencing social development initiatives in ways that are useful to communities, partners and stakeholders engaged in Community Inclusion. The current project builds on the existing action research process and will evaluate project progress, engage hundreds of participants across the country

and create a continuous feedback loop to projects and Community Inclusion partners. This process will help to ensure successful outcomes, encourage opportunities for collaboration, and provide guidance and recommendations for future Community Inclusion activity and policy formulation. The Canadian Association for Community Living will design and lead the process that will take place simultaneously at local, provincial/territorial and national levels.”

This article was originally published in December 2000 by *Disability Research Bulletin*, the newsletter of the Office for Disability Issues. For more information, please contact Abdou Saouab at (819) 997-2114 or odi-bcph@hrdc-drhc.gc.ca.



Eyewitness

Urban Diversity and Immigration: *Metropolis's Fifth Annual Conference*

The 5th International Metropolis Conference, held in Vancouver in November 2000, brought together over 700 people from around the world to discuss urban diversity and immigration. During the conference, **Eleanor Caplan**, Canada's Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, hosted a panel of government officials from four countries to explore social cohesion, inclusion and immigration policy convergence. This summary outlines the ideas expressed in this plenary.

INTERNATIONAL PANEL OF IMMIGRATION MINISTERS

For Canada, Caplan noted, policies of integration, inclusion and social cohesion remain a challenge with each wave of immigration. When journalists and politicians fan the "flames of fear" about new migrants, the challenges of inclusion and social cohesion are compounded. Caplan also noted that we have seen in recent years greater competition between host countries to attract skilled migrants.

Roger Von Buxtal, the Dutch Minister of Immigration, reported that there is a proud tradition of tolerance in The Netherlands; but the challenge is to turn tolerance into indifference. The Netherlands bases its intake of immigrants on their need for asylum, not, as do many other countries, on their skills. This approach, it has been suggested, has resulted in a fifteen percent unemployment rate within The Netherlands' migrant

communities because new arrivals often lack the appropriate skills for the job market.

Umberto Donardo, the Italian Undersecretary of State for the Ministry of Interior, suggested that xenophobic populism remains a major obstacle to inclusion in many parts of Europe. It is also interesting to note, Donardo observed, that with the exception of the Schengen Agreement, there has been little convergence in immigration policy across European countries because decisions are made at the state level and not at the European Union level.

Doris Meisner, former US Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization Services, argued that the positive myth concerning the importance of immigration in such host countries as the United States, Canada and Australia better equip their societies to cope with the challenges of cohesion

than those countries that lack such a myth. Countries with a positive myth of immigration, Meisner argued, tend to view diversity in a positive light. Moreover, she noted that discussions on inclusion and immigrant integration are not held in the United States because the US government has few policies to help migrants. Rather, public institutions such as schools and churches bear the responsibility of integrating migrant communities. It is interesting to note that the recent US election revealed deep divisions along lines of ethnicity and religion.

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For information on the Metropolis Project, see <http://www.international.metropolis.net>. The web site for the 6th Annual International Metropolis Conference can be found at <http://www.pscw.uva.nl/imes/rotterdam.htm>.

Integration of youth

"It is often suggested that all young people face insuperable problems of integration into the labour force, unemployment, lack of stable employment and of secure jobs, as if they were all being forced into social exclusion. It is often overlooked that a high proportion of youth do not encounter these problems and is doing very well. [...] This inclination to extrapolate to the entire young generation some observed trends true of only a proportion of youth, while not unique to the area of research into integration, is especially characteristic of it. One of the perverse effects of this tendency is that the heterogeneity of youth is ignored and, in this area of integration, the situation of youth facing more severe problems is trivialized." [TRANSLATION]

Claude Trottier, "Questionnement sur l'insertion professionnelle des jeunes et pistes d'analyse pour des chantiers de recherche", Observatoire Jeunes et société, available at <http://obs-jeunes.inrs-culture.quebec.ca/TrottierSom.htm>.

Did you know?



Rising Income Inequality

Income inequality increased during the latter part of the 1990s. Statistics Canada reports that in 1989, the 20% of families with the highest incomes received 41.9% of total market income; by 1998, this proportion had risen to 45.2%. Over the same period, the share of the market income going to 20% of families with the lowest incomes decreased from 3.8% to 3.1%.

In dollar terms, families in the top 20% received \$11 in market income for every \$1 earned by families in the lowest 20% in 1980. By 1998, this ratio had increased to \$14 to \$1.

Despite the equalizing role played by transfers and taxes, the gap between the two ends of the income scale widened slightly during the 1990s, even on an after-tax basis. Families in the lowest 20% garnered 7.6% of all after-tax income in 1989, but by 1998, their share had dropped to 7.1%. Meanwhile, the 20% of families with the highest incomes saw their share of all after-tax dollars increase from 37.0% in 1989 to 38.8% in 1998.

During the early part of the decade, taxes and transfers held the ratio of highest-to-lowest after-tax incomes at just under five to one. During the second half of the 1990s, as transfers declined, the ratio widened from about 4.8 to one in 1994 to 5.4 to one in 1998.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Survey of Consumer Finances and Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics.

Inclusion's Vote

Political participation can be viewed as an important component of inclusion. Voting, in turn, is the most common form of political participation. While most Canadian citizens aged 18 and over are eligible to vote in federal elections, several groups within Canada, in past, have been excluded. Today, the Chief and Assistant Chief Electoral Officers, Returning Officers, minors and inmates serving sentences of two years or more are the only people ineligible to vote. The history of provincial suffrage varies across the provinces. In Quebec, women did not win the right to vote until 1940 and only in 1953 did British Columbia delete references to race from its electoral legislation.

CHRONOLOGY OF FEDERAL SUFFRAGE IN CANADA

- 1868 - The first federal general election was held; only men who owned a specified amount of property could vote.
- 1885 - The Electoral Franchise Act defined a "person" as a male, excluding a person of Mongolian or Chinese race.
- 1917 - The Wartime Election Act disfranchised Canadian citizens who were born in an enemy country and were naturalized after March 31, 1902, and those whose mother tongue was the language of an enemy country regardless of country of birth. Wives, sisters and mothers of servicemen won the franchise.
- 1918 - All adult women won the right to vote.
- 1948 - The franchise was extended to Canadians of Japanese ancestry.
- 1950 - The Inuit, explicitly excluded in the 1934 Dominion Franchise Act, became eligible to vote.
- 1960 - The Indian Act was amended to extend the franchise to Native Canadians living on reserves.
- 1987 - Judges became eligible to vote.
- 1988 - People with mental disabilities were granted the franchise.
- 1999 - Supreme Court decision gave right to vote to adult citizens serving a prison sentence of less than two years.



Research Brief

The Impact of Trade Liberalization on Culture, Identity and Social Cohesion

In a paper recently produced by Canadian Heritage, Bruce Jamieson conducted a review of recent literature dealing with the relationship between trade liberalization, culture, identity and social cohesion. The literature suggests that although there is no consensus on the impact of trade liberalization, there are some key messages in common:

- Trade is not an end in itself but also the means to a broader objective – a better society;
- The significance of cultural activity is not just economic but also social and political;
- The pursuit of national cultural objectives is as important as the pursuit of trade policy objectives;
- Cultural goods and services are not like other forms of merchandise;
- Cultural diversity is preferable to cultural homogeneity; and
- National governments still have an important role to play in promoting and preserving the “social contract.”

With respect to cultural goods and services, many researchers expressed anxiety about the negative impact of Canadian economic integration with the United States on our cultural industries. They view US efforts in pursuing a market driven agenda through the negotiation of trade agreements as a threat to Canadian cultural sovereignty and to global cultural

diversity. Culture is defined not simply in terms of arts and cultural products, but in a broader sense that includes Canadian institutions, perspectives on the world and our collective memory. Our cultural industries are seen both as instruments for the dissemination of Canadian culture and values and a common bond that holds Canadians together.

It was also argued that global economic integration is having an adverse impact on the social cohesion of societies. While global economic integration is, to some extent, erasing national borders and placing growing pressures on the “social contracts” that hold societies together, researchers suggest that national governments still have a vital and indispensable role to play in ensuring that the negative impacts of economic integration are mitigated and that all members of society share in its benefits.

Researchers who compared Canadian values to those in the United States and other countries, found that Canadians have cultural values and attitudes that are different from Americans but that these differences are growing less and less as they converge towards a common set of North American values. Moreover, values and attitudes change very slowly, over generations. These researchers do not see this process as Americanization but rather, as part of a hemispherical and global phe-

nomenon. Although free trade may have acted as a catalyst in this process, it is not necessarily a causal force or the only catalyst for change. What is unclear is where this convergence of values will lead and whether it will determine our ability to remain distinctly Canadian. It is still too early to tell.

For copies of this report, contact Canadian Heritage by email at sradoc_docras@pch.gc.ca or by fax at (819) 997-6765.

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Design & Layout by:

Zsuzsanna Liko Visual Communication Inc.

Horizons is published bi-monthly by the Policy Research Initiative to share information among the public and private policy research community

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